

BLACK

POLITICS

October

~~1988~~ 1989

# DOOR TO TOWN STONES

## Mandela told me to preach peace, says Mpetha

CP Correspondent

NELSON Mandela had advised him to preach peace and stonethrowing in the townships had to stop, veteran Western Cape ANC president Oscar Mpetha told a teachers' meeting in Nyanga this week.

He also told more than 1 000 members of the Democratic Teachers' Union and the Peninsula African Teachers' Association at an emotional meeting he was still a member of the ANC.

Turning to two of his comrades from the 1960s, Zoli Malindi and Christmas Tinto - both restricted United Democratic Front leaders - Mpetha said they had never accepted the banning of the ANC.

The 80-year-old Mpetha, whose leg was amputated while serving a five-year sentence for terrorism, was speaking at his first public appearance since his release last Sunday.

He was still president of the ANC in the Western Cape, he said.

Mpetha and six other ANC veterans released last weekend - Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi and Elias Motsaedi - met Mandela in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison on the eve of their release.

"Mandela said we must preach peace. He told us if we preached peace, the government would refrain from violence."

Mandela also called for an end to stonethrowing. "We must stop stoning other people's cars. We are not only stoning the enemy's cars. We are also stoning our own people's cars and kill-

ing our own children.

"If you don't want to listen to me then listen to Mandela, because he has appealed to us not to use violence."

Mpetha's call was supported by Tinto and Malindi, but their views cannot be reported.

Teachers' leader Andile Jonas said he had been saddened by the stoning of vehicles which led to deaths in Guguletu this week.

"It has become necessary for us to seriously discuss and monitor the situation."

In an interview at his home, Mpetha predicted Mandela would be freed soon.

Wearing a red Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) sweater and a khaki cap, the veteran trade unionist said he was still a member of Fawu.

"I would like to return to work. I'll be pleased to organise because I believe in getting close to people."

He said he had knitted jerseys for his grandchildren and great-grandchildren in hospital while serving his five-year sentence for terrorism.

Knitting was a "good pastime" and he encouraged unemployed township residents to start knitting.

He was excited by the welcome he received after his release. "The fact that there was a march from Cape Town's airport on Monday was amazing to me."

He was also pleased by a march of more than 1 000 teachers to his home on Thursday. "It's a great pleasure for me to see people still have confidence in me and the ANC."

Mpetha will speak at a "welcome home rally" at Nyanga stadium today.



Oscar Mpetha, happy to be outside.

Picture: FANIE JASON



TODAY marks the seventh day of the release of ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu and Company. A lot has been written about these gallant sons of the soil and more will be said about them.

After all, more than 26 years of silence within the confines of the grey walls of prison warrants every word to be said about these political giants.

During their time in prison their status has risen from that of national leaders to internationally renowned figures.

Even the most apolitical person knew at the time who these people were and why they went to jail.

Mr Nelson Mandela in particular, the last remaining member of the Rivonia trialists, is undoubtedly the most well-known South African.

Now that these notable political leaders are back with us and they have had a few days to talk and share ideas with many people from all walks of life, it is important to note what they have said so far and what role we think they should play in a future South Africa.

One thing I detected was that the ANC leaders still speak of wanting "freedom" for the people. It is a noble word but no longer used by the political movements. The word used is liberation.

This goes to show how long they have been away, observed one critic. The 77-year-old Sisulu, in

MY WAY  
With Khulu Sibuya

Chris Ross 29/11/89

# What Sisulu and Co can do



Interviews with various publications, emphasised the need for the struggle to be orderly and disciplined.

When last did we hear these words from our leaders?

When this country was on fire on June 16, 1976, and in 1984 to 1986, we cried out to our leaders to say these words and none came forward.

My special appeal to Sisulu and Co is to try and unify the black masses. This is the time when they should transcend the barriers of ideological differences among black liberation movements today.

It is their voices and their presence that would bring peace in the Maritzburg area.

It is with their help that a bridge between the PAC and the ANC could be built.

It is their maturity and fatherly image that could make our youngsters realise

how important education is in our struggle.

At least these men can be quoted freely in newspapers, now. Their messages to the public can be heard. Our thanks to President De Klerk for releasing them unconditionally.

Since 1960, when the SA Communist Party, the ANC and PAC were banned, we have not heard any person openly declaring his membership of these organisations. I do not think anything they have said so far constitutes a threat to the security of the state.

There's no doubt in my mind that a new and meaningful era in black politics has been ushered in. For the first time in our turbulent and troubled times there seems to be a ray of light.

A message of hope has reached the masses. They fought and won for the release of the Rivonia trialists

They have also fought for the unbanning of all political organisations - and it looks imminent.

It is now a matter of time before Mandela is released - and all this happened because of the gallant efforts of the masses.

What about De Klerk? Has he played any meaningful role so far towards change? Wilton Mkwayi, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, who this week said he would handle an AK-47 if he was still young, had this to say about De Klerk:

"His style is intellectual and he speaks in a softer language. There is little doubt he wants to change but he has to tread softly as he is scared of his own people."

Another MK commander, Andrew Mlangeni, said they did not go to jail only for the freedom of black people - whites needed freedom too. Perhaps what he meant

was that whites could never be free unless blacks were. Like thousands of others, I too had to go and pay my respects to "Tata" Sisulu at his Orlando West home this week. I found him a warm person who did not show any traces of anger or a grudge against those who sentenced him to prison.

He spoke at length about how he sees things in South Africa today and I have no doubt, from what he said, that Sisulu has a role to play in the future of this country, even at his age. What a pity we had to wait this long to use his leadership.

Some of us were little boys in short pants when he went underground and sentenced to life imprisonment.

With the release of Sisulu, black politics in South Africa will definitely take on a new shape.

We should note the role De Klerk is playing. It will not help us to reject and condemn any positive steps he might take. We should encourage and, if necessary, put pressure on him to speed up fundamental change in the country.

At least what De Klerk has shown so far is his willingness to correct the mistakes of his predecessors - but he must realise that he must show results soon.

We would like to see Mr Mandela and political prisoners like Popo Molefe, Teror Lekota and Tom Mantsa released soon.

# Restriction curbs family visits

22/11/89  
ONE member of the Sisulu family has to wait until the world has met and talked to his father, before he can have the opportunity to embrace him.

City Res  
He is Zwelakhe Sisulu, restricted editor of *New Nation*, and son of recently released ANC Secretary-General, Walter Sisulu

The return of his father Walter, means he has to curb his desire to embrace him until the Government has lifted the restriction on him

Soon after his release from two year's detention, Sisulu was served with restrictions

He is prevented from being in a room with more than nine people and is

effectively under house arrest between 6pm and 6am daily

As hundreds of visitors frequent the Sisulu home in Orlando West to pay homage to the former ANC Secretary-General, his son is forced to watch the events from afar.

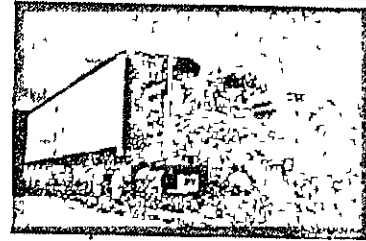
He faces a long wait as the house appears to be becoming a 'people's centre'.



Zwelakhe Sisulu.



## CERTIFICATE IN ROAD TRANSPORTATION



To meet the challenges of Deregulation and First year subjects include among others

# Shock revelation after last-minute reprieve

# POLICE HIT SQUAD

For News 201/1/84

For News 201/1/84

By SIBU MNGADI and SOL MORATHI  
ABOUT 150 Durban attorneys and advocates this week called for a judicial commission to investigate an alleged security police hit squad formed to eliminate prominent ANC members

The lawyers said there was a real crisis of confidence among a large section of the population in the country's judicial system, and that such a commission had to include international jurists

This followed the revelations of a former security cop, Butana Almond Nofemela now on Death Row, on the hit squad

Detailing the operations of the hit squad Nofemela said he had personally taken part in the assassination of top Durban lawyer and ANC activist Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge

The body of Mxenge was found with 45 stab wounds near the Umhlangi Cycle Stadium on November 20 1981 His wife Victoria was assassinated four years later

Nofemela was given a last-minute stay of execution this week after claiming he was one of four security policemen who killed Mxenge He said he was also partially responsible for eight other assassinations

Nofemela got the death sentence for killing a white farmer He decided to speak after receiving his execution notice despite security police assurances that he would be saved

A spokesman for the SAP said yesterday the police were impartial and would do everything in their power to help solve all crime

Nofemela said he became a member of the security branch's assassination squad in 1981 In the same year he was ordered by a brigadier and a captain to eliminate Mxenge

The squad travelled to Durban where Nofemela poisoned Mxenge's dogs A few days later they pretended their bakke had broken down near Mxenge's house

Mxenge stopped behind the bakke and asked whether he could help us I opened the car and said yes please



Griffiths Mxenge's wife Victoria.

"He switched off his ignition and at the same time I pulled out my firearm, a Makarov pistol."

They took Mxenge to Umhlangi Cycle Stadium where he was stabbed 45 times They took his money and watch to fake a robbery

He said he was involved in about eight other assassinations - among them four in Swaziland one in Botswana, one in Maseru and one in Krugersdorp under the instructions of a well-known senior Pretoria security officer

After Mxenge's killing Nofemela was allegedly told he might have to kill Mxenge's wife, Victoria, but he heard no more about it

Seven ANC defectors who have joined an alleged security police hit squad have been subpoenaed to testify in a Durban inquest on four Christerville activists

# PAC are 'blood tigers'

By SOL MORATH

JAPHTA Masemola, a founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress military wing Poqo has vowed to restore the strong image of the PAC and make politics his full-time occupation, until he dies or the situation changes in South Africa

Masemola, 58, a former school teacher, said though the PAC was still alive and active, its political image had been affected by the life imprisonment of most of its members in 1963

Masemola, who was the longest serving political prisoner in South

Africa at the time of his release last Sunday, said the PAC were no paper tigers

"The PAC is still very active and alive. They are blood tigers, and will remain so until the South African government shows a change of heart," he said

Masemola, who was sentenced to life for sabotage in 1963, said while he was happy to be outside prison, he felt he had not attained the freedom he had set out to achieve before he was jailed

He said his path forward was "of applying all my might to achieve my objectives which resulted

in my life sentence 27 years ago"

"Otherwise I would have gone to jail in vain if I do not pursue my aims and objectives while I have the opportunity to do so

"I have spent many long years of hell in prison. So I cannot afford to look back and remain idle"

Masemola entered politics when he joined the ANC Youth League in the early 1950s and helped establish various structures of the organisation in Atteridgeville

At the time the Youth League was intent on set-

ting the ANC on a more confrontational road with the authorities

He then rose through the ranks of the league and was soon aligned with the Youth League of the PAC when the organisation split from the ANC in 1959

After the PAC was outlawed in 1960, he was assigned the task of forming the PAC's military wing, Poqo

He still believes he was unjustly sentenced

"The sentence did not warrant the gravity of the charges we were convicted for," he said

City Press

22/10/89



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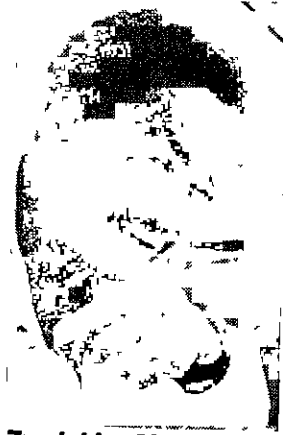
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Zwelakhe Sisulu.

# THE EIGHT: First



**WALTER SISULU** - Secretary General.

BY SANDILE MEMELA

MORE than 26 years of silence were broken when five former Rivonia trialists held a Press conference last week

For the first time in more than two decades, Walter Sisulu, the former general-secretary of the ANC and four other leaders of the organisation could talk to the Press about their hopes for the future

The five men had changed physically in 26 years, but espoused the same ideals that sent them to prison in 1963

They looked fit and healthy and had put on suits for the occasion. Like statesmen, they carried themselves with an aura of power and prestige

The five ANC stalwarts - Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Wilton Mkwayi - devoted the first part of the week to their families

They stressed that although they were released as a group last Sunday, this did not mean they now constituted an internal wing of the ANC



**AHMED KATHRADA** - MK leader.

Sisulu, who assumed the role of chief spokesman, told journalists the former Rivonia trialists did not consider themselves individuals

"There is only one organisation which represents the aspirations of the people, and that is the ANC. We are not individuals. We consider ourselves part of that group

"As a result of our membership, we are subject to the policies, resolutions and regulations of the ANC"

Sisulu said he has been in touch with the ANC in Lusaka, and that the group is willing to travel abroad to meet the leadership in exile

Sisulu's words were echoed by Ahmed Kathrada

"The fact I have never been a member of the ANC must be clarified. Technically, I have never been a member of the ANC as membership to Indians was only opened when I was in jail



**ANDREW MLANGENI** - MK commander.

The three-hour interview at the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West was arranged by the National Reception Committee. It brought the five leaders together for the first time since their "welcome home" conference last Sunday

Sisulu said the men were still committed to the principles and ideals which sent them to jail, including the use of armed struggle

"In the initial stages leading to our release, State President PW Botha set renunciation of violence as a pre-condition. But we have not renounced violence"

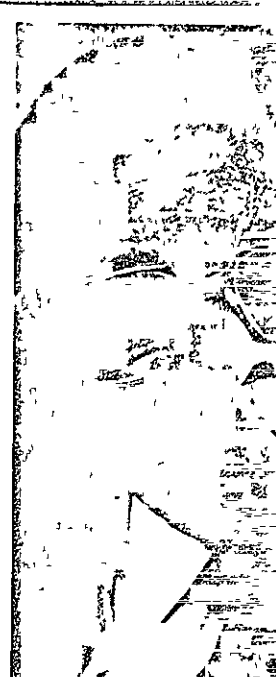
This point was reiterated by Mlangeni

"Our release has not freed our people. Today, there is no black man who is free or is part of the decision-making process. We will fight until we have achieved our goal"

Mlangeni said the freedom the men went to jail for was not just for black people

"Whites need freedom too. If I have to go to prison tomorrow for this belief, I will go"

The men said they were impressed by political consciousness in the township, espe-



**ELIAS MOTSOALEDI** - MK

cially among the youth, and work of the Mass Democratic

"I am greatly impressed by leaders and the standard of our find this spirit inspiring," said

"When we were imprisoned was small. Since then beyond our wildest expectations by the political consciousness of the people," said Kathrada

The men said they did not renounce any allegiance

"There is nothing to be released is due to mounting pressure. The Government sooner or later it had to meet," said Sisulu

All the men emphasised they they deemed fit - which could ling abroad, addressing rallies positions in the MDM

But Mkwayi explained th lists do not intend taking over ership positions in anti-apar-

## EDUCATION AID PROGRAMME (EAP)

The Education Aid Programme announces the closing date for its 1990 Bursary Programme. Students who qualify in terms of the selection criteria and wish to apply for a bursary in 1990, should do so not later than 31 October, 1989. Late applications will not be considered. EAP bursaries are available for teacher training and upgrading, technical and vocational training, academic support and university study.

### SELECTION CRITERIA

In the process of selecting EAP bursary holders, the following will be considered:

#### 1. Affirmative Action Policy:

The screening committee will strive to redress historical imbalances and will work towards a ratio of 60% rural, 40% urban, and 60% female, 40% male students. It is further acknowledged that the African community is the most deprived and disadvantaged, therefore, in the allocation of bursaries, this factor will be considered.

#### 2. Human Resource Needs:

By  
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# First seven days of



ANCENI - MK commander.



ELIAS MOTSOALEDI - MK command



WILTON MKWAYI - MK member.



JAPHTA MASEMOLA - PAC member.

hour interview at the Holy Church in Orlando West by the National Reception It brought the five leaders to the first time since their "well" conference last Sunday of the men were still committed and ideals which sent them the use of armed struggle stages leading to our re- President PW Botha set renuncia- as a pre-condition But we violence" was reiterated by Mlangeni has not freed our people is no black man who is free or is making process We will we have achieved our goal" said the freedom the men went not just for black people need freedom too If I have to go for this belief, I will go" said they were impressed by in the township, espe-

cially among the youth, and praised the work of the Mass Democratic Movement "I am greatly impressed by the quality of leaders and the standard of organisation I find this spirit inspiring," said Sisulu "When we were imprisoned the movement was small Since then it has grown beyond our wildest expectations I am awed by the political consciousness displayed by the people," said Kathrada The men said they did not owe the Government any allegiance "There is nothing to be grateful for Our release is due to mounting international pressure The Government realised that sooner or later it had to meet the ANC," said Sisulu All the men emphasised they would act as they deemed fit - which could entail travelling abroad, addressing rallies or occupying positions in the MDM But Mkwayi explained that the ex-traitors do not intend taking over existing leadership positions in anti-apartheid structures

"There is no way we shall take up positions in existing organisations unless told to do so by the organisations themselves" The men have been in touch with ANC leadership in Lusaka, and Kathrada has even received a telephone call from Joe Slovo, the Communist Party chief who has been a close friend since the 1940s On the possibility of talks with the Government, Sisulu said the Government should speak to the ANC "However, I do not foresee a refusal to talk about talks," he added The leadership style of State President FW de Klerk was welcomed "His style is intellectual and he speaks in softer language There is little doubt he wants to change but he has to tread softly as he is scared of his own people," said Mkwayi Sisulu said the rightwing and the AWB, among other factors, had bogged down De Klerk's reform plans Mkwayi added that whites should not

make the mistake of thinking blacks don't want them in South Africa "We have to live together to build this country" Sisulu said he has committed himself to helping whites see this truth and praised the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa for its work I am committed to eradicating Afrikaner fear and to bridging the gap of mistrust. I consider it my primary duty to enlighten every South African "I have nothing but praise for the work done by Idasa to bring our people together The process of separateness must be abolished" On the question of constitutional protection for whites, Sisulu said the Bill of Rights outlined in the Freedom Charter was enough "The Charter provides all individuals with sufficient protection Group rights have been emphasised too much by Afrikaners As a result they lack confidence in true democracy because they have no history and experience of it"

## TIME (EAP)

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## PAC are 'blood tigers'

By SOL MORATH

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Africa at the time of his release last Sunday, said the PAC were no paper tigers "The PAC is still very active and alive They are blood tigers, and will remain so until the South African government shows a change of heart," he said Masebola, who was sentenced to life for sabotage in 1963, said while he was happy to be outside prison, he felt he had not attained the freedom he had set out to achieve before he was jailed He said his path forward was "of applying all my might to achieve my objectives which resulted

in my life sentence 2x years ago" "Otherwise I would have gone to jail in vain if I do not pursue my aims and objectives while I have the opportunity to do so "I have spent many long years of hell in prison So I cannot afford to look back and remain idle" Masebola entered politics when he joined the ANC Youth League in the early 1950s and helped establish various structures of the organisation in Atteridgeville At the time the Youth League was intent on set-

ting the ANC on a more confrontational road with the authorities He then rose through the ranks of the league and was soon aligned with the Youth League of the PAC when the organisation split from the ANC in 1959 After the PAC was outlawed in 1960, he was assigned the task of forming the PAC's military wing, Poqo He still believes he was unjustly sentenced "The sentence did not warrant the gravity of the charges we were convicted for," he said



Archbishop Desmond Tutu with Walter Sisulu at a reception yesterday.

# ANC leaders to speak

*City Press 22/10/89*  
SOUTH Africa's first ANC rally in 30 years takes place next Sunday at the First National Stadium, Crown Mines

The rally, announced yesterday by the National Reception Committee, begins at noon and will be the first public meeting of the ANC in nearly 30 years, writes SANDILE MEMELA.

Almost all the released ANC leaders, including restricted Govan Mbeki of Port Elizabeth, are expected to speak

According to Murphy Morobe of the NRC, the ANC leaders will give the organisation's "official" viewpoint on

major issues - including negotiations, the peace process in Natal, the education crisis, the Labour Relations Act and the role of the ANC and the MDM

Morobe hinted the rally could also signal the dawn of a new era of closer alignment between the ANC and PAC

The NRC has called on the thousands expected to attend the gathering to observe discipline and order

And, an application has been lodged for the easing of Mbeki's restrictions. If successful, it is hoped he will fly to Johannesburg with Oscar Mpetha, Raymond Mhlaba and Harry Gwala.

CP Correspondent.

# Trickery in poll claim by Dobson

THE South African government has gone to extraordinary lengths to convince the world of a split in the South West African People's Organisation and of the fairness of the independence election in Namibia next month, it was claimed in London yesterday

The measures were described by Susan Dobson, who fled to London recently after nine years undercover work for the ANC in Pretoria and the Namibian capital, Windhoek

Dobson was employed for some time by the SA Bureau of Information

An ANC official, now in London, said she fed them with valuable material. Her husband, Peter, a computer specialist, said he was able to pass on the details of command and control systems being devised by the SADF.

She said, "It became clear that South Africa was trying, on a consistent basis, to subvert the electoral processes"

Dobson said the Bureau of Information's instructions were to pro-

mote South Africa's image as a peacemaker in Namibia, to "exploit" alleged splits in the Swapo leadership, to "smear" UN officials in Namibia; to publicise parties other than Swapo in the election, to exploit allegations that Swapo had tortured people and to promote the image of the South Africa's administrator general as "fair and in control of the situation"

Dobson said that all the time she was passing on information to the ANC. Three weeks ago, while still in Namibia, she was told by the ANC to leave immediately, as there were signs that her role as an agent, had been uncovered.

■ Meanwhile a Solidar-

ity Committee in the Transvaal will be hosting a concert for a free Namibia in conjunction with Swapo

This will be held today from 10 00 at the Flower Hall, West Campus, Wits University

John Pandeni, General Secretary of the Namibia Food and Allied Workers Union, will be the guest speaker. Albertina Sisulu and Eliza Barayi will also address the concert.

The performers will include Sipho 'Hotstix' Mabusa, Sakhile and Bayete, Blondie and his African Youth Band

All are welcome. A R5 entrance fee will be charged which will be donated to Swapo

City Press 22/10/89

MIA



# No favour, says ANC

*City Press 22/10/89*

## Ball in De Klerk's court, says Sisulu

He and his former fellow ANC political prisoners had all agreed the door was open for talks but that "the ball is in the government's court".

Although he had publicly said State President FW de Klerk's promises of reform had the familiar ring of his predecessor's delaying tactics, he and his colleagues had never-

theless expressed optimism about the "bright future of a South Africa for all".

Sisulu said he was impressed with the new attitudes among whites particularly the "Africaner youth".

"Only by looking at things differently can the problem in South Africa be resolved and this does not depend on politicians alone."

"When people are right in contact with each other, when there is no interference then they do really know each other."

"They don't understand the fears of each other, so these fears become exaggerated."

"We have no wish to drive the whites into the sea. This is their country too. All we are asking is the same political rights they already enjoy."

Sophie Tema  
AN oppressed people cannot give up protest in the hope that their rulers would magnanimously grant their demands, former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu said on Thursday.

"No Africaner in our position would ever consider that a solution."

The government had no intention to change the fundamentals of racial domination and inequality, the statement said.

"Apartheid, in all its manifestations, is still in place" - ANO

By creating an atmosphere of high expectations, De Klerk had tried to turn this defeat into an offensive to defuse the militancy and defiance of the people.

However, Pretoria had done the masses no favour by releasing seven of their leaders. Mass defiance coupled with international pressure had forced State President FW de Klerk "to open the prison gates".

By creating an atmosphere of high expectations, De Klerk had tried to turn this defeat into an offensive to defuse the militancy and defiance of the people.

## Released Jeff welcomed by PAC

The message says the African masses still yearn for their freedom.

"They want to manage their own affairs in their country of birth."

"The PAC of Azania will honour its appointment with history of becoming a vehicle for the liberation of Africans" - ANO

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President FW de Klerk.



Jeff Masemola

THE PAN-Africanist Congress (PAC) headquarters in the Tanzanian capital Dar-es-Salaam has sent a message of welcome to the just-released Jeff Masemola, in Atteridgeville, Pretoria.

He was South Africa's longest serving political prisoner.

Masemola was released on Sunday together with seven political stalwarts of the African National Congress, including the organisation's former secretary general, Walter Sisulu.

In its message the PAC says it is a pity the movement has to welcome Masemola home before the objectives "for which you were imprisoned for" have been realised.

"It is also a pity that we welcome you back to a wider prison - racist South Africa."

"Things are now worse than they were in 1963," reads the message.

This was the year when Masemola was sentenced to life imprisonment for conspiring to commit acts of sabotage and overthrowing the government by violent means.

"Azania has lost more in men and property (since then) - although the oppressed and exploited African masses are still determined to make the supreme and final sacrifice."

The message says the African masses still yearn for their freedom.

"They want to manage their own affairs in their country of birth."

"The PAC of Azania will honour its appointment with history of becoming a vehicle for the liberation of Africans" - ANO

# Freedom of Stanger for Luthuli 22 years late

g2/11/89

SAK  
STP  
PMS

By SIBU MNGADI

**CHIEF** Albert John Luthuli was prevented in 1964 by the then Justice Minister John Vorster from entering Stanger on Natal's north coast.

On Friday about 10 000 people conferred the "freedom of Stanger" on him 22 years after his death.

Luthuli - school teacher, farmer, lay preacher, and last ANC president before it was banned in 1961 - was banished, and jailed for his political ac-

## 10 000 march

But internationally, he was revered and awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, becoming the first South African to receive it.

In a wheelchair, Luthuli's widow Nokukhanya led the march down Stanger's main street - Couper Street - which

was informally renamed after Luthuli on Friday. Ten paces behind her Winnie Mandela linked arms with a number of local clergy and civic, political and business leaders.

The procession moved through the centre of the town to the sports ground where Winnie Mandela and other speakers paid tribute to Luthuli.

An advocate of passive resistance, economic sanctions and an opponent of the homeland system, Luthuli was stripped

of his chieftainship of the Amakholwa clan at Grootville outside Stanger for his ANC activities.

The government told him to choose between the ANC presidency and his chieftainship. He said his people had elected him to both positions and only his people could tell him to step down.

In the fifties he was charged with 153 people in a treason trial which lasted four years. The government banished him to Grootville,

60km north of Durban, where he spent the last nine years of his life under severe restrictions.

Twenty-five years ago Luthuli issued a statement after sentencing in the Rivonia trial, saying the traitors consistently chose the path of reason, but all avenues of resistance had been closed by the government.

On July 21, 1967, Luthuli was knocked down and killed by a train as he crossed an Umvoti River railway bridge.

Albert Luthuli, banned, jailed... and honoured.



# Methodist cleric <sup>CME</sup> <sup>Trends</sup> <sup>23/10/59</sup> in stand <sup>11/1/59</sup> over flag in march

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A Grahamstown Methodist cleric, the Rev Donald Cragg, refused "to stand in front of" South African Communist Party banners during the Mass Democratic Movement's protest march through the city on Saturday

Dr Cragg's stand took place during the march by about 12 000 people from Joza township to the city hall

The march, by people of all races, was the second defiance campaign march in the city since the government's new-style approach to dealing with extra-parliamentary opposition

Unlike similar marches in other centres, however, the procession was marked by a heavy police presence throughout the route and a cold shoulder from municipal and business leaders.

The crowds which lined the route included businessmen who had closed their shops early, judges and white school-children.

Marshalls succeeded in persuading the crowd to temporarily fold the SACP flags, after Dr Cragg asked that they be removed.

Four community leaders then handed petitions addressed to the district commandant, the security police commander, chamber of commerce and city council to the local police station commander

# Rally a first in thirty years

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

11A  
Corrected  
23/10/89



One of the executive wife, Mponeng, were

THE Government's sanction of a political rally next Sunday to welcome back the seven ANC prisoners released last week is the first of its kind in almost 30 years

And an application has been made to have the restrictions relaxed on former national chairman of the ANC, Mr Govan Mbeki to enable him to come from Port Elizabeth to attend the rally

The rally will be held at Soccer City in Crown Mines next Sunday

"The time has come for the leaders to address the nation on the major issues of the day

"They will cover a wide variety of topics, from negotiations through to the peace initiative in Natal and many other current issues under debate," the general secretary for the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said on Saturday

## Approved

"The National Reception Committee informed the State President, the Minister of Justice, the Chief Magistrate and the Chief of Police about the rally, but did not request their permission," publicity spokesman for the MDM Mr Murphy Morobe said yesterday

A statement from the Department of Justice on Friday said the rally had been approved by the Chief Magistrate

"This will be the first rally of leaders of the African National Congress in nearly 30 years," Morobe said

"A further application has been made to have Mbeki's restriction orders rescinded and we expect the government to lift not only his restriction orders but those of all restrictionees," Ramaphosa said

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# A celebration of exploitation

...ready thousands of rands have been squandered on newspaper and television advertisements to glorify the supposed economic wonder performed by the Chamber of Mines.

But, earlier this year, the Chamber refused to increase miners' wages because, it said, it could not afford to do so.

The mine owners paint a grossly distorted picture of the role of the mining industry in South Africa's economy. But, of course, it is inherent in the class character of apartheid society that owners of mines, like all proprietors, will see our real conditions of life through profit-tinted spectacles.

For black miners, the 100th anniversary of the Chamber of Mines means the commemoration of millions who, under the Chamber to make a tiny white minority of millionaires richer. The Land Act of 1913 formalised the forcible seizure of land from the African people, forcing them to depend on white owners of land, mines, factories and finance houses for obtaining the means to support life.

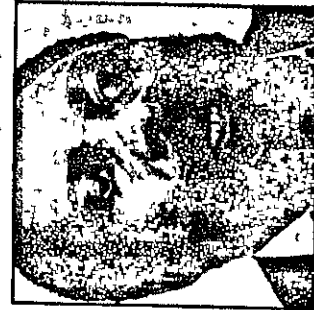
This year marks the centenary of the Chamber of Mines. In an article first published in the Sowetan, **CYRIL RAMAPHOSA**, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, explains his organisation's reaction to the centenary celebrations.

Mineworkers are reduced by the system to mere objects that supply labour, only to be identified by the numbers printed on their plastic bracelets. As if this was not enough, special mine identity cards serve as pass books for workers moving in and out of mines.

This vicious system of control extends to the miners' own rooms where management-appointed tsibondas monitor workers' activities. *Indunas* appointed by bosses watch the whole process with the help of the paramilitary forces deployed.

These private armies have vast amounts of ammunition at their disposal from armoured personnel carriers to hippos, a dog squad, rifles, teargas, batons, anti-riot shields and horses.

Since its inauguration, the Chamber



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary.

workers get free accommodation and food, which constitutes payment in kind. But single sex, overcrowded compounds and inadequate food cannot be considered payment in kind.

As early as 1911, white miners were earning eleven times more than their black counterparts. This wage gap increased until, in the '70s, whites were 20 times higher than blacks' wages.

After 100 years, the Chamber of Mines is still firmly committed to this starvation policy. Black miners' wages are among the lowest in the whole South African economy.

The average monthly wage of a black miner is R500, while white counterparts earn R3 000 on average — six times more.

At Vaal Reefs, one of the richest gold mines, the highest-paid miner earns R10 375 a month, while black miners still earn R318 a month.

This year, the Chamber refused to pay miners a minimum monthly wage of R543. But in all the major mining industries of the world, miners earn more than workers in other industries, because of the hard and dangerous underground work.

In South Africa, this principle applies only to whites. Most whites on the mines earn more than the R2 618 average of their counterparts in manufacturing. But for blacks, all the main poverty datum lines are far above the Chamber wages.

In the 1980s, NUM has taken up the legacy of the African Mine Workers' Union to harness miners' militancy.

For black miners, the word 'Chamber' is synonymous with mass retrenchments, assaults on workers by mine security, banning of union meetings, forcing mineworkers to work in unsafe places practising racial discrimination, housing in over-crowded compounds and encouraging tribalism and ethnicity.

In 100 years, the Chamber has rendered a million miners permanently disabled. Over 65 000 have been killed at work and hundreds of thousands have perished from diseases contracted on the mines.

The miners have nothing to celebrate — they must redouble their efforts in fighting mine repression and exploitation. The national democratic struggle to end apartheid and its foundation of monopoly capitalism remains the only route for us to end our misery.

of Mines has been committed to the realisation of huge profits at the expense of black mineworkers.

Chamber executives try to justify this policy of poverty wages by falsely claiming that black miners work to augment what they get from subsistence farming in the bantustans.

Another false claim is that mine-

on mines where the ore bodies are found in isolated areas. They will continue to have a place in South Africa. But the industry is moving away from the majority labour system with the progressive introduction of family housing and home ownership schemes, while hostel conditions are being upgraded.

South Africa has more than 90 percent of the free world's manganese and platinum ores over 70 percent of its vanadium and chrome ores and a rich variety of other minerals including coal.

But gold is the basis of its mineral wealth, buried deep in narrow, broken seams embedded in the hardest rock known to man. The result is an underground environment unique in the mining world and men who meet the challenge daily with unmovable technology.

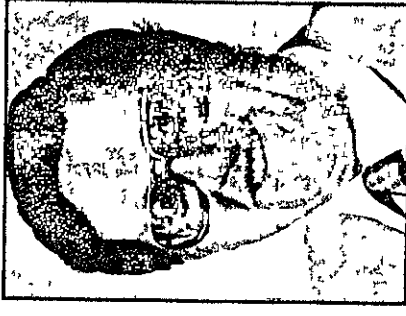
South African mining employs nearly 750 000 people. It pays some R8 million in wages, produces nearly 70 percent of foreign currency earned by exports and contributes about R4.3 million in taxes. R10 billion is spent annually on fossil goods and services.

The industry has promoted the development of road and rail networks, power stations and educational institutions.

This is not the enrichment of the few but national development.

There is much to celebrate.

# A tribute to miners and national development



Mr Tom Main, Chief Executive of the Chamber of Mines

**TOM MAIN**, the Chief Executive of the Chamber of Mines, replies.

It is designed to correct. Secondly, with all its pioneering spirit, South Africa's mining industry is by any standards anywhere an illustration of enormous achievement. To paint it smaller is to underrate the contribution of the men from the four corners of the sub-continent who have laboured together to create an industrial revolution and tradition that has changed the face of this part of Africa forever.

In the course of its history, the industry has provided employment for an estimated 10 million black workers. Their labour did not make them rich but provided an economic lifeline for some of the poorest areas of South Africa and the surrounding region.

In the last decade, the industry's opposition to apartheid has been expressed frequently and effectively. Today there are about 5 000 blacks in the industry in jobs previously reserved for whites and employment is on the basis of equal pay for equal work.

Over the years, the industry has been a leader in the health care of its workers, bringing in international experts and helping to found the South African

Institute of Medical Research to eradicate the lung disease of the past. The best possible treatment is afforded through clinics and specialist hospitals.

Nowhere in Africa has as much been done in identifying AIDS and in setting up monitoring and counselling systems. Single-sex hostels exist the world over.

The National Union of Mineworkers, born partly through the representations of the Chamber of Mines to the Wilhelm Commission a decade ago, now chooses the Chamber's centenary to attack it and the industry it represents.

From his opening paragraphs to the broadside distortions and confuses the facts.

The centenary at issue is focused on the Chamber as a service organisation, not on the industry which pre-dates it. The current advertising campaign on television does not glorify the Chamber but pays tribute to the miners, many of whom today die members of NUM. The Chamber did not refuse to increase mineworkers' wages this year, but negotiated increases of 13-21.5 percent.

There is no distinction between black and white wages but between skilled and unskilled. Capitalism is not apartheid's foundation but the economic system which has helped crack that foundation.

To pursue a point-by-point rebuttal of Mr Ramaphosa's rhetoric would be tedious and unproductive. There are essentially two observations to be made.

Firstly, Mr Ramaphosa appears to have missed the new direction of politics in South Africa, preferring to cling to the doctrine of irreconcilable conflict and a "revisionist" view of history which is as narrow and misleading as the view



# Call on West to support holding of MDM indaba

11A  
Stev  
23/9/89

## PAT DEVEREAUX

LEADERS of the Mass Democratic Movement have challenged Western governments to use their influence to ensure that a conference which plans to bring together a broad alliance of anti-apartheid groups in the country scheduled for December is not banned by the Government.

The proposed "Conference for a Democratic Future" (CDF), which was scheduled for October 7, was this week postponed to December.

According to senior United Democratic Front sources the conference plans to map out the most effective route to ending apartheid in this country. It was discussed at recent meetings with US President Bush and British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

However, two senior UDF members, the national chairman, Mr Curnick Ndlovo, and a national executive member, Mr Titus Mofolo, who met President Bush, have since been detained.

## Met ambassador

Recently members of the CDF convening committee met for more than an hour with the new US ambassador to South Africa, Mr William Swing, to discuss the conference and other developments in the anti-apartheid political arena.

The ambassador has apparently agreed to exert diplomatic pressure on the Government to prevent a possible banning. Other embassies will also be approached by the CDF committee for their support.

The conference is likely to attract diverse anti-apartheid forces and will be an important arena for debate on the question of negotiations.

"President Bush made it clear to us that they have abandoned constructive engagement with the National Party Government. Instead he and Mrs Thatcher are pressurising for Mr Nelson Mandela's release and negotiations," said Mr Mofolo prior to his detention.

## Official position

"Mrs Thatcher told us that the official British position was that of the Eminent Persons Group, which mooted certain conditions including the abolishment of all apartheid laws and the release of Mandela before negotiations could begin," he said.

"In the light of our meetings with Mr Bush and Mrs Thatcher my view is that the South African Government will be forced to allow the conference to go ahead," said Mr Mofolo.

Major points expected to be raised at the conference include

The institution of one person one vote in a united South Africa; the lifting of the State of Emergency; the release of all political prisoners; the unbanning of all banned organisations, the lifting of repressive legislation including the achievement of a free press, and the securing of a living wage for all.

# Mpetha to meet with ANC pals

Sowetan 28/10/89

OSCAR Mpetha, president of the African National Congress in the Western Cape, arrives in Johannesburg today to meet with the six other ANC members released with him from different prisons a week ago

He made this announcement on Saturday from his Nyanga home where he told supporters that it would not be long before Nelson Mandela was freed from prison

The healthy looking Mpetha said that pressure had to be exerted on the government to release Mandela

"Personally I think it won't be long before Mandela is released," he said

## SOWETAN Correspondent

Wearing a red Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) sweater and a khaki cap, the eighty year old Mpetha said, "life is fine and my health is sound

"On Monday I'm going to Johannesburg for a meeting."

Asked if he was still a members of the ANC, he said "Off course, I'm the Cape Town president"

Embarrassment was nowhere in sight when he recounted how he learnt to knit while serving his five-year sentence

# Prophecy comes true for Albertina

By Sefako Nyaka

On Mrs Albertina Sisulu's 71st birthday last October, the wife of one of the Rivonia accused, Mrs June Mlangeni, told her it would be her last birthday without her husband at her side.

On Saturday the "prophecy", as Mrs Sisulu calls it, came true. Mr Walter Sisulu was with her to celebrate her 72nd birthday.

Said a beaming Mr Sisulu. "To be with Mama on her birthday is tremendous. She is also a tremendous woman. She has done things which are unbelievable. She looked after the children and raised them in a way that I would not have done."

The Sisulus were joined at an impromptu celebration by Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsaedi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

Also present was Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who flew in from Cape Town on his way to Egypt, and South African Council of Churches secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane. They were joined by members of the National Reception Committee, relatives and well-wishers.

## INSPIRATION

Archbishop Tutu told a hurriedly arranged press conference that he and other church leaders had come to the Sisulu house to say "thank you to God for the release of the leaders, to say thank you to God for the inspiration that they have been and to say thank you to God for the sacrifice the leaders made on behalf of our people

"For me it's an incredible thing to be with the leaders today I had to pinch them to make sure they are real. We are happy that they are here today because we have been praying, struggling and agitating for their release"

He said he hoped the release would relieve churchmen from doing some of the things they were compelled to do while they were incarcerated.

Retorted Mr Sisulu. "Archbishop Tutu, Mr Chikane and other church leaders do not have my permission to relax. They have done a wonderful job and I want to see them continue with the good work"

He said the ANC leadership, recently released from prison, was in high spirits because of the good work done by the SACC and other church bodies.

"For a number of years we were merely existing, but there came a time when we knew we were alive. We thank them for that and hope we will continue to work with them as a team," Mr Sisulu said.

Reacting to President de Klerk's speech at the opening of the National Party congress in Pretoria, in which he said he needed an assurance that there would be no continuation of violence if he lifted the state of emergency, Mr Sisulu said the people believed in peace and the onus was on the Government to pave the way to peace.

On Mr de Klerk's statement that there should be no international meddling, Mr Sisulu said the situation in South Africa concerned humanity and that it was the Government that turned it into an international one.

# Spreading brotherhood of man to the world

"THE soul has to find and hold its ground against hostile forces, sometimes embodied in ideas which frequently deny its very existence, and which indeed often seem to be trying to annul it altogether."

Poets and novelists will never be the legislators and teachers of mankind. That poets and artists should give new eyes to human beings, inducing them to view the world differently, converting them from fixed modes of experience, is ambition enough, if one must offer a purposive account of the artist's project. What makes that project singularly difficult is the disheartening expansion of trained ignorance and bad thought."

"I use these quotes as a launching pad to what I consider the most profound 12 months of my entire 49 years living under the rule or misrule of the National Party."

"In just over 12 months there has been such a dramatic change in my life and my work that it is impossible in one speech to 'describe' the experience. I would hazard to suggest that skilled in writing impressionistically, I would have loved to make this a personal page of the book of my life."

It is almost one year to the day that we publicly launched "the Nation Building idea in a speech I made at Shareworld - a speech that was in retrospect rather emotionally charged and in many ways not very specific."

But it was a good speech, in fact I will go further to say a damn good one, perhaps because the idea was still fresh; and the innovativeness about it excited me thoroughly.

The concept took lots of turns and twists to crystallise itself. Then I hit the stride and said and did many things that made me both controversial and an overnight celebrity.

I became a bit of a romantic, a pain in the neck, and if I have to be kind to myself - most idealistic. While I have been crucified and at the same time lionised, I still feel superbly confident about Nation Building.

I had to make a few corrections to take the blush, if you like, from the tone and spirit of that inaugural speech. I had somewhat rashly said things like Nation Building was apolitical, an as-

"A piece of writing is an offering. You bring it to the altar and hope it will be accepted. You pray at least rejection will not throw you into a rage and turn you into a Cain. Perhaps naively, you produce your favourite treasures and pile them in an indiscriminate heap. Those who do not recognise their value now may do so later. And you do not always feel that you are writing for any of your contemporaries. It may well be that your true readers are not here as yet and that your books will cause them to materialise." Saul Bellow's foreword to Dr Allan Bloom's book: *Closing of the American Mind* (A Simon and Schuster Inc publication, 1987).

sertion that is plain silly. But words are dangerous, if I take Saul Bellow's words to heart.

Words are particularly dangerous in South Africa for among other ridiculous misconceptions its politics is made the synonym of ideology. I have had a most interesting series of discussions with a rather close friend of mine who has his own ideological stance. Not only that, but he also believes his is perhaps the only solution to our complex problems, social, economic and particularly political.

He is not, sadly, the only thinker with this unfortunate view. He is almost religious in his conviction which is not overly smart as he upsets others.

## Fear

I fear I have become almost like him in my exposition of Nation Building but I try hard to be modest, to be open to criticism and direction. I have said, and I repeat, that while the vision behind Nation Building is solid, it is not the total solution to our problems. And if I must repeat for the hundredth time, it is not original.

My friend has tried, and I am afraid failed to make me use his ideological programme to overlay my initiative. I respect the man but I feel very strongly that the best way to kill the idea is to nail it to an ideological flag.

I was attacked at one meeting, and in fact the most memorable point from that humbling experience was the almost passionate assertion that Nation Building should be given an ideological hue. Any ideological plank, to make it acceptable, respectable and relevant.

I tend to think in my own romantic way that ideological thinking has caused the problems of the 19th and 20th



ON  
THE  
LINE

Aggrey  
Klaaste

centuries. In any case I feel professionally proud that *Sowetan* is trying to uphold the sacred tenets of journalists to assume an objectivity which is plainly unassailable under normal conditions and impossible in South Africa.

As we are not trying to be actors in the ideological battle for a place in the power struggle and as my staff on the newspaper reflects the ideological diversity that is in this country, it would be suicidal to go that route. It also would not make sense in business terms.

*Sowetan*, it is my humble submission, is doing what all sensible people, decent people should be striving to do for unity for one country. We have provided a neutral language to build structures that could help each and every initiative be it political or otherwise. Our aim is to be more effective in their work. The message is as simple as that.

We are trying to supply the ammunition to people in all walks of life to become actors in the various events that would in combination make this a non-racial democratic country.

We have identified the problem. The problem is what should be the foundation of this country, and you could give that any ideological tag of your liking, is in a serious state of disrepair. Everybody knows that the black communities are the majority,

slavishly following the ideas of a single man or even a group of men, no matter how brilliant their notion may be. The mega trends in today's world have shown this rather dramatically in the last five years. Even the Sov-

ernment which is inevitable. The problem is obviously how to get that crucial job done. I have quoted in most of my talks the manner in which the Afrikaners built their nation, the *volk*. I have quoted how the brilliant young black man Steve Biko, who was killed for being original, saw the way through this problem I have in all modesty struck a new note, a route that will lessen the fears in the hearts of whites, coloureds and Indian South Africans while building a strong black nation.

It seems to me the only sensible way. It can luckily also only be done by an organ that does not consume itself with the bad thoughts of the past, an organ that refuses to encumber itself with an ideological baggage that it might have to defend with its life.

So I refuse to call Nation Building "scientific", or anything else. The modern world, I would hope, is no longer forced to subject itself to

let Union is leading the world in junking very dearly held ideological or philosophical positions to make their products work.

The world, because of the spread of information and its lightning availability, has become pragmatic. I suspect the Japanese became aware of this after Hiroshima.

● To page 10

**Health call by Namda ANC**  
HARARE *Off 7445 25/11/85*  
The National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa (Namda) and the health department of the ANC ended a three-day meeting in Harare yesterday with a call for united action against South Africa by health organisations and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).  
A joint statement issued by Namda and the ANC at the end of the meeting said the struggle for an equitable health system in SA could not be isolated from the struggle for national liberation.  
The declaration was originally drafted by the ANC and has been adopted by the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement.  
It also reaffirmed "the central role of Namda in organising doctors and dentists for an equitable health system in SA."

# Mpetha spells out ANC stance on armed struggle

ARGLS  
23/10/89

11A

## Staff Reporters

THE armed struggle in South Africa should continue as long as the government remained fully armed, said Mr Oscar Mpetha, president of the African National Congress in the Western Cape

He addressed about 8 000 people in chilly conditions at Nyanga Stadium yesterday in his first rally since he and seven other political prisoners were freed from prison a week ago.

The rally was almost an ANC old boys' reunion, with members who held positions in the Western Cape before the organisation was outlawed in 1960 attending, including former chairman Mr Gordon Sidimile, former secretary-general Mr Zolile Malindi, and Mr Christmas Tinto.

Mr Mpetha called on President F W de Klerk to recognise the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, as the army of the people, release all political prisoners, unban the ANC and other organisations, and release all the people in jail who belonged to those organisations.

### ALLOW BACK EXILES

"He must allow back all those who fled into exile because they were harassed by the South African regime. Then only can he say. Mpetha and those leaders who were recently released, you can come and start talking

"While I am talking to you there are members of these organisations waiting to be hanged, awaiting trial on charges of being members of the ANC

"How can I speak to De Klerk when this is the case? He must release Comrade Nelson Mandela so he can address the people and it will be Comrade Nelson Mandela who will tell the people that F W de Klerk has washed his hands of the people.

"Then only will I go to De Klerk, with Comrade Nelson Mandela together with Oliver Tambo"

"The Press misquoted me as saying that I wanted to disarm the youth I never said such things

"I cannot at any stage, while the South African government is fully armed, tell the people's army to disarm"

1142 Sowetan 23/10/89

# Nation Building is holistic

FOCUS

Prominent Soweto academic Lebamang Sebidi, director of adult education at Funda Centre, gave the main address at a Nation Building banquet on Saturday night. Sebidi, who also studied in Rome, has masters degrees in education and philosophy. He is a member of the Soweto Peoples Delegation, an executive member of the Council for Black Education and Research, and is actively involved in resolving the crisis in black education.



Lebamang Sebidi, addressing the Nation Building banquet.

THERE has been quite a flurry of activity from all quarters since the Sowetan announced the launch of the Nation Building Week

Today and tomorrow represent a finale to those few memorable days during which we were exhorted, encouraged and morally coerced into taking the ball of Nation Building seriously and running with it

The essence of the message that was relayed this week was 'The power is in your hands! Stop wallowing in self-pity and begin to steer yourselves as Africans - instead of allowing yourselves just to drift along, completely at the mercy and whims of the "system"'

For instance today, in our residential areas, we literally wallow in filth and squalor because the "system" is unwilling to institute effective cleaning and garbage removal mechanisms. The implication is unless the "system" decides to do something about that filth, we are indeed doomed

I can almost hear somebody saying "I have always suspected it

Nation Building is only about garbage collecting and vegetable gardens, it is peripheral to the weightier matters that deal with "national issues", politics, economics, and so on"

My humble response to that is "Oh yes, Nation Building worries about the squalor and filth in which my people live, it is concerned about the lack of initiative on the part of people to set up their vegetable and flower gardens, their own cleaning mechanisms. It is worried about these little things because the exponents of Nation Building realise that if my people can operate effectively at this level, then they have a good chance to succeed at other levels pertaining to national matters

That having been said, I do not believe that vegetable gardens and garbage removals exhaust the content of Nation Building

The concept of Nation Building has a broad content historical, political as well as economic

Let us look briefly at each of these three elements in turn

Today we speak glibly about the French nation, the Italian nation, and the German nation but we forget that it was only in the last century that many of these nations completed the process of the national unification. Bismarck in Germany and Mazzini in Italy are national heroes who battled to move their people from a state of tribal fragmentation, as it were, to the ideal state of coherent nations

National states are new phenomena in the history of mankind. Between the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD and the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire in 1453 AD is a period of a 1000 years

## Split

During that period Europe was one only in theory. After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 AD it was split into a multiplicity of little pieces. Political authority was everywhere divided, dispersed and diffused. People were governed in little princedoms, feudal states or communes

It has been estimated that in France alone - a country which is so nationally cohesive today - the number of political units in the 10th century exceeded 10 000! Each town had its own laws, courts, army and customs

For reasons we cannot enter into now, the Europeans embarked on a heavy programme of nation building from around the 13th century to the 19th century

Now, to build South Africa/Azania into a coherent, effective, respectable nation may not take as long as the Europeans did. But it is certainly not an easy task

Almost 80 years ago, one of the moving spirits behind the formation of the African National Con-

gress, a Mr Pixley Ka-Isaka Seme, was highly conscious of this arduous task while at the same time convinced about the importance of moving away from our little fragmented clans or racial enclaves into something really big a nation

His plea for nation building was quite straightforward

He said "The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tsongas, between the Basotho and every other native must be buried and forgotten. We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today"

Pixley said this on October 24 1911. He knew we were not yet a nation. He knew we were fragmented. And, above all, he knew that unless we embarked on a strong, consistent programme of Nation Building, we were doomed

## Plea

"We are one people" Pixley reminded us. But that impassioned plea was more of a vision than a reality. It was a task to be undertaken

The exponents of Nation Building cannot be oblivious to the local and national dimensions of the people's political struggle

This is an important facet of Nation Building. Therefore, at all other levels of the Nation Building programme there must be an element of political

consciousness that enables the average person in the street to be aware of the national dimensions in our struggle. A Nation Building programme that is insulated from the strife, trauma and pains of a Walter Sisulu and a Zeph Mothopeng, is one that is incurably shallow

The Nation Building programme continually reminds its participants that while Sisulu and Mothopeng labour tirelessly to steer this country politically, the people should not be passive spectators. While Sisulu and Mothopeng are exercising their God-given talents at a high-profile level, there are other facets of the struggle which call for different talents. There is room in the struggle for all talents

For instance, it would be folly to wait until our political leaders have completed their tasks before educationists can sit down and draw up relevant curricula for a post-apartheid society

I am one of those people who believe that political power does have a causal relationship to economic power. We should learn from Africa north of us the struggle for political power cannot be isolated from painstaking preparations to economically empower the oppressed people.

But economic empowerment, like good educational programmes, does not happen instantaneously. It is a process

It is for this reason that the concept of Nation Building cautions people from harbouring negative attitudes towards the economic upliftment of individuals and groups in society. Our liberation should be total. It is political, social, cultural and economic

Thus well-planned programmes aimed at empowering the oppressed economically form part of the struggle for our total liberation

Nation Building is holistic. It leaves nothing to chance. It encompasses the whole field from garbage collecting to high-level politics.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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CAF 7-11-15 23/10/89 (111)

# ANC awaits govt move on talks

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The ANC said yesterday it had heard nothing official to suggest that the South African government had dropped its demand for an end to the "armed struggle" before agreeing to talks.

The Johannesburg Sunday Times, quoting "senior government sources", said the government would hold the ANC only to a commitment to a peaceful solution as a precursor to talks.

Yesterday senior sources close to the ANC executive said a suspension of the "armed struggle" could be achieved only in direct ceasefire talks with the government.

Responding to President F W de Klerk's weekend speech, the ANC sources said their policy on negotiation was well known to the president and the ball was in his court.

The ANC maintains its position that it, together with other "repressed majority groups" is prepared to enter initial negotiation with Pretoria, but only when the government has created the "suitable political climate".

Essential steps include the release of all political prisoners, an end to the state of emergency, no troops in the townships and the unbanning of all

# FW asks for positive signs so emergency can be lifted

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk has told anti-apartheid organisations it is up to them to create conditions that would allow lifting of the state of emergency and unbanning of organisations.

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal congress on Saturday, Mr De Klerk said it was the

representative opposition groups to take part in free political expression.

The sources said the position of the ANC executive remains firm that if Pretoria insists on the suspension or termination of the "armed struggle" — and they have heard nothing official to suggest a change — then government forces should offer an equal stand-down.

Thus, the sources said, required an agreed ceasefire or ceasefire negotiations preparatory to full negotiations on the country's future and a new constitution.

The source said the ANC executive was also critical of Mr De Klerk for saying that the government rejected the appointment of an internationally-sponsored interim government during settlement negotiations.

The source said the ANC had never proposed this.

The ANC policy document — drafted in consultation with the "internal" ANC including leaders like Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu — suggests the ANC and other representative opposition groups would have to reach agreement together with the government on a suitable interim

# Buthelezi: ANC wants to speak for all

JOHANNESBURG — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the ANC wants to portray itself as the sole representative of the country's blacks.

"I shudder to think what would happen to South Africa if we all stood aside and allowed only one black party to negotiate the future with the government," he said in a statement.



WELCOME... Mr Oscar Mpeha is helped to the platform at Nyanga Stadium yesterday by former Western Cape secretary-general, Mr Gordon Sidinile (left) and Mr Zoli Malindi, former ANC Western Cape secretary-general.

Picture: ERIC MILLER

# Sisulu: 'We want immediate change'

NEW YORK — Mr Walter Sisulu said in an interview published yesterday that he favoured immediate radical change over step-by-step reform to end apartheid in his country.

Mr Sisulu, released a week ago after serving 26 years of a life sentence for plotting to overthrow the government, told Time magazine "Until the government negotiates a new situation, including the end of violence, there is no way of stopping it".

Mr Sisulu's release was the first other

leading political prisoners was seen as a sign that President F W de Klerk is serious about his promises of reform.

"As long as he (Mr De Klerk) is beginning to recognise the voice of the people we do appreciate that," Mr Sisulu was quoted as saying. "But we don't want a step-by-step process. We want immediate radical change."

Mr Sisulu, 77, said he believed he would see black majority rule in his lifetime because of the "interim" transition

various forces internationally and at home.

South African opposition had matured, politically since he was imprisoned, the former ANC secretary-general said.

"What is new is the political consciousness, even in the ordinary kid in primary school. The quality of the young people who are now handling the situation is very high. When we were running things, we never reached that stage." — Sapa-Reuter

# Govt gives ANC rally go-ahead

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The government has given the go-ahead for a well-attended, come-home rally for the seven, recently-released ANC leaders in the new Soccer City stadium in Johannesburg on Sunday.

The organisers described the event as the first official ANC rally in 30 years.

The seven are expected to be released on Sunday.

Mpeha: 'I can't tell people to disarm yet'

By MARIUS BOSCH

UNLESS the government ordered the army and police to stop violence, he could not tell people to disarm themselves, released trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpeha said at what was virtually an ANC rally in Nyanga yesterday.

About 8 000 people — many clad in ANC colours — attended the welcoming rally for Mr Mpeha at the Nyanga stadium, where two huge ANC flags flew from the stadium's floodlights.

Mr Mpeha, who shared the platform with what was virtually the entire ANC executive in the Western Cape before the organisation's banning, delivered his speech while seated and flanked by an ANC banner and a red flag.

He told the crowd that he had been misquoted relaying a message from Mr Nelson Mandela as saying the youth should disarm themselves.

"Fully armed!"

"The SA regime is fully armed, must I tell the people's army to disarm? I cannot say to you, you must put your arms down," Mr Mpeha said.

Violence in the country had started when "the police and army started to shoot people", he said, adding that the government had not "stopped with violence".

"The graves are full of victims of the police."

Mr Mpeha said he was not prepared to speak to President F W de Klerk because "his (Mr De Klerk's) hands are bloodied".

Only after Mr De Klerk had unbanned the ANC, recognised Umkhonto!



government's goal to lift the state of emergency as soon as possible.

This would happen if the government could be sure that this was justified by the then-prevailing situation and it would not result in a return to unrest, he said.

If organisations which practised a policy of political violence were to give an indication, by word and deed, that these events would not recur, it would add to a more relaxed atmosphere in which the state of emergency could be lifted, Mr De Klerk said.

The government would aim to move away from the state of emergency gradually if it was found to be impossible to lift it in its entirety.

(The lifting of the state of emergency was one of the pre-conditions for negotiations put on the table by the seven ANC leaders released from prison.)

Another condition, the unbanning of organisations, would only be possible if there were positive pointers to support peaceful and democratic processes, Mr De Klerk said. All that was required of such organisations to participate freely in the political process was a commitment to peaceful solutions, which, naturally, excluded violence.

The government would like to see the leaders of all the political groupings that counted becoming involved in dialogue and negotiation, Mr De Klerk said.

"They hold the key to participation in their own hands," he said.

However, in an interview on Friday, Mr Walter Sisulu, one of the ANC released from prison recently, emphasised that the ANC should not be the only black movement to negotiate with Pretoria.

"We want the ban lifted so we can exchange views, discuss with other organisations," he said.

Mr Sisulu also said government preconditions to renounce violence were problematic.

"It is completely misleading to say violence must be abandoned," he said. "Violence is on both sides."

Mr Sisulu said South Africa's white minority had genuine reasons to fear the future.

"All I'm saying is that these (fears) are extremely exaggerated," he said. — Sapa

to address the rally on topics ranging from negotiation to peace initiatives in Natal.

MDM spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said the national reception committee informed the State President, the minister of justice, the chief magistrate and the chief of police about the rally, but did not request their permission.

The State President's office declined to comment on whether the decision was a de facto unbanning of the ANC.

we saw the military wing of the ANC as the army of the people, released all political prisoners, including Mr Mandela, and allowed exiles to return, would Mr Mandela tell South Africans that negotiations could start, Mr Mpepha said.

Several policemen watched the rally from the sandbagged roof of a nearby police station and a police helicopter circled the stadium before the start of the rally.

## MDM meets recently freed ANC members

By Stan Hlophe

A meeting between the recently released ANC members and representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement was held last night.

The three-hour meeting was held at the Funda Centre in Soweto to discuss major policy issues facing the country and the plans for the mass rally to be held at noon on Sunday at the First National Bank Stadium near Crown Mines.

It was attended by the seven ANC members and Mr Govan Mbeki, who was released from Robben Island in 1987.

In a statement released later, Mr Murphy Morobe, a member of the National Reception Committee, said. "One of the significant features of this meeting was the attendance of comrade Mbeki, who was reunited with the other members of our leadership.

"At the meeting perspectives were shared on the way forward. Our leaders will continue consultation with a broad range of forces including, and in particular, the ANC and PAC.

"Major policy issues will be addressed on Sunday at the welcome rally for the eight leaders released last week."

Mr Morobe said the eight leaders, including PAC leader Mr Jeff Masemola, as well as Mr Mbeki, would address the rally.

Mr Walter Sisulu, the former ANC secretary-general, will deliver the main speech.

The rally is expected to draw thousands of people from all over the country.

Stan 24/10/89

# ANC 9 IN

Soweto 24/10/89

11A

# SECRET

# TALKS

By THEMBA MOLEFE and Sapa

NINE African National Congress leaders, including the seven recently released from prison, held a private meeting with leaders from the Mass Democratic Movement in a community centre in Soweto yesterday.

A statement from the organisers of the meeting, the national reception committee, said the leadership of the organisations had decided to "continue consultations with a broad range of forces including, and in particular, the African National Congress"

## Rally

The talks were held just days before a major rally involving leaders of the exiled organisation is held inside the country for the first time in 30 years

It will be held at the First National Bank stadium on Sunday and was given the go ahead by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg following an application by the Mass



Mr Raymond Mhlaba (left) and Mr Govan Mbeki arrive at Jan Smuts Airport for the secret talks yesterday

## Leaders having indaba at home

Democratic Movement (MDM)

Mr Govan Mbeki, whose restrictions were temporarily lifted this week, flew in to Johannesburg from Port Elizabeth with Mr Raymond Mhlaba to attend the talks

Mhlaba was among the seven Rivonia trialists released after 26 years' imprisonment on October 15

Mbeki, former chairman of the ANC, had his restriction orders, imposed in 1986 on his release relaxed to attend

the meeting and the rally. Also at the talks was Mr Harry Gwala who was released from Robben Island last year

The Government on Sunday lifted his restrictions for one week

The brief statement last night said, an "in-depth exploration was made of the "way forward" during the meeting

Major policy issues will be addressed at the "welcome rally"

"In so far as the outcome of the commonwealth conference is

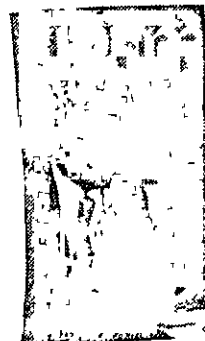
concerned the report is still being studied"

"It can nevertheless be mentioned that Mrs (Margaret) Thatcher's position, as gleaned from preliminary reports, does not coincide with ours," the statement said

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

## "Damel"

Mr J P Brum



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# The Star

## Groping towards the round table

THE MESSAGES are in code. The key lies in understanding that the Government and the ANC have recognised that they will have to talk to each other sooner or later. Outside pressure and internal reality will make it happen. They will also have to talk to many others.

The imperative for each now is to ensure a position of strength when the day comes. Jockeying comes even before talks-about-talks on the mined road to reconciliation.

President de Klerk presented a subtle but significant adaptation to the official stance on negotiation at the weekend. The ANC seemed to respond dismissively with a re-statement of its own known terms. Both sides claimed the ball was in the other's court. Is anyone getting closer?

We are a thousand miles from a mating dance, but the answer is probably yes. Decoded, and in context, the messages imply movement. The almost-unbanning of the ANC has already created a climate in which debate is thinkable. It is to be expected that this debate will start by emphasising standpoints, it is much too soon to look for concessions. But the important thing is that

the Government and the ANC are responding to each other rather than shouting into the darkness. It is a small straw.

President de Klerk's weekend statement offered a softer option to the ANC. Instead of having to renounce violence, the organisation need only commit itself to peaceful solutions. The problem is that the ANC sees violence as its bargaining counter. To abandon it now would be to weaken its position at the eventual round table. Thus it insists Pretoria must first comply with published ANC conditions.

The demand is not as onerous as it may seem. By releasing prisoners, acknowledging the ANC, allowing protest and lifting some bans, President de Klerk has taken considerable steps along this route.

So the parties grope towards the time when they can begin more substantive bargaining. It is a painful, risky process which can easily be interrupted. But because it is inevitable — and the only unknown is the degree of violence and penury along the way — ordinary South Africans are entitled to demand that both sides move faster, not slower. They will not lightly forgive foot-dragging for selfish interest.



24/10/89

# Major cancels ANC meeting

**KUALA LUMPUR.** — The ANC's attempts to hold discussions with British Foreign Secretary Mr John Major fell through yesterday when Britain insisted that the ANC first renounce violence

British sources told journalists Mr Major had agreed to meet ANC external affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, but the meeting was cancelled because Mr Mbeki apparently had no authority to renounce violence, reports Zimbabwe's Ziara news agency

Commonwealth leaders at their heads of state meeting at Kuala Lumpur said in a statement both

sides in the South African conflict had to suspend violence.

"It is agreed on all sides that the South African government and the authentic representatives of the majority of the population should come to the table prepared to negotiate the future of the country and its people in good faith, in an atmosphere free of violence from either side," the statement said.

Even Mrs Margaret Thatcher accepted this without reservation

Asked if the British government would in future deal with

Pretoria before it also renounced violence as was required of the ANC, the sources would only say Britain was standing by the Eminent Persons Group concept in terms of which the ANC and other groups had to enter negotiations and suspend violence.

The honorary secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Abdul Minty, described as shocking the British government's insistence that the ANC renounce violence when even President Mr FW de Klerk had not set such a pre-condition. — Sapa

# Call for action against SA

Secretary  
20/10/89

SA PRESS  
ASSOCIATION

(TIA) (20/10/89)

THE National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa (Namda) and the Health Department of the African National Congress ended a three-day meeting in Harare yesterday with a call for United action against South Africa by health organisations and the Mass Democratic Movement.

A joint statement issued by Namda and the ANC at the end of the meeting said the struggle for an equitable health system in South Africa could not be isolated from the struggle for national liberation, the National News Agency Zana reports.

"We recognise the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa in this struggle," the statement said.

It also reaffirmed "the central role of Namda in organising doctors and dentists for an equitable health system in South Africa" and urged all organisations involved in the struggle against apartheid to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

## Isolated

Apartheid health structures and the supporters of these structures should be isolated, while at the same time support should be given to health to health professionals and organisations actively committed to the eradication of apartheid, it said.

General political questions as well as specific health issues were discussed during the meeting, including the implications of negotiations with Pretoria.

"In this regard (negotiations) the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration should be the focus of discussion inside the country," the statement said.

The declaration was originally drafted by the ANC and has been adopted by the OAU and the 102-member non-aligned movement.

Forty Namda delegates from all over South Africa, including Namda president, Diliza Mji and South African Academy of Family Practice vice-president, Stanly Levenstein, travelled to Zimbabwe to take part in the meeting here with 20 ANC officials.

The ANC team included national executive committee members, Mr Henry Makgoti and Mr Steve Tshwete.

The statement said delegates rejected military conscription, supported the demands of the End Conscription Campaign and gave qualified support to community health services.

# ANC under pressure

11A

PRESIDENT de Klerk has presented the ANC with an interesting challenge. He has made the first moves to promote negotiation, which has rightly been judged the major priority of the moment. To that initiative the ANC, in a statement following the release of eight long-term prisoners, has responded by calling for more defiance, more violence and more sanctions.

In other words, the ANC chooses the tactic of interpreting the new Nationalist style as a sign of weakness, to be exploited to force an undignified retreat from power. It is a theory that may be more wishful thinking than fact. The fail-

ure of apartheid is not necessarily an indication of ANC strength, though it must affect the Nationalist approach to possible options. Removing obstacles appears to be the route to solving South Africa's main problem, but it should not create the illusion that the Government is unable to assert its power.

Yes 23/10/89

The climate has been created for a much more constructive role for all parties, including such a main player as the ANC. Where Mr de Klerk has made more than one gesture to ameliorate the climate for reform, the pressure is increasing on the ANC to do the same.

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Jay Naidoo, secretary-general of Cosatu and a delegate to the Natal peace talks, says Inkatha has insisted that the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) also attend the peace conference

# Inkatha wants PAC at talks

CAF TUE 23/10/89

114

Mr Naidoo accused Inkatha, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, of putting obstacles in the way of the conference

He said the demand that the Natal region of the PAC in exile, "an organisation that very few people know anything about" be included in the talks, was one of the obstacles

Other obstacles, said Mr Naidoo, included an insistence by Inkatha that ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo write a personal letter to Chief Buthelezi and that Inkatha be allowed the same number of delegates as the ANC, Cosatu, and UDF together. Meanwhile Hlangeni has become the latest "truce" area in the townships that surround Murrumbidgee and Durban

So far only the killings have stopped. The enmities still simmer.

Chief Bangubuthosi Makhosini of the Nyavu tribe and

Chief Zibusu Mlabu, leader of the Ximbas, head the two factions who since hostilities broke out three weeks ago have seen about 15 of their people killed, 50 houses burned and "many people hurt".

This emerged on Friday following a visit by the press who were taken 25km from the peaceful village of Camperdown to Hlangeni, which is in Kwazulu near Natal's Table Mountain. The media party were the guests of Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, co-ordinator of unrest control for the SAP in Natal, and a group of his senior officers. It's a story that has been told and re-told since the violence began near Murrumbidgee in September 1987 — a story of two tribes, one of whom, the Nyavu, backed Inkatha — the Ximbas follow the "neutral" role of Chief Mlabu. This time a dispute involving a private bus opera-

tor, whose vehicles covered the roads in the territory of these two tribes, allegedly caused the bloodshed and the burnings

Chief Mdluli, 55, who has led his people since 1961, maintains that Chief Mlabu's decision to close the road to buses in his territory, caused discontent which welled up into bloody fighting "Toy-toyis", he says darkly, "also caused a lot of the trouble"

"Toy-toyis" are young people who changed from the Nyavus to the Ximbas, and have "never come back"

Chief Mlabu tells it differently. The action of a single driver, who physically threw one of the young Ximbas off a bus, and the teenager's subsequent hospitalisation and then the alleged deliberate running-down of another young man, forced him to stop the buses from using roads in areas

occupied by his people, he says

He did so to prevent buses from being damaged and their drivers from being assaulted

Chief Mlabu — a young man who only took over the leadership of the Ximbas in February this year — is adamant that the buses won't run on his roads again till the operator, Mr Simwe Dlamini, sells out to a new owner

During the fighting, in what Brig Viljoen termed "one of our newest trouble spots", the two chiefs acknowledged "some real guns, others that were home-made, assegais, spears, knives, knobkerries, in fact any weapon that could be found", were used

And, in an adaptation of that old "better the devil you know" adage, they say they prefer the SAP to be in control of the place, which is part of Kwazulu, rather than the Kwazulu Police — Sapa

Cosatu



ANC recognises 'conciliatory' moves

# Inching towards peace

Argus 24/10/89 (11A)

The Argus Foreign Service and  
Africa News Service  
in Kuala Lumpur and Lusaka

THE African National Congress has recognised the recent moves taken by President De Klerk as encouraging steps which appeared to be "inching" towards finding a peaceful solution for South Africa.

A senior ANC spokesman described the National Party's weekend statements on possible talks with the banned organisation a "marginally" conciliatory step

Significantly, the spokesman said the ANC would be happy to take part in a constituent assembly to plan a new constitutional framework — a suggestion by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen

The spokesman said the ANC was sincerely committed to a peaceful solution in South Africa but accused the government of rhetoric "that has led us nowhere"

There was some doubt in ANC quarters, however, about the seriousness of the offer, which included a move by the government to drop its long-standing demand that the ANC formally renounce violence before talks could begin

National Party leaders had said they would talk to anyone who was looking for peaceful solutions

The ANC spokesman said the statements by Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen were mostly "a ploy to prepare the electorate now for certain things that have to happen. The government has to talk to the ANC and they have to lift the state of emergency."

He added "They have to..."

How FW sees the  
— way forward —

#### Political Staff

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — President F W de Klerk has given some idea of the way the Government sees the pace of change — over the next five years.

Amid growing international demands for a six-month deadline for drastic changes, Mr De Klerk told the National Party Free State congress these were the goals of the Government over the next five years:

- To get negotiations "off the ground",
- To "make progress" with the scrapping of discrimination;
- "At least to lay firm foundations for a new consti-

tutional dispensation" which protected group and individual rights without domination;

● To "open the door" to economic restoration and progress; and

● "To place the country firmly on the road" back to international involvement.

He forecast that the next five years would be a period of "orderly but still rather dramatic change" for South Africa. He could not promise a "tranquil term of calm consolidation".

Mr De Klerk said the NP's election mandate presented it with tremendous challenges. The next five years would have to be a dynamic period of action

**Quid pro quo**

He pointed out that the government had itself not offered to renounce violence "and there is a lot of 'on the one hand this, and on the other hand that

"They are saying 'We will lift the state of emergency for a quid pro quo' — which they know they are not going to get."

He said the joint ANC/OAU Harare Declaration spelled out clearly that the ANC wanted peaceful solutions and would negotiate once a certain climate had been created.

It was up to the government to create the climate by lifting the state of emergency and unbanning the ANC

Nevertheless, he said, there appeared to have been some movement on the part of the government

"They are inching towards something They just haven't arrived there yet"

Responding to Dr Viljoen's statement that participants in negotiations would be identified by special elections, details of which could themselves be negotiated, the spokesman said the ANC had no objection to this.

"The ANC has made impassioned overtures to every single government of South Africa, but in vain. Every manoeuvre by the movement for peace was met with a negative response and, at times, violence," the spokesman said

● The seven freed African National Congress members are considering applying for passports to travel to Lusaka for a reunion and talks with exiled ANC leaders

From his Soweto home Mr Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the ANC, said today that no date for the talks had been set

For each job category, fitting the above description, the table lists, alphabetically by determination/labour order, percentage wage changes, percent in the determinations amended, or in which deferred increases fell due, between April and June 1987. Refer to table 6 for a detailed explanation of column contents.

- ARTISANS -

WAGE SETTLEMENTS - THIRD QUARTER, 1987

Table 8

WAGE DETERMINATION MINIMUM WAGE RATES

# Poll for blacks likely

A GENERAL election for black people to choose their own team to sit at the negotiating table with Government is in the offing.

This idea is circulating in the National Party in the belief that it should be made clear to the African National Congress that they "are not the only pebbles on the beach".

The Government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gernt Viljoen, said at the National Party's Transvaal congress at the weekend that negotiations would be multiparite:

"It is a fundamental

misunderstanding that there are only two real opposing parties, namely the Government and the most extreme of the militant radical organisations," he said.

## Leaders

Dr Viljoen said Government had in principle accepted that black people should be entitled to appoint their representatives to the negotiating table by way of a special election. "The nature and

details of such an election must also, through negotiations beforehand, be found to be generally acceptable. Only in this way can it be determined with certainty which alleged leaders actually represent their communities."

Dr Viljoen said there were several important black parties and groups which had had the courage to submit themselves to democratic elections in the past in self-governing states and local councils. They had negotiated vigorously for years for reforms, and had produced results.

They had long ago enunciated preconditions

for negotiation which, nowadays, were the monopoly of extreme left radical groupings. They had produced results without becoming "passive puppets" as they were unfairly branded, Dr Viljoen said.

President de Klerk said his Government would not allow them to be elbowed out of the negotiating process.

"There is no single South Africa to that point, party or grouping that can lay claim to speak alone on behalf of black South Africans. All striving for peace should be given the chance to participate or, if negotiations brought South Africa to that point, to prove themselves democratically at the ballot box."

*Handwritten notes:*  
Sowetan  
24/10/89

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*Handwritten notes:*  
24/10/89  
Sowetan

# Freed ANC men talk strategy with MDM

*ANC Trip 24/10/89 11A*

JOHANNESBURG — The seven released ANC political prisoners and former ANC national chairman Mr Govan Mbeki consulted Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) leaders in Soweto yesterday on common policy regarding negotiations and future political strategies

Mr Mbeki, who was released from Robben Island in November 1987 was reunited with his fellow Rivonia trialists and ANC members, some of whom he had not seen since 1982

MDM spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said the 3½-hour meeting was not a decision-making meeting, but one of consultation with the MDM

The issues discussed during the meeting would be aired at the welcome home rally at the Bob Soccer Stadium on Saturday where the ANC leaders are expected to give clarity on major policy issues.

All eight ANC leaders would

address the rally, while former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu would give the keynote address

Mr Morobe said in a statement after the meeting that the leaders of the two movements had agreed on standpoints on political issues

## Sanctions

Mr Morobe said the two groups shared perspectives on the present conjecture and an in-depth exploration of the way forward was discussed

Other issues discussed included sanctions and the statements made by President F W de Klerk at the NP's Transvaal Congress on Saturday

The ANC leaders would continue consultations with a broad range of forces, specially the ANC Mr Morobe said this would include the PAC and other groupings as the ANC leaders were open to hold discussions with any interested party

Regarding the outcome of the

Commonwealth conference, the report was still being studied

However, Mrs Margaret Thatcher's position, as gleaned from preliminary reports "does not coincide with ours", Mr Morobe said

He added that Mrs Thatcher was out of step with their view on how to ensure reform in South Africa

"We are disappointed and outraged at the actions of the international bankers who have undercut years of our work in the struggle to eliminate apartheid," he said commenting on South Africa's rescheduled debt

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday Mr Mbeki's restrictions had been lifted for a week in response to a request made by his attorney so that he could attend certain meetings

He said the Internal Security Act was still in operation and the police would act if the aims and objectives of the ANC were being furthered — Own Correspondent and Sapa

# Peace pleas failed — ANC

(11)

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The ANC says it is committed to a peaceful solution in South Africa, but accuses the Government of rhetoric "that has led us nowhere".

A spokesman was responding to President de Klerk's statement at the weekend that organisations wanting to become part of the political process in South Africa should commit themselves to peaceful solutions.

"At present there is really no serious indication from the Government itself about a peaceful solution to the political crisis," he told the ANO news agency. "Five years ago President P W Botha spoke virtually the same words, but nothing happened."

## 'IMPASSIONED OVERTURES'

President de Klerk, he said, would do well to note that the ANC had never ruled out the possibility of solving South Africa's problems through peaceful negotiations.

"It is history now that the ANC has made impassioned overtures to every single government of South Africa in vain. Every manoeuvre was met with a negative response, and at times violence."

The release of seven long-term ANC prisoners from detention "was certainly not an act of kind-heartedness on the part of Pretoria"

South Africa still had some way to go before a solution was reached: "Sadly, the Government is doing nothing, except talking."

# Still offence to further aims of ANC - Vlok

By Craig Kotze

(11A)

The ANC was still banned and would stay banned for as long as it failed to commit itself to peaceful development in South Africa, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said in Bloemfontein last night.

The organisation was still a threat to the security of the country and Mr Vlok warned it was still an offence to promote the objects of the ANC.

The Government was in control of the situation in SA, he said, and the police would continue to combat the ANC.

"For this task we will not make excuses or hesitate. I want to say it clearly the ANC is still a banned organisation in South Africa."

## DESPERATE CAMPAIGN

"The ANC will stay banned as long as it refuses to be bound to peaceful development. If they do not do this, then there can be no place in the new South Africa for the ANC," Mr Vlok said.

He said the ANC was still committed to violence and that the world, including the Soviet Union, was turning its back on it because of this.

"The organisation is busy at the moment with an almost desperate propaganda campaign in an attempt to gain prestige. In this campaign it tries to claim



Mr Vlok . . . even Soviets are turning backs on the ANC.

for itself the Government's present initiatives to bring all the population groups to the negotiating table," he told the committee of the Bloemfontein Neighbourhood Watch.

"In May this year the organisation admitted it was too weak to sit at the negotiating table. The ANC knows its participation in negotiations will lead only to a defeat for them."

The Government could introduce new initiatives because it was in control and these included permission for marches, freeing of people and "talks with leaders over a wide spectrum" and much more.

"This creates immeasurable problems for the ANC and while it stumbles forward confusedly, we are systematically carving out a bright future for our country," Mr Vlok said.

Ja 25/10/89

# Keep pressure up, says Chikane

By Karen Standen

It would be a "grave miscalculation" to lessen pressure on President de Klerk, as without pressure he would not be able to convince his white constituency of the need for urgent and fundamental change, SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane warned in Johannesburg yesterday.

He reiterated his call for mandatory comprehensive sanctions and said the president should not be given six months' grace on his reform programme as the opportunity "to push De Klerk to the negotiating table" would be lost.

There had been confusion on the position taken by the people and the churches on the proposed period of grace during which sanctions would be suspended and the Government's progress monitored.

However, during a recent meeting with Mr Chi-

kane, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, President de Klerk "failed to satisfy us of his commitment to fundamental change".

"His proposals for reform are based on the preservation of group rights and the protection of white superiority within apartheid structures and his talk of negotiations falls far short of the demands made by the majority of South Africans."

"He has neither the will nor the capacity to effect fundamental change."

He repeated his call for foreign governments to campaign for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions through the United Nations.

"My view, based on wide-ranging consultations in South Africa, is that De Klerk should not be given any period of grace."

"It would be a fatally strategic mistake at this stage in our struggle to suspend sanctions and other pressures because the opportunity to push De Klerk to the negotiating table will be lost."

11A Show 25/10/89



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SOWETAN, Wednesday October 25, 1989 Page 7

**NATION Building Week** was full of drama and was exciting in some ways, both positively and at times, negatively. On Saturday afternoon I was moved by the Little Mr and Miss *Sowetan* competition at Highgate.

I am generally opposed to beauty competitions because I do not understand why women should be made to parade half-naked before crowds of screaming and whistling men. Not that I'm opposed to attending such contests. My arguments against them are not moral at all. They are cultural and political.

I believe the nation pays a very high cultural and political price in the process of entertaining excited spectators.

Anyway, this is not what I want to write about now because I am always outvoted in arguments generated by this subject. But the screams of excitement by close to 1 500 people who watched those little boys and girls aged between four and seven conveyed a loaded message to me. I started thinking seriously about what it means to be a child, a black South African child for that matter. I thought of how little we talk to them and allow them to talk to us, of how we talk down to them and often shout at them, sometimes denying them the freedom of deciding on the colour of shoes

# Nation Building Week rousing climax

son that there would be different interpretations of how a garden competition, for instance, can contribute to Nation Building.

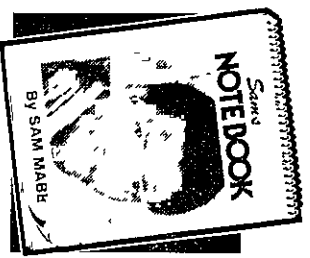
It was in the process of trying to add, subtract, divide and multiply some of the Nation Building Week events that a few apples were overturned. Tensions ran high among the staffers. We argued about venues of some events, hymns to be sung on prayer day and even on who was to speak at which event. There was a time when some people called for the cancellation of all or part of the week's events. You had those who would not speak to others because of differences of opinion on

how certain things were to be done. Some were so upset they threatened not to attend some events while others wanted to resign from their jobs or go on leave. We behaved exactly by the way political organisations in this country behave, except that when each of the events took place, sanity prevailed.

and we became adult enough to go on with the job. And we made a success of it.

Without any doubt Nation Building Week is going to be a fact of life in this country as we are going to have it annually and with the passage of time it will be a national event.

The week was given a rousing climax on Sunday when 1 000 singers raised their voices at the Standard Bank arena in Johannesburg and did what has never happened in South



Africa before. The renditions they gave the nation were not only incredible but brought the Nation Building Week to a fitting, dignified and memorable end, particularly when they sang the national anthem. We might sometime this week and maybe in

many weeks to come publish on a regular basis the original composition of the national anthem by Sontonga.

What we hope to do is to get all schools to sing the anthem every morning before starting the day's business. Adults should also know what to do and what not to do during the singing of the anthem.

By focussing attention on issues of common agreement like the national anthem, we are hoping to call the nation to attention. It is maybe from that point that our leaders in the national liberation movements can lead us to our freedom.

they want for Christmas. Those thoughts might seem insignificant but were quite hurtful to me. Yes, I have a sense of the damage we do to our children's pride and confidence by bringing them up without showing much respect for their feelings and emotions. Actually, we breed a nation of children who grow up with wounded personalities.

For a moment I thought it must have given those kids a wonderful feeling to see themselves receiving such positive and excited attention from hundreds of parents. A feeling of being ignored does hurt - even we adults. Doesn't it?

The other drama took place at *Sowetan's* offices while we were preparing for the Nation Building Week. You see, we have explained many times before that Nation Building is not *Sowetan's* invention and that therefore, *Sowetan* has no monopoly of the concept's interpretation. The editor has repeatedly said everybody was free to add, subtract, divide and multiply on the concept. It is for this rea-

Warning from Vlok: 'The ANC is still banned'

# Soweto rally in melting pot

Star 25/10/89

Political Staff and Crime Reporter

The huge Soweto rally organised for released political prisoners, due on Sunday, has been thrown into the melting pot following the warning last night by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok that the ANC remains banned and subject to police action

Tens of thousands are expected at the mass rally at Soccer City — with the expected crowd possibly reaching 85 000 — at which former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and other released prisoners, including one from the PAC will be the main speakers

Any attempt by the police to break up the rally or to prevent it happening could lead to a serious political confrontation that would endanger the Government's whole reconciliation strategy aimed at getting peace negotiations started

Mr Vlok's speech is being interpreted in some circles as being out of line with this strategy and possibly suggests some division within the Cabinet over its approach to the ANC

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said today the rally was not regarded necessarily as an ANC rally, but as a welcoming rally for the seven released ANC members. It had been authorised by a magistrate

But as in the past we will maintain law and order and if the Internal Security Act is broken we will act. We will also act if lives and property are at risk, he said

## Continued allegiance

The prisoners were released without restriction by the Government, and have made no secret since of their continued allegiance to the ANC. In fact, they have declared the organisation "unbanned"

But Mr Vlok warned last night in a speech in Bloemfontein that the ANC was still banned, was still a threat to the security of the country and that it was still an offence to promote the objects of the ANC. The police would continue to combat the ANC, he said

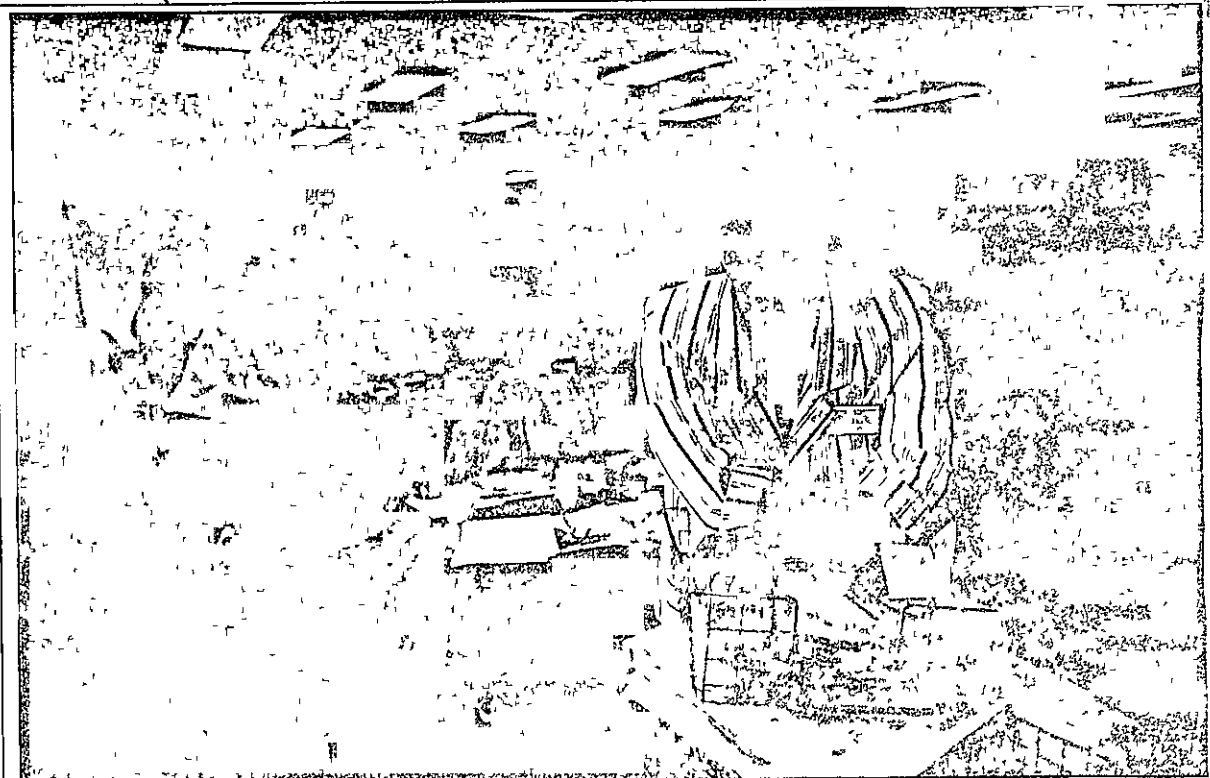
The ANC leaders and representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement were not immediately available to comment on Mr Vlok's warning. But earlier this week a member of the national reception committee for the released prisoners, Mr Murphy Morobe, said "Major policy issues will be addressed on Sunday at the welcome rally for the eight leaders to be held at Soccer City"

Mr Morobe said the eight leaders, including PAC leader Mr Jeff Masemola, as well as Mr Govan Mbeki who has had his restrictions order temporarily lifted, would address the rally. However, Mr Walter Sisulu, former ANC secretary general, will deliver the main speech

The rally is expected to attract thousands from as far as Cape Town

A spokesman for the reception committee said the regional committees will organise transport for the large crowd expected. The marshalls who will control the crowd eager to see the political leaders have been taken to a week-long intensive training course

However, the rally was scheduled to end at 3 pm to allow people to leave as early as possible to avoid trouble



Prepared for the big day Lynn Tyack with her team of assistants in the background at the Santam Centre, Johannesburg, ready to process the expected last-minute rush of applications for Iscor shares. The offer was due to close at noon today

## Cautious welcome for economic plan

Star 25/10/89

The Democratic Party has welcomed State President Mr F W de Klerk's move to investigate urgently the effective co-ordination of South African economic policy, but warned that the Government would have to be strong to implement it

Opening the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in Cape Town yesterday, Mr de Klerk said co-ordination was of the greatest importance in a time of dynamic change

Mr Harry Schwarz, the DP's finance spokesman warned today that the proof of the plan would be if the Government was strong enough to implement it

He said that Mr de Klerk's predecessor had also devised good plans but had never put them into practice

"Whatever plan they come up with is going to have to be tough and there are going to be powerful interest groups who will lobby against it

Mr de Klerk called on SA's business community to join the Government, as partners in a spirit of realism and hope, in building a prosperous and stable country

The last decade of the century provided an opportunity for SA's public and private sectors to work

together to lay a new foundation for a country that will be stable, where there will be room enough for everybody and which will provide hope

He said he was aware there were doubts in the private sector about the efficiency of co-ordination of economic policy

He and his Government would make it their task to remove all shortcomings in structures for implementing economic policy

"A document is being prepared which will critically review the present status of our various programmes in the economic field

### REVISION

"Furthermore, this document will also make recommendations with a view to revision, adjustment and proper co-ordination of the execution of programmes"

Mr Schwarz said he could not pass final comment, but had no doubt that it would entail some form of internal industrialisation, a policy of stimulating industries, such as black housing, that do not rely heavily on foreign exchange

At present, the economy could not grow because of the need to cut down on imports to maintain a positive balance of payments to repay the country's foreign debt. — Political Correspondent-Sapa

## Wall Street dip unlikely to rattle JSE

Finance Staff

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the applications for Iscor shares are expected to be largely unaffected by the latest volatility on Wall Street

After initially plunging by about 3 percent in the first hour of trading yesterday, shares on the New York Stock Exchange recovered strongly in the afternoon. The Dow Jones share index ended the day only four points down at 2857,79

News of Wall Street's plunge sent equities in London sharply lower, but had little impact on trading in the Far East

JSE analysts do not expect a sharp drop when the market opens today "as the share market is sheltered by the slight recovery in the gold price", an economist said

Gold rose by \$3 in New York yesterday to close at \$369,50

Potential Iscor investors, already uneasy after the JSE's 10,6 percent fall on October 16 in response to the near-crash in New York three days before, could be unnerved by what is seen as evidence of the stock market's extreme vulnerability

But it is estimated that by yesterday, two-thirds of potential investors had already posted their applications

See Page 30

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# Treurnicht lashes FW's 'unbanning'

Star 25/10/89  
By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

South Africa was facing severe problems because of the Government's "de facto" unbanning of the ANC and PAC through the recent release of eight political prisoners, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Speaking to a packed Pretoria City Hall at the opening of the party's seventh Transvaal congress, Dr Treurnicht said powersharing was the "biggest lie in South Africa's reform politics".

The CP would never accept universal suffrage in a nonracial democratic country. It would, however, be prepared to go to the negotiating table on condition that the white man's right of self-determination in his own territory be accepted.

"We reject the concept of powersharing as irreconcilable with the right of self-determination. The CP says there is no way in which you can escape the might of numbers in a democratic dispensation while upholding a nation's right of self-determination. We say to the NP: 'Don't try to fool our people,'" Dr Treurnicht said to loud applause.

If the ANC and PAC were allowed to participate in South African elections, or if United Nations-monitored elections were to take place similar to those in Namibia, "we will be standing at the political funeral of the white man".

## PROTEST MARCH FLAGS

The CP leader slammed the FW de Klerk administration for the unconditional release of seven ANC leaders and one PAC leader, as well as for allowing the public display of ANC and Communist Party flags at protest marches.

"This creates the impression that banned organisations may advertise themselves and that the Government is nurturing a laissez-faire attitude in order to prevent conflict."

Afrikaners and their symbols had been humiliated by the recent "peace protests in the heart of Pretoria".

The Government had given in to international pressure and the demands of the ANC "because it has an apparent obsession with negotiations".

It was senseless to talk about conciliation while the released ANC leaders were demonstrating the organisation's unconciliatory attitude by their refusal to renounce violence.

During the afternoon session of the CP congress, Dr Treurnicht said the CP had fared worse at the September polls than expected.

"We did not succeed in taking over the Government, but the road now is just a little longer," he added to applause.

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Amethoid

# THE "Broedestroom Three" each made a conscious decision to become members of the ANC and must have been aware of the legal implications, a Pretoria Regional Court has heard.

## ANC 3 knew legal implications of joining the ANC - witness

*11/10/89  
Sowetan*

A sociologist, Mrs Stella Elizabeth Welz, said this week the three, Damian de Lange (30), Ian Robertson (36) and Susan Donnelly (24), must have been aware of the legal implications of them joining the ANC as it was a banned organisation in South Africa.

The three were convicted on 10 charges of terrorism in June by presiding magistrate Mr W J van den Bergh. Both men were convicted on a further charge of terrorism. De Lange, commander of the cell, was convicted on a further two charges of arson and one of attempted arson. Welz said the accused were not motivated by self-gain and had it not been for their decision they, as intelligent people, could be living normal middle class lives.

She said during interviews all the accused were able to talk about everyday things. De Lange and Robertson, who have started a garden in prison, told her of their love for children.

Both Donnelly and De Lange had told Welz that the attack by the SADF on Gaborone in June 1985 had had affected them.

The State, led by Mr J P Pretorius, asked if the overseas media - to which Donnelly was exposed during her stay in England between 1980 and 1985 - had made any mention of the attacks by guerrillas operating from Botswana in South Africa.

Welz said De Lange, who was always opposed to violence, was obviously no longer a pacifist.

Welz said one of Robertson's lecturers at the University of Witwatersrand had found her concerned and sensitive to the lot of fellow citizens.

She agreed with Pretorius that the accused may want to use the trial for ANC propaganda, but the incidents mentioned by the accused to her were common knowledge.

Welz said during her interviews she had noticed no inconsistencies in their stories which she had checked by her own sensitivity, "check" questions, and seeing if the stories remained constant.

She also contacted family members and friends of the accused and verified the accused's stories. She found no inconsistencies.

Donnelly, a British citizen, was schooled and brought up in Swaziland. In 1980, she left Swaziland for England to complete her A Levels and gain a degree in education.

During her time in Britain, she came into contact with emigres and refugees from South Africa and South West Africa.

The court adjourned yearly!

## MDM 8: charges withdrawn

CAPE TOWN — Charges of breaking their restriction orders have been withdrawn against eight Mass Democratic Movement leaders in the Athlone Magistrate's Court in Cape Town

They are former UDF executive committee members Mr Willie Hofmeyr, Mr Willie Thomas, Ms Hilda Ndude, Mr Mountain Qumbela and Mr Ebrahim Rassool, United Womens' Congress leaders Ms "Whitey" Pokwana and Ms Dorothy Zihlangu, and Cape Youth Congress President Mr Mzonke Jacobs. The charges related to incidents during the MDM defiance campaign — Sapa (11)

## 30 groups discuss support action for victims of removal

Staff Reporters

Last night about 30 organisations of the Mass Democratic Movement in the border region met to discuss support action for the Peelton people

Proposals for community action were referred back to organisations for discussion.

Yesterday lawyers for the community went to the Ciskei Supreme Court to contest the validity of the state of emergency in the four villages in the Ciskei. Their arguments were dismissed by Mr Justice Heath who said the emergency regulations had been constitutionally drafted and were valid.

Leave to appeal was refused.

The emergency regulations make provision for removing people from one "commonage" to another.

In response to the argument that the Peelton people were not squatters but had lived in brick houses for years and could not be moved, Mr Justice Heath said "There is no difference between a location and commonage."

The Government said yesterday that it was "eager to alleviate the situation" in Peelton East where more than 700 people have apparently lost their homes as a result of demolition by Ciskei authorities.

In a statement, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said his department was taking all the steps it can possibly take.

Mr Botha said in his statement that in terms of section 6 (2) of the Status of Ciskei Act, residents of Peelton East became Ciskei citizens when the Act came into force in 1981.

# ANC 3 in new terrorism trial

**SOWETIAN Correspondent**

11A  
~~11A~~

Sowetan 26/10/89

AN alleged ANC guerrilla, Mr Damsile Nokhatywa, appeared in the Wynberg Regional Court yesterday in connection with two explosions in the Western Cape, including a grenade attack on the home of Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Nxobongwana

He is also alleged to have been involved in a cache of arms - including rifles and ammunition, handgrenades and limpet mines - concealed in the Cape Point Nature Reserve

Nokhatywa (33) appeared with two other alleged ANC members, Ms Buyiswa Berina Jack (34) of Nyanga, a Western Province Council of Churches field worker, and Ms Agnes Ntombizodwa Yoyo (26) addresses unknown All three

pleaded not guilty to a main charge of terrorism and three alternative charges that between December 1985 and December 1988 they acted unlawfully as members of the ANC, took part in the activities of the ANC and detented or encouraged the aims of the organisation

## Grenade

The State claims that Mr Damsile Nokhatywa, who is alleged to have joined the ANC in 1985 and been responsible for bringing arms into the country and training people, threw a handgrenade at a SADF Casspr near Lansdowne Road on October 23 1985, damaging the vehicle slightly

He is also alleged to have thrown a handgrenade at the house of Crossroads mayor Nxobongwana

According to the State, Nokhatywa and one of the other accused, Yoyo, underwent military training in Angola and Zambia in July 1986 and in 1987 and that after their return to Cape Town, they trained several people in the use of handgrenades and limpet-mines Later they recruited Jack The State further

claims Nokhatywa supplied handgrenades to new cadres and that in September 1988 he instructed Jack - recruited into the ANC in September 1988 and trained by Nokhatywa - to travel to Botswana to collect money and a map showing the location of a concealed ANC arms cache in Cape Town

## Factory

In October 1988 Nokhatywa and Jack allegedly went to fetch the cache in Cape Point Nature Reserve Arms included four AK 47 rifles with magazines, 15 F1 handgrenades, three SPM limpet-mines with detonators, 25 handgrenades, detonators, about 1 800 rounds of ammunition for AK 47 rifles and Makarov pistols The arms were later allegedly stored at a factory near Browns Farm in Philippi

Nokhatywa and Jack were arrested near the Botswana border in the vicinity of Ramatlaha on November 15 The State claims Yoyo joined the ANC in July 1986, underwent military training in Angola and helped Nokhatywa to recruit new ANC members In October 1988 she

allegedly received two AK 47 rifles, four magazines and 120 rounds of ammunition from Nokhatywa

## Pregnant

She later gave one rifle and the ammunition to a Mr Christopher Toise

The court heard on Tuesday that a security policeman promised Jack - who was pregnant and physically unwell at the time of her arrest - that her diet would be improved and that he would arrange bail for her if she made a statement to a magistrate

Jack was giving evidence in a trial-within-a-trial to determine the admissibility of her statement to a magistrate on December 22 1988

She told the court she was arrested near the border of Botswana and Bophuthatswana on November 16 1988, taken to Fort Beaufort and then brought to Cape Town

She was held at Elises River police station, but was occasionally questioned at the Caledonburg security headquarters

## Statement

"On several occasions, I was taken to

Groote Schuur and Tygerberg hospitals The doctors prescribed certain diets for me and medicine, but I never received these"

Jack said a security policeman - a Mr Mathunzi - asked her to make a statement and promised that if she did, "I could get out of detention" and "be able to deliver my baby as a free person"

statements allegedly made by Nokhatywa and a Ms Neunyswa Hans

"Mathunzi said he wanted me to see how the others had implicated me. He said I was delaying the legal proceedings. He also said he was going on holiday and didn't know when he would return and was worried about how they would treat me in his absence," she said.

22, but did not receive improved food and was not released immediately

Jack said she was released almost five months later in May

The hearing continues today:

The magistrate was Mr A P Korze Mr Mike Stowe represented the State, Mr T L Skweyaya and S Majiet, instructed by Mr Bulelani Ngcuka and Essa Moosa and associated appeared for the accused

# Rally not ANC event

Soweto 26/10/89

## ● From page 1

which said the planned meeting was an ANC rally

"It is not an issue who called the rally as it is indeed the NRC who did it to welcome our leaders who happen to be members of the ANC

"We have gone out of our way to send letters to Vlok and the Department of Justice about the rally and they responded positively through the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg who sanctioned the meeting," said Morobe

In response to a question whether the NRC anticipated security force action if people attending mistook the meeting for an ANC rally, Morobe said:

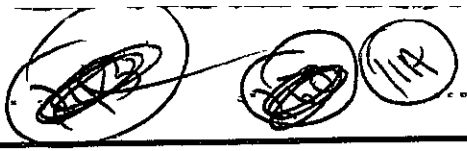
"We will not go out of our way to break the law. However, we still believe in our demands for freedom of speech and freedom of expression"

The rally is expected to draw more than 80 000 people from throughout the country, according to the organisers.

The ANC leaders expected to address the crowd are Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Oscar Mpetha as well as Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Jethro Masekela who were released from prison after 26 years

10/11





South Africa Now anchors (from left): Carolyn Craven, Mweliz Mzizi and Fana Kekana.

ent significance and a cultural feature

The programme has also gained remarkable popularity in its short history and is now on the air on 53 public broadcasting stations nationwide and in nine of the 10 top markets. It is also distributed to cable systems in 40 states by two satellite networks - the International Television Network (ITN) and the Vision Interface Satellite Network International. Segments are broadcast on Cable News Network's "World Report" to 82 countries every week. The show is also aired in Zambia and Mozambique, as well as some Caribbean nations.

SAN has also, since August 11, launched a customised radio edition which is now carried on the Pacifica Network in New York City, the Bay Area, Los Angeles, Houston and Washington D.C.

**Producer**

"We are delighted that more viewers throughout the US are now able to see the news that South Africa has been trying to block - often aided by the indifference of the media," says SAN's senior producer, reporter and co-anchor Carolyn Craven.

Craven (44) is an experienced journalist who was the White House correspondent for National Public Radio. In addition, she has been an associate producer for ABC News in New York and was the co-producer of a five-part series on rape for ABC's Good Morning America. She has also been a reporter and anchor for KOED in San Francisco for seven years.

Two of SAN's on-air personalities are black South Africans, Mweliz Mzizi (anchor/reporter) and Fana Kekana (co-anchor). They came to SAN with no journalistic experience and are part of the show's television communications training programme.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

ALTHOUGH South Africa is still big news around the world, its coverage in the American media has dropped significantly since 1985 when the South African Government introduced severe press restrictions.

However, many South Africans opposed to the Government's apartheid policies will be happy to learn that the story has not died completely, thanks to a television programme called South Africa Now (SAN).

The programme, the world's only weekly television news magazine focusing on southern Africa, was first aired in April 1988. Billed as "the show which represents the news the networks are afraid to report", it was launched mainly in response to Pretoria's media censorship.

It is produced on a non-profit basis by New York-based Globalvision, an independent international production company, in association with Africa Fund, an anti-apartheid organisation.

**Popularity**

The show has been highly acclaimed for its in-depth reporting, rarely found on US television. It divides its thirty minutes between the sport news from the past week, a detailed background report on an issue of cur-

Joseph Diescho, is the on-camera reporter for news about his country.

Initially, SAN was meant to be only a one-or-two-programme special, using material from people in South Africa, purchased and repackaged for an American audience. But it mushroomed and ended up as a weekly show.

**Budget**

The programme is known to be operating more with conviction than cash. Its budget is a mere \$10 000 a week - minuscule compared with the money available to most network shows. In fact last November there was talk of shutting the series down. However it was saved on the 11th hour by a \$100 000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The show has also received other funds from the Carnegie Corporation and the United Nations. In addition, according to the show's producers, a number of prominent music stars are helping to provide funding for the programme, including Bruce Springsteen and U2.

**Artists**

Other artists said to be either backing the show or involved in it include Public Enemy, Richard Pryor, Ossie Davis, Johnny Clegg, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, George Clinton and James Taylor. According to reviews, the show's staffers are very proud to be associated with it. They say there have been many conferences about South Africa and why the country has disappeared from television in the United States. They boast that they have gone beyond these and put the idea into action.

**Stories**

"There are so many stories that the networks can cover without contravening the terms of the emergency regulations. We have the Mass Democratic Movement, the hunger strikes, the rent boycott, the so-called black-on-black violence in Natal and political division in the white community," the *Guardian* quoted one staffer as saying.

**Woza Albert**

Kekana is a well-known South African actor who came to the US in 1977. He has appeared in "Woza Albert" and the Broadway production of "Asinamali". In 1983 he won an Obie Award as an original cast member in the Broadway production of "Poppie Nongena".

He has performed with Stevie Wonder, translating and singing the background vocal to "It's Wrong" on Wonder's "In Square Circle" album. He has also performed with Letta Mbuli and Hugh Masekela.

A Namibian-in-exile and graduate student,

"The only thing the networks were interested in was the Winnie Mandela affair and that was handed to them on silver platter by the regime. If anyone tells you they were covering South Africa because they filed a couple of stories about Winnie, you should laugh right in their face."

The show's producer says their programme has reinvigorated network interest in the South African story and some of the networks are now feeling guilty.

The programme gathers its news from diverse sources.

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# BIG RALLY NOT AN ANC EVENT

26/10/89

Journal

114



Ndaba Mhlongo . illustrious career

NDABA Mhlongo, one of South Africa's leading stage and screen actors, died at his home in Soweto this week

According to relatives, Mhlongo collapsed on Monday evening and was rushed to hospital where he died the next day

Mhlongo, also a top-notch comedian, returned home from the United States in July after touring with the stage play *Sarafina* as conductor and leader of the band. He also helped choreograph the musical.

Mhlongo's rise to stardom started with Gibson Kente Productions where he took most of the lead roles in plays such as *How Long, Sikalo Zwi*

## Top actor Mhlongo is dead

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

and *Lifa*. His most impressive television debut was in *uDelwe* portraying a bungling reporter

He has also produced and appeared in countless television dramas where he provided most of the humour as a stammering

character. Three weeks ago he was interviewed on local television about his illustrious career

His mentor and friend Gibson Kente said 'This is a sad loss. Ndaba was a very creative artist, dedicated and unselfish. He believed in his art and shared his glory with others

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE mammoth rally to welcome eight former political prisoners in Soweto on Sunday is not an African National Congress meeting and would go ahead as planned, organisers said yesterday.

This was announced yesterday by a spokesman for the National Reception Committee, Mr Murphy Morobe, in response to a statement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that a false perception had arisen that the ANC was now lawful following the release of its seven leaders on October 15

The rally is scheduled for the FNB Stadium in Crown Mines

Vlok warned that it remained an offence to promote the objectives of the ANC

Morobe said Vlok's statement was more of a response to Press reports

• To page 2

## THEY MUST BE ABS PORTOBEL



BAXTER MAN S

Shop No 5 Ajeny Centre, (next to Chicken Licken)

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

# ANC CITY

THIS Sunday the largest stadium in South Africa will be transformed into "ANC City"

When the crowd, which is expected to be more than 100,000 strong, jams into Johannesburg's Soccer City Stadium for the "people's rally" to welcome home the seven ANC leaders released earlier this month, it will be the biggest endorsement for the banned organisation in almost three decades.

The rally, which is taking place under the slogan "ANC lives, ANC leads" signals a de facto "unbanning" of the outlawed organisation. Throughout the country excitement is reaching fever pitch as thousands of ANC supporters prepare to converge on the stadium.

A convoy of buses, cars, kombis and vans are due to leave Cape Town and several other major centres this weekend for the ANC jamboree.

In addition to the seven released leaders the rally will also be addressed by ANC stalwarts Govan Mbeki and Harry Gwala.

Former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu is scheduled to give a half-hour keynote address which will touch on major policy issues including negotiations with the government.

More than 600 marshalls will maintain order during the six-hour rally and medical teams will be on stand-by for emergencies.

- Mandela "wants freedom" — Page 7
- Bid on Mbeki curbs — Page 7
- Mhlaba 'I'll do it again' — Page 18

ANC T-shirts, stickers and posters are to be sold at the rally and the stadium will be festooned with massive black, green and gold banners.

Publicity spokesperson Murphy Morobe said the organisers had informed the authorities about the rally but had not asked permission for the meeting, which has been approved by Johannesburg's chief magistrate.

This will be the first rally of the leaders of the banned ANC in nearly 30 years," Morobe said.

**Why Zerina quit at 16!**  
No competition so swim ace retires (at 16)  
— Page 22

**Condemned mother's anguish**  
Grief of death row's only woman inmate  
— Page 3

**Wonderful world of books**  
Focus on reading for young people  
— Pages 12 & 13



## Charmmy's death prophecy

"I'm going to die soon if I stay here in this place."

This was the sadly prophetic announcement by 55-year-old grandmother Mrs Janet Baartman, above, as she sat huddled in a plastic shelter at Heins Farm Park last Saturday.

A day later her prediction came true when she suffered an asthma attack and died. A lifetime of squatting and suffering had finally taken its toll.

For the past few months Heins Farm Park near Mitchells Plain, has been home to about 200 squatters who claim they were "dumped and forgotten" by the authorities.

● See full story Page 2.

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

# Mhlabha: I'll do it all again

26/10-11/1999  
Saur  
MIA

to place

**NEW BRIGHTON** (Port Elizabeth) —

The struggle for the liberation of his people would go on and he would work even harder than before to achieve this, ANC stalwart Raymond Mhlabha said this week.

"I'm excited to be back with my people. But I can't sit back now after spending 26 years in jail for my convictions."

"I'm going to continue to do my work in the struggle for the liberation of my people and my country and work harder than ever to achieve this."

The man who in 1952 led the first batch of 33 volunteers to defy the country's apartheid laws, said he would lead another defiance campaign if asked to do so.

"But we have so many young chaps today who will volunteer first."

Mhlabha said pressure by the people and organisations at home and abroad brought about their release.

## Influenced

"We are aware that the government look some knocks in the Angolan war where they supported Jonas Savimbi and in the Namibian situation," he said.

"I think these and the bad economic situation in the country were some of the factors which influenced the state's decision to release us."

He said the political consciousness of black people was "encouraging".

"I laughed the other day when a child of five sitting at my supper table said 'I will release Mandela. I'll release Mandela one day. Can

The ANC has always been in favour of a political solution to South Africa's problems, says Raymond Mhlabha.

In the second part of an exclusive interview Mhlabha, released with other Rivonia trialists last week after 26 years imprisonment, says the South African government would scrap all discriminatory legislation if it realised the depth of political consciousness in the black community. **MONO BADELA reports:**

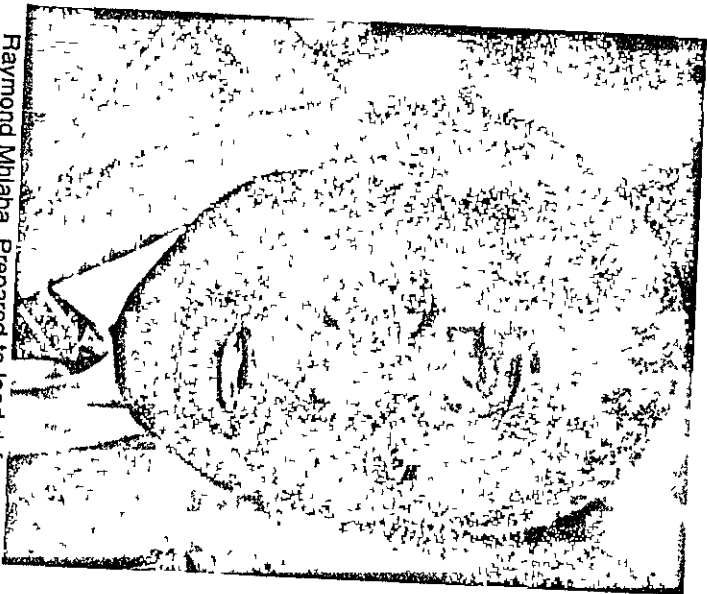
you imagine that? Mhlabha asked. He said he was optimistic about the future.

"As a matter of fact, I wonder if the government's aware of the black man's level of political consciousness."

"If they are aware, I have no doubt they would see that discriminatory legislation is scrapped."

On negotiation with the government for the political future of the country, Mhlabha said "The ANC has never been a problem because we want to settle. We always wanted a political solution."

"But the negotiation terms of the South African government are not serious."



Raymond Mhlabha Prepared to lead defiance

If they are serious and there is a good atmosphere for negotiation then we will sit down and consider it. The right climate is simple meet our preconditions."

Mhlabha said the ANC was a "living organism".

"The ANC is growing. It's not static," he added. He also said the ANC had no need to open offices in South Africa.

The 69-year-old ANC leader said he supported the demand for prisoner-of-war status by people accused of ANC activities.

"South Africa will only be free once apartheid and its unjust laws are scrapped. Freedom means that all South Africans should be able to make laws and elect whoever they wanted to represent them in parliament."

From AMEEN AKHALWAYA  
JOHANNESBURG — Nelson Mandela does not want to come out of jail "next year, next month, next week, tomorrow — he wants to come out now!"

But he will not ask the government because that would be seen as "pleading" for his release

So say Wilton Mkwayi and Ahmed Kathrada, two of his ANC colleagues who were released from prison on October 15

Said Kathrada "We can say with out fear of contradiction the government is distorting the facts when it says his release is not on the agenda, trying to give the impression that he himself does not want to be released

"On the day we said goodbye to him he repeated this — he wants to be released today But if you ask him to tell (Minister of Justice and Prisons)

# Mandela wants 'freedom now!'

Kobie Coetsee that, he will say no"

Said Mkwayi My feeling, our comrades feeling is that if he asks about himself, he will not be demanding his release he will be pleading

But he demanded our release Therefore it is our duty now to de-

mand his release We are not going to plead, we are going to demand his release So it is understandable that he doesn't include himself in this discussion

He does not want to come out next year next month, next week, tomorrow He wants to come out now

"They (the authorities) are the ones who have the key, they can open the door"

Mkwayi said Mandela reported everything as he was reporting to the people outside

"But he is unhappy because he feels that people outside may think he is

negotiating, whereas he is facilitating for negotiations

He is unhappy that he is doing this alone, because in the end when he makes a mistake somewhere, people will say ja, he was negotiating alone"

But the two men were emphatic that no deal was struck between Mandela and the authorities

Mkwayi said the government feared violence would be accelerated when they were released "On this we said they were really talking nonsense

We will have meetings and the people themselves will restrain those few who will want to cause violence

Nelson said release them and you'll see there will not be violence. So no conditions were made

Mkwayi and Kathrada said they could only speculate why the government continued to hold Mandela

Perhaps they think that he may not, when he is out want to discuss with them, said Mkwayi He may somehow want to get out of the country and call for violence

There is this question that people like to use the word seizing power, just call for violence

Seizing power does not only mean using an AK 47 it can mean seizing power on a round table The MPLA did it in Angola

By the way they (the authorities) don't regard him as only leading the ANC they feel he is leading the people of South Africa They look at it this way this man will not only say ANC he will say the people of South Africa

## Bargaining chip

Kathrada said We should recognise that these chips (the government) have got some genuine fears about Nelson's safety Not necessarily because they like him but they also know if anything happens to him — even if the rightwing does it — the backlash will be against not only the rightwing but also against all the authorities of South Africa

Kathrada also speculated that the government might want to use Mandela as a bargaining chip towards negotiations

He gave the background to their release

It has been customary for ministers of justice and prisons such as Jimmy Kruger and Louis le Grange to visit prisoners, and they have from time to time visited us

Over the years, we have written letters of demand to them The question of releases has always been high on the agenda.

So when Nelson is now seeing Kobie Coetsee it started off as part of the routine visits of the Minister of Justice This was part of a continuing process

"It is not as if suddenly this has started that Coetsee has taken the initiative He is in a better position because like other ministers, other important visitors they invariably come to see Nelson

"They brought in more and more people, more and more demands were made and that eventually led to our release," said Kathrada

But it must be stressed there is no deal

"One must look at the calibre of the man himself Throughout the years that he has been making representations on our behalf Nelson has never ever put his name forward as the person who should possibly be getting whatever benefits there are.

## ANC leaders meet MDM

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG — Nine African National Congress leaders, including the seven recently released from prison, held a private meeting with leaders from the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in Soweto this week

A statement from the organisers of the meeting, the National Reception Committee (NRC), said the leadership had decided "to continue consultations with a broad range of forces including, and in particular, the African National Congress"

One of the significant features of the meeting was the attendance of Govan Mbeki, who was reunited with other members of the ANC leadership whom he left behind in jail in November 1987

Murphy Morobe MDM's publicity spokesperson said the meeting shared "current perspectives and explored the way forward

Other issues discussed included sanctions and statements made by state president FW de Klerk at the National Party's Transvaal Congress at the weekend

Morobe said major policy issues would be addressed at the rally on Sunday



REUNION Govan Mbeki welcomes home Oscar Mpetha, watched by Walter Sisulu, left, Ahmed Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba

## New bid to lift Mbeki curbs

From MONO BADELA

SOWETO — Lawyers acting for senior ANC member Govan Mbeki have confirmed that an application will be made to have restrictions, imposed on him soon after his release in November 1987, revoked

The authorities confirmed this week that restrictions on Mbeki had been relaxed to allow him to travel to Johannesburg for Sunday's ANC rally at Soccer City

An application has also been made for him to address the rally

Mbeki was released on humanitarian grounds in 1987 after serv-

ing 23 years on Robben Island

His enthusiastic reception in the community led to the government considering him to be a "security risk"

He was slapped with restrictions which confined him to his New Brighton home after hours and prevented him from speaking to journalists or addressing or attending gatherings

Former ANC secretary general, Walter Sisulu is expected to be the main speaker at Saturday's rally

His 30 minute address is expected to touch on major policy

issues such as negotiations with the government

Two other leaders, former Commander in Chief of the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe (military wing), Raymond Mhlaba, and Ahmed Kathrada, will address the rally

Mbeki visited the offices of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) this week and was due to hold consultations with members of the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ)

Mbeki is a patron of several anti apartheid organisations, including ADJ

## Education's a priority, students told

JOHANNESBURG — Praising students for their courage and their spirit, two ANC leaders have told them they should make education a priority

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Wilton Mkwayi has told students "At this stage your own AK 47 is education Your shield is education"

He added "We want you to be educated"

Ahmed Kathrada told a large crowd of students at Nurvana High School in Lenasia he was impressed by the "tremendous spirit" among the youth

He urged them not to neglect their education.

Before he was jailed 26 years ago he believed in the slogan 'liberation before education', of which he was a pioneer he said

However after giving it much thought while on Robben Island, he realised the slogan was wrong and that 'liberation and education worked together

"I want to appeal to you not to neglect your education It should be your priority

He told students I am not saying you must not demonstrate, but once you have done so and shown your

solidarity go back to school

"Liberation without education is going to be no liberation

Although the media had described him and the others as heroes, Kathrada said the real heroes are you, the young people who stood your ground and suffered teargas and baton charges

We've been getting newspapers while we were in jail and we even had a TV We expected a certain amount of enthusiasm but what we have seen since our release has encouraged and inspired us beyond description

Kathrada appealed to the students

not to be provoked by police

In Soweto, he said, he realised how disciplined and co-ordinated students were, and he urged the Lenasia students to follow that example

It will be my pleasure to address you again and again, he told the slogan chanting cheering students

Mkwayi told the students Go out of the streets go to the classroom We want you to be educated so you can negotiate, go into certain areas, into the government field outside the government field The streets will not help you

We see you are ready to be out of school We say back to school

# Call for solidarity day

THE South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) has called on people throughout South Africa to commemorate November 6 — the 20th anniversary of the execution of Sactu executive member, Vuyisile Mini, as a day of solidarity with trade unionists and workers facing repression.

Mini, together with two other prominent African National Congress members, Wilson Khayunga and Zinakile Mkhaba, was convicted of sabotage and complicity in the death of a police informer.

Mini, who joined the ANC at the age of 17, became a fulltime organiser of dockworkers in 1955.

He played a key role in the affiliation of the PE Stevedoring and Dock Workers Union to Sactu.

He was one of 156 people arrested in the marathon 1956 treason trial.

After the trial collapsed, Mini helped form the General Workers' Union in Port Elizabeth. He was also involved in a protracted bus boycott in the area.

A Sactu spokesperson said Mini, Khayunga and Mkhaba were remembered for their "spirit of militancy and dedication".

He said Sactu was calling on all people in South Africa and abroad to mark November 6 with mass rallies, demonstrations and a minute's silence and for unions to name a hall after Mini.

He said on November 6 people should remember detainees and political prisoners, and all workers and worker leaders who had sacrificed their lives.

# Organisers don't expect police action

By Peter Fabricius and Stan Hoppe

The huge rally just outside Soweto on Sunday would be treated by police as the earlier protest marches were, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Volk said today.

He said the aim of the police would be to safeguard lives and property and to maintain law and order.

Referring to his earlier speech that the ANC was still a banned organisation — which prompted speculation that there might be divisions in the Cabinet about the Soweto rally — Mr Vlok pointed out that Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee had also made the point that the ANC was banned.

Police sources said that if there was "flagrant promoting of the aims of the ANC" at the rally police might have to act.

Organisers of the mass rally at Soccer City do not expect any police action, despite Mr Vlok's warning.

Asked to comment on Mr Vlok's statement, an organiser said, "The convenors never suggested or said anything to suggest that the rally will be

held by the ANC or to promote the ANC. This rally is being organised to honour our leaders.

"Mr Vlok took it upon himself to clarify (the facts) to the media, who had created the impression that the ANC was a de facto unbanned organisation now that political leaders have been released.

"The rally will go ahead and Mr Vlok's reaction has little bearing on it."

## GREEN LIGHT

He did not think the police would attempt to break it up or prevent it, in view of the green light given by the departments of justice and of law and order.

Asked if the organisers would maintain discipline, the spokesman said previous gatherings had proved that people were always disciplined — unlike at AWB meetings."

He said the rally would be divided into three sections.

● Cultural activities from 10 am to noon.

● Addresses by political leaders from noon to 2.30 pm.

● More cultural activities from 2.30 pm to 4 pm.

# Editor guarded about

## Weekly Mail change

By Sue Valentine

Informed sources have said the *Weekly Mail* may become a daily newspaper from February next year.

Co-editor of the publication, Mr Anton Harber, said last night they were doing "a lot of thinking" about the newspaper which has been subject to considerable Government harassment, including a four-week suspension in November last year.

"We're coming up for our fifth birthday and it's quite a momentous moment. We are assessing what we view as our extraordinary growth and success."

According to audited circulation figures earlier this year, the

*Weekly Mail* was the country's fastest growing newspaper in the country with sales averaging 24 237 a week from July to December in 1988.

Mr Harber said there was great demand among *Weekly Mail* readers for "more than we're giving them".

He stressed that the option of venturing into the daily market was just one among several possibilities.

Responding to rumours that the *Weekly Mail* would be published daily from February next year, Mr Harber said he doubted that would be feasible.

"We're still at the early stages of exploring possibilities," he said.

# Stage set for rally

## ● From page 1

take part in the rally stemmed from the fact that the incarceration of the ANC leaders and the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Organisation (PAC) in 1960 gave birth to black consciousness

The BCM said the decision was in line with its stance to forge unity with other liberation forces especially as the movement endorsed participation in the Conference for a Democratic Future to be held in Johannesburg on December 9 and 10

However, BCM spokesman Mr Muntu Myeza said that the organisation would attend the meeting like other members of the public and would not address the gathering

### Invitation

In another turn of events, the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) announced that Mr Jeff Masemola, the PAC leader released after 27 years in jail on October 15, would not address the mass rally.

In a statement the PAM said neither Masemola nor itself had received an invitation to participate in the rally

Morobe also denied the NRC had invited Masemola to address the meeting.

Meanwhile, the NRC said recent comments by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok were disturbing as they implied the Government intended imposing limits on what the released leaders may or may not say

The seven are former general-secretary of the ANC Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr

Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Oscar Mpetha

Mr Govan Mbeki, who was released in 1986, had his restrictions temporarily lifted and will join fellow ANC activists on stage

The NRC reiterated in a statement that Sunday rally had not been called by the ANC

*Sowetan*

68/10/1987



Welcome for African National Congress 7

# STAGE SET FOR RALLY

By SY MAKARINGE and THEMBA MOLEFE

TTA Sowetan 27/10/76



Some of the people who defied the Boksburg Town Council and held a picnic at Boksburg Lake yesterday. (S.A.)

IT'S all systems go for the mass rally planned for the First National Stadium on Sunday to welcome seven African National Congress leaders released from prison two weeks ago.

Pledging solidarity with the ANC 7, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) yesterday said it would participate in the rally.

The organisers of the rally, the National Reception Committee (NRC), said all arrangements were in place. Transport to ferry people from various parts of the Reef had been organised.

### Decision

Hundreds of marshalls, drawn from the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement, would ensure that the rally runs smoothly, the committee said.

Mr Murphy Morobe, spokesman for the committee, said more than 100 foreign diplomats had also been invited.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg, the BCM said its decision to

● To page 2

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# Low police profile at rallies (11A)

Star 27/10/89

Two major political gatherings are planned for the the Reef this weekend, with about 100 000 people expected to welcome released ANC leaders at Soccer City outside Soweto and about 10 000 expected to take part in a march in Vereeniging.

A march by members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) scheduled for Johannesburg tomorrow has been postponed.

Government sources made clear today that the rally at Soccer City could go ahead. Police would be monitoring the rally but keeping a low profile, the Ministry of Law and Order said today.

It is understood that if there are any contraventions of the Internal Security Act — in other words if the aims of the ANC are furthered — police will “investigate” but will not act on the spot.

This acknowledges the fact that it would be unwise for police to act in

the presence of an expected crowd of 80 000 to 100 000 people.

It seems that most embassies will be sending representatives to the rally.

Diplomatic sources said today it was not yet clear if seats would be reserved for diplomats.

## ADVISED

It is understood some ambassadors advised the released ANC leaders at a meeting in Soweto yesterday not to push the ANC too much at the rally for fear that this could provoke the Government to ban future rallies.

Members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Orange Vaal General Workers' Union will stage a peaceful march through the streets of Vereeniging in protest against the Labour Relations Act.

On Sunday, an estimated crowd of 100 000 people are expected to pack Soccer City to listen to the ANC seven, who will be led by former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu. The other released ANC leaders are Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Oscar Mpetha and Mr Andrew Mlangeni.

Mr Govan Mbeki who was released from prison two years ago will also address the rally.

Today police appealed to the organisers and participants not to allow any display of militancy and to “keep within the spirit of the peaceful atmosphere that has been created”.

SAP public relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler said he would like to see the rally go ahead in a spirit of peace. — Staff Reporters, Political Correspondent.

# 'No conflict' among govt on ANC rally

JOHANNESBURG — A spokesman for the State President's Office said yesterday that there is "no conflict of perception" about Sunday's proposed ANC rally.

"The ANC as such is a banned organisation, but the seven leaders who will be speaking at the rally have been unconditionally released and are therefore entitled to speak to their people if they so please," said the State President's Office spokesman. "They now operate as any other citizens in South Africa."

A government spokeswoman said yesterday that there was no substance to the reported ambiguity of the government's position on the rally on Sunday, and reports about a conflict of perception between the State President and the Ministries of Justice and Law and Order had no foundation.

## 'Current position'

Freed ANC leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi said the conflicting statements made by the government were perhaps motivated by the move towards reform on the president's part, and on the part of the Minister of Law and Order the need to address the unfounded fears of the right-wing element in South Africa.

On Wednesday, Brigadier Leon Mellet, of the Ministry of Law and Order, said "The African National Congress is still a banned organisation and in his speech in Bloemfontein Mr (Adriaan) Vlok was merely reiterating the current position of this organisation."

"At this stage the rally has been given permission to go ahead as a welcome-home rally for the released men. However, the position is quite clear that the ministry expects the rally not to contravene the law" — Sapa

# Apartheid tears us apart, <sup>Sowetan</sup> says Mabe



By MONK NKOMO

SOUTH Africa is probably the only country in the world whose inhabitants have difficulty in defining themselves as a nation because of apartheid structures created by the Government, according to Sam Mabe, assistant editor of *Sowetan*.

Addressing a conference on communal reconciliation organised by the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria yesterday, Mabe said legislation and at times even violence have been used by the Government to uphold real, perceived and artificial differences among us.

Referring to the concept of Nation Building, adopted by *Sowetan* last year, Mabe said this was a vision of a future South Africa in which all inhabitants will be members of one human race.

"Apartheid has failed to take away our will to be free and to share our freedom with our former oppressors," Mabe said.

"In spite of the break up of our family structures, the theft of our land and denial of access to the country's economic resources, the forced removals that deprived us of the rights of citizenship in the

land of our forefathers, in spite of the incarceration of our leaders on Robben Island and the commission of many other crimes that have sought to dehumanise us, there is still a lot of preparedness among us to forgive our oppressors and to start a new life with them. "That is why we adopted the concept of Nation Building which is our only hope for the future."

## Dialects

Mabe said differences of pigmentation between blacks and whites and of tribal affiliation among blacks are used to justify the argument that we are a country of many nations. Even people who speak the same language but in different dialects such as Sotho, Tswana and Pedi are said by the Government to be speaking three different languages, three different languages and therefore belong to three different national groups.

"Bantustans separate blacks from fellow blacks. The tricameral parliament tells the so-called coloured and Indians that they are not black enough

to be blacks, neither are they white enough to be whites. Some white children are taught at veld schools and at their homes that blacks do not deserve equal treatment because they are less human than whites," Mabe said.

He added that through these structures, blacks were deprived of their land, of opportunities and rights that are taken for granted by their white counterparts.

Mabe said blacks in this country have been fighting for liberation in which they want to create a non-racial democratic society. But through the methods they apply they seem to be more concerned with marketing their organisational positions than with advancing the struggle.

Mabe said while it was true that there was a great deal of racial bitterness among black people who had had to smile when they wanted to cry and to sometimes say YES when they meant NO, the role of whites in a new society was guaranteed.

"The nation we want to build is definitely not a black nation. It is a nation of all South Africans irrespective of the colour of their skin," Mabe said.

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# Transkei 'considering' unbanning ANC, PAC

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Transkei government is considering the unbanning of political organisations — including the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, according to President Tutor Ndumase.

"Transkeians have never been found wanting when it comes to the vanguard of spearheading the liberation of the black people," the paramount chief said in an address to 8 000 people at a rally in Umtata yesterday to mark the homeland's 13th anniversary of independence.

If the military government does unban the ANC and the PAC, Transkei will become the first area of South Africa in which the

two organisations could operate legally since 1960

However, because neither organisation recognises the homeland governments, they could well publicly reject the move by the Transkei government. They may, however, be tempted by the opportunity to operate legally in part of South Africa.

The Transkei government's determination to decide unilaterally to unban the ANC and PAC could cause further tensions with Pretoria which is already upset because it was not consulted about the move to hold a referendum among Transkeians on "independence".

Moreover, President Ndumase indicated that the government had ignored Pretoria's objections

to the referendum by announcing the appointment of a committee to consider the advisability of a referendum, look into the mechanics of holding one and recommend forums in which the referendum issue could be debated.

He also announced that the Transkei government intended introducing a labour law to legalise trade unions by next year and disclosed that a committee had been appointed to investigate the unrest situation in schools and centres for higher education.

President Ndumase said the unbanning of political organisations had to be done in a manner that would not disturb law and order.

# Sisulu thanks envoys

*Cape Times 27/10/81 11/2*

SOWETO — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and five other recently released political prisoners yesterday met a large group of foreign diplomats to thank the world community for its help.

A long line of ambassadorial limousines wound through the dusty, garbage-strewn streets of Soweto, taking diplomats from more than a dozen countries to a meeting with Mr Sisulu and his colleagues at a church hall.

"The main purpose of the meeting was to thank the international community for its support," British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick said later.

Sir Robin, whose government's opposition to more sanctions against South Africa is condemned by Mass Democratic Movement leaders, said Mr Sisulu called for continued world pressure on Pretoria.

"Sisulu gives me the impression of a very wise old gentleman," said another envoy

PRETORIA. — The French ambassador to South Africa, Mr Jacques Dupont, held long talks yesterday morning with released African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Dupont visited the Soweto home of Mr Sisulu, according to a statement from the French embassy here. — Sapa



Sisulu



Renwick

Mr Sisulu, the 77-year-old former secretary-general of the outlawed African National Congress, has lost none of his militancy during his years in jail, and refuses

to renounce armed struggle as a means of achieving his goals.

The South African government says it has freed Mr Sisulu and others as part of an effort to open a dialogue with leaders of the voteless black majority. It has not said when it will free its most famous political prisoner, Mr Nelson Mandela.

● Speaking earlier at the opening of the new British Council Centre in Johannesburg, Sir Robin said education was the single most important means to destroy apartheid and transform South Africa into a non-racial and democratic society.

He said that while his government was supporting many projects benefiting blacks in the townships and the rural areas, "our main effort will continue to be devoted to education".

The Centre was opened by the London-based director-general of the British Council, Sir Richard Francis — Sapa-Reuter

... was instructed by the State Attorney

# Pik, Mkwayi react to <sup>9/16 TIMES 27/10/87 (112)</sup> Soviet mediation offer

JOHANNESBURG — A Soviet offer to mediate between the South African government and the African National Congress has been favourably received by both sides

ANC leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi yesterday welcomed the offer made by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoli Adamishin

"With a mediator there can be no dispute about the conditions agreed to by both sides with regard to, say, the use of military forces," Mr Mkwayi said

He said the rapprochement between the SA government and the Soviet Union in recent years indicated that acceptance of the Soviet mediation offer by the government was not unrealistic.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said Mr Adamishin's statement on SA had a neutral tone, without the presumptuous and arrogant claims made by certain other countries.

He said obstacles in the path of negotiations had to be removed. This would facilitate direct talks between all leaders in SA — Sapa

## State sees red as SACC man testifies

# Blacks view trio as heroes - bishop

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

The three accused in the Broederstroom ANC terrorism trial would be greeted like kings and queens in Soweto, SA Council of Churches president Manas Buthelezi told the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday

Bishop Buthelezi's afternoon appearance in the witness box brought a strong outburst from the State, which objected to his giving evidence in mitigation before Mr W J van den Bergh

Their objections were overruled by the magistrate, who had heard the assistant State prosecutor, Mr J Pretorius, say there was "no relevance" in having the bishop give evidence

Mr Buthelezi was the second surprise witness called this week by the defence team, led by Mr David Soggot, SC Earlier, sociologist Professor Brunhilde Helm also gave evidence in mitigation

The three accused, Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott-Donnelly, were in June found guilty of multiple terrorism charges. De Lange

was also found guilty on two charges of arson

Mr Soggot described Mr Buthelezi as extremely prominent in the black community He said the purpose of calling the bishop was because the court needed to hear about the attitude "in the townships" towards the ANC

He added "Many in the (black) community have come to perceive the ANC as the authentic voice. The evidence will give a direct relevance to what is happening in the townships"

Mr Soggot said ANC fighters were looked upon with approval by blacks, and those fighters included "members of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) itself"

### Frustration

Mr Buthelezi said black people regarded themselves as victims of political discrimination

"They play no part in decision-making, they cannot vote, they cannot do anything in a political sense They are victims of economic conditions pertaining in a country in which they don't play a role except at a low level. They are victims of poverty, unemployment This has caused

frustration. They are victims of a shortage of housing"

Mr Buthelezi said people were no longer afraid to talk about the ANC

"When the prisoners (a reference to the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and others recently) were released, there have been almost daily processions of people going to pay allegiance. Not by members of the ANC but by the general public," he added.

Asked by Mr Soggot what the attitude was towards white members of the ANC, Mr Buthelezi said "Whites who do not have obvious reasons to cast their lot in with blacks, who join the ANC, are regarded as more than just heroes

"If they (referring to the Broederstroom trio) were to appear in Soweto, they would be regarded like kings and queens"

Earlier, Professor Helm, professor emeritus at the University of Cape Town and a visiting professor in sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, told the court that Robertson, accused No 2, had been "drenched in attitudes towards the ANC probably before he could even talk"

She was replying to further cross-examination of her evidence-in-chief in mitigation

The magistrate had asked her whether or not "a lot of other whites" had had the same attitudes as the three accused, and said it "was common knowledge that not many of them had joined the ANC and committed acts of terrorism"

Professor Helm replied "What we have here are people who did not grow up as normal white South Africans Accused No 1 (De Lange) did not grow up in that way."

The trial continues.

## 'Please call me Westcott'

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

Susan Donnelly, one of three accused in the Broederstroom ANC trial now taking place at the Pretoria regional court, yesterday asked that she be known as "Westcott (also known as Donnelly)".

Mr Michael Westcott, her brother, who told The Star he was speaking on behalf of his family, said her divorce from Mr Dominic Donnelly was imminent and that she no longer

wished to be known as "Susan Donnelly"

He said his sister wished to retain and to resume her family name and he appealed to The Star and other members of the media to grant her that wish

She married her husband, who is not known to her family, in England some years ago. The court has heard during the trial that she had married him to obtain a British passport that would allow her to enter South Africa undetected.

Soggot  
29/10/89

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## A call for unity

THE Black Consciousness Movement has called for unity "first and foremost among the oppressed and the exploited".

In a press conference yesterday the BCM said it viewed the forthcoming conference of anti-apartheid organisations — the Conference for a Democratic Future — in which the movement will participate, as a "base from where good things could come" and "one building block of unity in the liberation movement".

Among other groups participating in the conference planned for December are the Mass Democratic Movement, the unions and the clergy.

Conditions for unity include: unity based on specific principles; mutual respect for the independence and integrity of organisations, and solutions had to be arrived at through consultation and tested by united action on specific issues, the BCM said.

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W. Mail 27/10 - 2/11/89

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THE government's proposal to hold elections for "non-homeland" Africans next year may confront the African National Congress with one of the greatest strategic challenges of its history

The options facing the ANC are to call for a boycott, or to attempt to shift the parameters of the election in order to consider participation. Either way, the poll holds both potential dangers and opportunities for extra-parliamentary forces

At National Party congresses in the Transvaal and the Free State in the last week, constitutional development minister Gerrit Viljoen and justice minister Kobie Coetsee proposed a "special election" as a means for Africans to "appoint" their representatives to the negotiating table.

In the 1970s and 1980s the boycott tactic was used with devastating effect to render illegitimate both the home-

land system and each successive reform of the local authority system. Could next year's election be different?

The De Klerk government's conciliatory and reformist rhetoric has already raised local and overseas expectations enormously. Together with the release of Walter Sisulu and his comrades it has given the De Klerk government a breathing space — "quite an achievement in terms of fine footwork", said Coetsee on Tuesday.

The proposed black election will undoubtedly meet with much interest in foreign capitals. As one senior UDF official noted this week, "international opinion is notoriously fickle" The election, he suggested, "required more than a simple 'No' from the MDM"

But much will depend on the nature of the election proposed. So far, the government is sending out confusing signals.

Coetsee said in Bloemfontein that "more than 60 percent of blacks are already involved in a form of government in which they have exercised their choice."

The assumption, then, is that those Africans living in the homelands have already elected their negotiation representatives, as have coloureds and Indians.

Add a set of relatively pliant non-homeland leaders, throw in a couple of black mayors and councillors, and the government may hope it has all the ingredients it needs for an internal settlement which gives the white minority

# Boycotts have always worked for the ANC. But can they work in 1990?

*The African elections next year pose some tricky new strategic challenges for the ANC, argues*

**MARK PHILLIPS**

veto power over all future change

According to Viljoen, "radicals exclude themselves if they have secret agendas in the back of their minds" But, he went on to say "Through negotiations beforehand, the nature and details of such an election must be found to be generally acceptable"

Here lies the rub. The ANC's options are wider than simply "boycott" or "participate". It may well have the power to turn the election into something quite different from what the Nats are intending

International opinion and the ANC's organised strength on the ground prevent the government from unilaterally excluding the ANC. De Klerk hopes the ANC will "marginalise itself" through a straightforward boycott.

But if the ANC expresses its willingness to negotiate the terms of the election, De Klerk's bluff will be called. How far could the government's proposal be shifted?

At present the government rejects the idea of voting on a common voters role out of hand. Says Coetsee. "We reject surrender as a model. It is not even an option"

What could the liberation movement gain through attempting to negotiate at least a fully fledged black election? Its willingness to consider the concept of an election at this stage, even if it rejects its proposed parameters, would win it widespread respect.

The ANC could demand — entirely reasonably — that coloureds and Indi-

ans be included in the poll, as well as all homeland residents

Apart from the government and the Conservative Party no one in the world would oppose this demand. The homelands are recognised by nobody. Low election polls have put paid to claims by Indian and coloured parliamentarians to represent more than 20 to 30 percent of their communities

The right to organise freely in all parts of the country would have to be guaranteed. So would equal access to the media, including TV and radio. Under such conditions, few would doubt the capacity of the ANC to win a huge majority of the votes cast. And the organisational gains would be enormous

Government rejection of these demands would expose the hollowness of its rhetorical commitment to negotiating a united South Africa. It would also then provoke a boycott,

which would easily achieve 75 percent success. De Klerk would be shifted right back into the Botha cul-de-sac.

But this strategy could also carry heavy costs for the ANC. Its commitment to non-racialism is not mere idle principle. Negotiations should not be between black and white, it believes. They should be between democrats and those who still cling to race-based thinking

And in terms of the OAU guidelines, the objective of negotiations and the elections which ensue should be the creation of "a united, democratic and non-racial state." Yet Kobie Coetsee was still talking this week of "marketing the concept of own affairs more effectively"

The Pan Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness Movement would almost certainly boycott almost any kind of election other than a non-racial one. In the unlikely event that a full black election were to be held, even a 70 percent poll would allow these small groups, whose organisational presence is in a state of steady decline, to claim 30 percent support for their strategies.

Sunday's mass rally to welcome home the released ANC leaders will give some key pointers to the future. We remain in the initial phase of "talks about talks". But there can be no doubt that the future electoral fortunes of the country are already firmly on the agenda.

●Mark Phillips is a researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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penditure of \$5-million to fund er than this." — The Los Angeles  
"internal groups", understood to be Times

## 25 die as Muslims, Hindus clash

11A

INDIAN Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi flew to north-eastern Bihar state yesterday to inspect the site of Hindu-Muslim clashes that have claimed at least 25 lives in the past two days.

Gandhi cancelled a visit on Wednesday to the worst-hit town, Bhagalpur, on the Ganges river, when reports of fresh violence came in.

Army troops were called out to patrol Bhagalpur and ordered to shoot at sight rioters as the violence that erupted on Tuesday showed no signs of abating.

Communal violence has broken out in many parts of India after a militant Hindu organisation's decision to lay a foundation stone on November 9 for a temple. Muslims object because a mosque adjoins the site.

The temple is to be built in Ayodhya town in central Uttar Pradesh state near the reputed birthplace of Lord Rama, one of the reincarnations of the Hindu god, Vishnu the creator.

In the Bihar clashes, four people were lynched by a mob after being dragged from a passenger train from Malda to New Delhi, UNI reported.

Other reports said mobs had bombed several trains in an area where a number of passengers were killed and their belongings looted. *The Times of India* said at least 100 bodies were thrown into the Ganges.

It said the entire town of Bhagalpur was engulfed in smoke after two religious sites, two petrol pumps and a number of shops were set on fire. — Deutsche Presse Agentur

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# Asvat trial accused tells of shocks

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AN accused in the Asvat murder trial this week alleged police electrocuted him, "pulled a tube (that of a car tyre) over his face" and forced him to make a statement confessing to the murder of community doctor Dr Abu Baker Asvat.

Zakhele Mbatha, 21, was giving evidence during a trial-within-a-trial in the Rand Supreme Court where he and Thulani Nicholas Dlamini, 20, are appearing on seven charges relating to murder, robbery and unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition.

The two have pleaded not guilty to the charges which include the gunning down of the Soweto doctor in January and the robbery at a store in Natal last year.

Last Friday counsel for Mbatha, Wayne Hutchinson, challenged the admissibility of a statement made by

**A man accused of murdering activist doctor Abu Baker Asvat says he was tortured with an electric instrument called 'Sergeant Sparks', reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY**

the accused to a policeman because it was "procured under duress and he was told what to say".

"Therefore the contents are false," Hutchinson said.

In the statement made to Lieutenant FG Page on February 19 this year at Roodepoort police station, Mbatha claimed a friend, Johannes (one of Dlamini's first names), whom he met in December last year, told him of a plan to make money. Johannes took him to Rockville on January 25 and showed him Asvat's surgery. On January 27 Johannes told him to go to the surgery and tell the doctor he

was sick.

After giving his particulars to the nurse Mbatha and his friend left the surgery and went to the shop where they remained until 5.30pm, according to the statement.

When they returned to the surgery Johannes gave him a firearm.

Mbatha entered the consulting rooms, pointed the firearm at the doctor and told him he wanted money.

After Asvat grabbed him on his left wrist he shot at the doctor's "upper leg", according to the statement. In the scuffle Mbatha shot the doctor in the chest. Johannes entered the room and removed something from the desk. The two men could not open the door to escape, and Mbatha threatened to shoot Johannes.

He then pointed the firearm at the nurse, whom he could see through the grating, and suddenly the door opened and the two ran away

**Riot police shot  
ANC seven 'in  
self-defence'**

11A

By GAYE DAVIS,  
Cape Town

A COLONEL who investigated the shooting by police of seven alleged African National Congress guerrillas in Guguletu in 1986 was criticised by a Wynberg magistrate this week.

Magistrate G Hoffman blamed Colonel Fanie Brits for the court's inability to hold a proper inquest soon after the deaths.

Hoffman found that the riot police who killed the men could not be held criminally responsible for the deaths.

Their action was a "natural reaction"; they acted in self-defence and in line with their task of "combating terrorism", he said.

The inquest was reopened after new evidence came to light in the 1987 trial of the former *Cape Times* deputy news editor, Tony Weaver.

The original inquest went ahead on the basis of affidavits made by policemen involved in the operation, collected by Brits, former chief of the murder and robbery squad.

This week Hoffman criticised Brits' "blithe attitude", saying he had "taken it upon himself" to decide on gathering only seven police statements, when 22 force members had been involved in the shooting.

Evidence was that the seven men had allegedly planned to ambush a police staff bus.

But what actually took place at a Guguletu intersection on the morning of March 3 1986, took police unawares and "each man acted for himself", Hoffman found.

Policemen lying in wait in bushes and cars were in the process of abandoning their original plan when one spotted seven black men in a minibus and the first shot was fired at a man holding a hand-grenade.

Hoffman found police evidence to have been contradictory but also criticised that of witnesses, who said they saw a policeman firing three shots into the chest of a dead man at point-blank range, as "unreliable". Medical evidence was that the body had only two wounds.

Evidence by two employees of a school for the disabled was also "improbable". They said they saw Lieutenant Wilhelm Bellingham shoot a man in the head while he was lying on the ground.

Those killed were Mandla Simon Mqingwa, Alfred Zola, Godfrey Jabulani Moya, Christopher Piet, Tembale Molefe, Zamonkwe John Kondile and Zola Zalus Mfobo.

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# ANC 'still violent' 172

The Government would not negotiate with the ANC unless it foreswore violence and adopted democratic rules, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking at a Human Sciences Research Council conference on community reconciliation, Dr van der Merwe said there were still fundamental differences between the Government and the ANC. The Government was interested

in a negotiated settlement in terms of a free democracy while the ANC was still committed to violence. He said a one man, one vote system would lead to the minority finding themselves powerless by being outvoted by the majority.

Dr van der Merwe said the Government was striving for a democracy without domination and a system to ensure maximum participation by all groups through consensus and compromise.

Sapa. *SKW 27/10/89*

# Kill activists, 'hit-man'

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In the case of Mxenge — killed at Umlazi Sports Stadium eight years ago — Nofomela says after the final briefing at headquarters in Pretoria, he and his fellow assassins "travelled to Durban in one car . . . where we met (field officer Johannes Dirk) Coetzee at CR Swart police station. Coetzee had travelled to Durban separately."

Having killed Mxenge, Nofomela claims, he and his fellow assassins "returned to CR Swart where we were barracked for the remainder of our stay in Durban".

The information emerging from the three incidents under scrutiny in these inquests shows a sinister pattern — which matches Nofomela's tale in many respects:

● In each case the target was a person or group of people believed by the police to be ANC members or to have links with the ANC

Nofomela said all his assassination targets were suspected of having ANC links.

● In nearly all cases, police initially blamed internal ANC rivalries or robberies for the killings. In some, the fact that ANC-associated weapons like AK47s or Makarov 9mm pistols were used gave initial credence to this interpretation.

Nofomela claims that he and his co-assassins had orders to make the crime look like a robbery, and to this end Mxenge's watch and money were removed from the body. Also a tape deck and radio were taken out of the car, and allegedly later installed in the service vehicle of a Brigadier Schoon.

● Families of the victims have complained about the police investigations. Private prosecutions have been mooted if the state does not prosecute those involved.

Mxenge's family has also complained about a "slapdash" investigation.

● On each occasion the police set a trap for their victims.

Nofomela said his unit had staged a breakdown to stop Mxenge on his way home, and kidnap him.

● Each of the three incidents involved one or more "turned" ANC operatives. In each case, this person (or persons) has been used as a secret witness in subsequent trials of former ANC comrades, as such their identities are protected by law and we are unable to publish details.

Similarly, one of the fellow-assassins named by Nofomela gave evidence as a "Mr X" in a recent Port Elizabeth security case and told the court he was a former ANC member.

# from 'Sergeant Sparks'

Mbatha handed the gun to Johannes and split the R135 they had taken from the surgery. In his statement Mbatha added that Johannes said he would use the balance to buy bullets.

During evidence Mbatha denied that the statement was correct and alleged the police told him what to say.

He claimed that the day before he made the statement he was taken by the investigating officer and three other policemen to a chicken farm (behind Kiptown railway station). On the way to the farm, while still outside the Lenasia police station, "Heslinga (the investigating officer) tied a belt around my neck and took me to a Kombi.

"They started assaulting me while we were driving. When I regained consciousness I was asked where the chicken farm was.

"After that they drove me to the Protea police station, where I was

taken to a swimming pool.

"My clothes were taken off and my hands were handcuffed behind my back and my feet were also cuffed. They told me if I didn't point out where the firearm was and admit I killed Asvat they would put me into the swimming pool

"They started holding my feet and my hands, and my head was dipped in the pool.

"The cuffs were removed. I dressed and they went with me into the offices. My denim jacket was brought up to my face and tightened so I couldn't see

"I was handcuffed and instructed to sit on the chair. I was electrocuted by an object and I fell down from the chair.

"I was instructed to sit down and another object (a car tyre tube) was pulled over my face I could not breathe.

"I was pulled down to the floor — stomach down. I felt my body being electrocuted. I couldn't scream or cry because the object was tightly squeezed across my face."

Mbatha claimed he then told the police he had sold a firearm to a person called Gugu. He took them to the Marafe hostel where Gugu was staying.

Gugu denied knowing him or anything about the firearm and "they (the police) instructed him to assault me because I was making false allegations against him".

Mbatha said he was again electrocuted and was told the object being used to electrocute him was "Sergeant Sparks"

Then "an Indian policeman (known to him as Moodley) told me that when Heslinga returned he would give me instructions and if I didn't carry out his instructions we would go from round three to round 15 — in sequence".

"Major Heslinga returned with a piece of paper and a ball pen and started telling me about Johannes — my friend — the person I went with to kill the deceased. They said I should say my intention was to go and rob him (Asvat) I was told to mention that the person who came with the idea of getting to the place was Johannes

"They repeated this several times so I couldn't forget it," he said.

Under cross-examination Mbatha admitted he knew Dlamini from their "homeland". However, he had told a magistrate before the start of the su-

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W. Miller

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## Future protest hangs on Sunday rally

●From PAGE 1

man Gugu, who was freed in

## Torture claims in Asvat trial

W. Miller

●From PAGE 5

his evidence in chief Mbatha said he received the injury on the way to the chicken farm.

Mbatha also did not tell the Soweto Regional Court magistrate, ME Miller, of his injury. Miller said he did not notice any injuries or that Mbatha was limping.

Dr Ebrahim Asvat, Asvat's brother, said in court earlier this week he had not seen Mbatha limping on the day Mbatha was taken to Asvat's Rockville surgery.

"At what stage did the assaults influence you to make a statement before Lieutenant Page?" asked J van der Merwe, for the state.

"After I returned from the place where I pointed out Gugu," replied Mbatha

He said after Heslinga and Moodley ran through the story with him a few times he gave his statement to Page, whom he told he had been assaulted while at Protea police station.

Van der Merwe put it to him that in



W/ Mail 27/10 - 2/11/89

# As Rivonia Six are released, Broederstroom Three face jail

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THERE is a strange irony attached to the sentencing of the "Broederstroom Three" in the Pretoria Regional Court next week.

It is an indication of the unpredictability of the current political situation that recently-released African National Congress leaders, most of them founder members of the military wing Umkhonto weSizwe, are operating freely just as three young members of the same organisation face lengthy prison sentences.

The trial is a manifestation of the government's ambiguous stance towards the banned organisation. The energy with which the three are being prosecuted inside the courtroom is

difficult to equate with the open, and allowed, displays of support for the movement outside.

It is also an important sign of how white involvement in guerrilla activity has increased since the "Rivonia" leaders went to Robben Island in 1963 to serve their life sentences.

The eventual fate of Damian de Lange, 31, Iain Robertson, 35, and Susan Westcott, 25, has attracted less attention than might have been expected because it has been overshadowed by the release of the ANC leaders.

But theirs is a case which — as has

been borne out by the hours of sociological testimony about the motivation behind their decision to join Umkhonto — says a great deal about the unresolved fissures in South African society; the era of FW de Klerk notwithstanding.

The three, articulate, sophisticated white South Africans, placed their lives at risk in pursuance of their beliefs. The potential risk became actual when they were captured in a raid on their Broederstroom smallholding on May 8 1988.

They were detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act until January 23 of this year, when they appeared in a magistrates' court on charges relating to terrorism.

In a subsequent appearance, on June 12, De Lange and Robertson pleaded guilty to 11 counts, and Westcott to 10. The current hearings, expected to conclude at the end of next week, are to allow evidence in mitigation.

The three's instructing attorney said: "It is strange, at a time when the ANC has in certain areas been *de facto* 'unbanned', to observe a case being pursued such vigour on charges such as membership, furthering the aims and the like."

He believes the state is "trying to depoliticise this and other cases by pursuing the 'criminal' aspects and dropping the charges of treason."

"The effect is that the state wants to depoliticise their actions as soldiers."

For family members, friends and supporters, there is no question about the political dimension.

Susan Westcott's brother, Michael, — who, with Kieran de Lange, brother of Damian and others, has helped set up the "Broederstroom Support Committee" — says events since last year's raid "have had a definite politicising effect".

His own political development was closely allied to that of his sister's, but the influence has been more widely felt — particularly by his parents.

Michael Westcott harbours a hope that the changing political climate will mean she does not have to serve her sentence in its entirety, and says his sister has been "very excited about the releases (of the ANC leaders) ... and the groundswell of support."

"It has been an enormous morale boost for all of them (the three)."

This could be compounded next week, when it is thought possible that Rivonia leaders might pay a visit to the courtroom.

## White MKs 'kings' in Soweto

IF the "Broederstroom Three" were able to appear in Soweto tomorrow, they would be regarded as "kings and queens".

This statement, by South African Council of Churches president Bishop Manas Buthelezi, prompted exclamations of approval from the public gallery in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Buthelezi was giving evidence in mitigation in the case of Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott, who have pleaded guilty to several counts of "terrorism". The three Umkhonto weSizwe members are expected to receive their sentences next week.

Before Buthelezi could take the witness stand, defence counsel David Soggot had to convince Magistrate W.J. van der Bergh that the prosecution's objection (that the bishop's evidence was not relevant), was not valid.

Soggot successfully argued that Buthelezi, as a prominent figure in black communities, "might be able to offer guidance" to the court, particularly regarding the attitude toward whites who joined the ANC, or Umkhonto.

In his evidence, Buthelezi said the

sense of grievance among blacks had increased since 1976: "Many feel frustrated, and some have lost hope that their grievances can be redressed".

Regarding support for the ANC, Buthelezi said "ever since the old (traditional) order crumbled, the ANC was the home for people trying to fit into the new political order".

Increasingly, he said, he had observed that members of Umkhonto were "regarded as heroes by the community, and this cut across the spectrum; ordinary people included".

In the case of whites who joined, he said "my observation is that as they do not have such obvious reasons to cast in their lot with the ANC, they are regarded as even more than heroes."

"There is something within them (which encourages them to join the ANC) ... it is beyond mere physical circumstances. If they (the three) were to appear in Soweto, they would be regarded as kings and queens."

The magistrate acceded to a request from the prosecution for an adjournment until this morning, when Buthelezi will be cross-examined.



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W.M. Mas 27/10 - 2/11/89

# First Afrikaans anti-apartheid group begins

By GAVIN EVANS

THE first-ever anti-apartheid organisation aimed specifically at Afrikaans-speakers is being launched. The policy document of the *Afrikaanse Demokratiese* was completed last night, and the new organisation's 50 active members are expected to turn out in force under an AD banner at Sunday's welcome home rally for the eight released political leaders. "We've found that a lot of Afrikaans-speaking people are hesitant to join other organisations because they don't feel uncomfortable with the lan-

guage or style," AD representative Linda Dietrich said this week. "What we're trying to do is create a bridge facility for people who want to feel part of the broad movement in our society." She said the new group would not be ethnically based and would be open to anyone. Most current members are white and "coloured" people whose first language is Afrikaans. No decision has been taken on the

question of affiliation to the United Democratic Front, but Dietrich said the thrust of the organisation was in line with that of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). The AD's policy document supports the call for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, backs the MDM's negotiation pre-conditions, and takes a strong stand in favour of a non-sexist and ecology-conscious society. Dietrich said the AD was not fighting for Afrikaner rights. "Rather,

we're trying to create an organisation based for Afrikaans-speakers and to show that it's not only Nats and AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) people who speak Afrikaans. The organisation has not yet embarked on a membership drive but has attracted the interest of hundreds of Afrikaans-speakers from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Pretoria, according to Dietrich. "Eventually we'd like to go national, but at the moment we're still preparing for a Johannesburg launch."

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SOWETAN Friday, October 27, 1989

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# New Law Will

Sowetan 27/10/89

# reflect the needs of the people

THE chairman of the Law Commission, Mr Justice Oliver, has outlined his expectations of a legal order for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Addressing a conference yesterday on a new jurisprudence for a future South Africa, organised by the Centre for Human Rights Studies at the University of Pretoria, Oliver said the way a post-apartheid society was achieved would profoundly influence the legal order.

### Own Correspondent

Oliver told delegates a new South Africa would probably be achieved through an evolutionary process "within the present order which will change and be moulded until we one day reach a point when we can say 'Now we have a post apartheid South Africa', where race or ethnicity as a discriminatory factor are not allowed by law".

He listed several laws and statutes which would

have to be repealed or drastically amended to abolish apartheid.

Oliver said a future legal order would be "more fair and just" because of the abolition of discriminatory legislation.

Outlining his views on a future legal order, the director of the Legal Resources Centre Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, agreed with Oliver that "it was neither desirable nor feasible to throw everything overboard and to start anew".

He said an acceptable legal order should reflect the needs of the people who are to be subjected to it.

"The only possible way forward, as I see it, is to address particular aspects of the legal order that call for attention and to return the rest, moulding it gradually into a

coherent system reflecting the aspirations of the majority of the people", Chaskalson said.

Chaskalson said "huge" issues, which would lead to fundamental changes in the legal order were the limitation of State power and "the protection of fundamental rights, with the approach to social and economic rights and the abrogation of discrimination on the grounds of race or sex".

The implementation of State policies designed to advance the interests of those who have been the victims of the ideology of

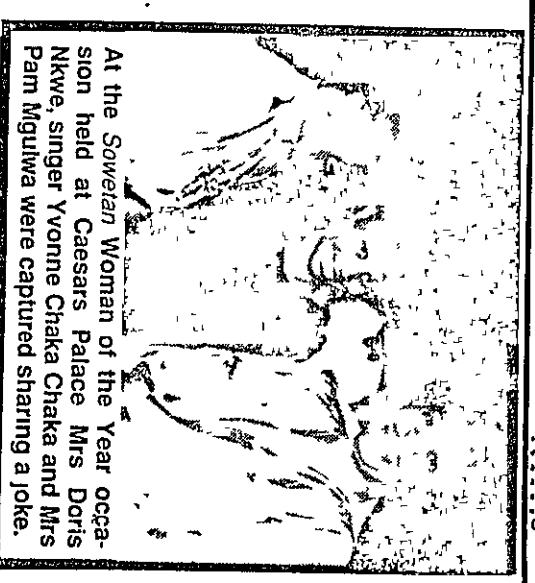
apartheid also needed attention.

He stressed, however, that other aspects of the present legal system - the criminal justice system, the system of administrative law and the lack of access to the legal profession by the great majority of the population - were also unsatisfactory and demanded attention.

Chaskalson said the

present legal order "was weighed heavily in favour of the state and those who have wealth and power".

"If the new legal order cannot do better than the old in dealing with these matters it will have little to commend itself to ordinary people, and will fail to gain acceptance as an instrument of justice," he said.



At the Sowetan Woman of the Year occasion held at Caesars Palace Mrs Doris Nkwe, singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Mrs Pam Mguwisa were captured sharing a joke.

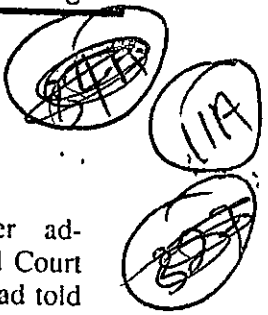
## Alleged killer's statement

AN alleged killer admitted in the Rand Court yesterday that he had told a Johannesburg magistrate he was guilty of the murder of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat.

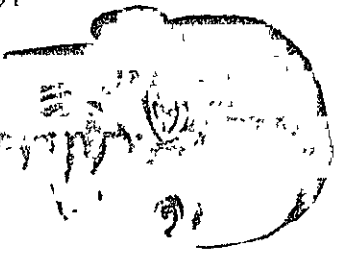
Mr Zakhele Mbatha was being cross examined by the prosecutor, Mr A J N van der Merwe, when he admitted he had pleaded guilty. He said he had been told to plead guilty by the police who had threatened to assault him again if he did not

Mbatha said he was afraid to tell the magistrate that he was assaulted by the police because they were present in court

He said when the magistrate asked him to plead, he feared to deviate from what the police had told him



*Handwritten:*  
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THE

# WORLDWIDE

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Volume 5, Number 42 Friday October 27 1989 to Thursday November 2 1989

## THE LAST FRIEND ON EARTH IN WHOM BANNED MEN TURN PAPER

### Future of protest hangs on rally

THE future of mass protest and of government *verliging* could depend on Sunday afternoon's "welcome home" rally for the seven released African National Congress leaders.

A senior National Party source, who asked not to be named, indicated the securcrats within the state were poised to reverse the tide of new thinking within government if the rally led to any "violent spillover". "I think some of them are hoping and expecting that things will not go smoothly, so that they can put a stop to open displays of support for the ANC and the Communist Party," the Nat MP said.

Rally organisers expect the event to be one of the largest displays of support for the banned organisation in its 77-year history. Plans have been made to cater for 80 000 people at Soccer City near Soweto — 20 000 from outside Johannesburg.

Wary of attempts to sabotage the event, organisers have appointed 700 marshalls in addition to the Soccer City security staff. Organisers say they don't expect police to disrupt the rally but SAP representatives have indicated that if there is a "flagrant promoting" of ANC aims, they may have to act. Exactly what that means is not clear. Banners and symbols of the ANC and South African Communist Party were prohibited to peace.

Party are likely to be displayed, and the released leaders will speak in their capacity as senior ANC members. Over the past week, seemingly different signals have emerged from various government representatives regarding the status of the ANC. Addressing the NP Transvaal Congress in Pretoria, State President Conde Klerk said he was prepared to accept "every political possibility" right to "signals in words and deeds" that they were prepared to peace.

"The ANC is a banned organisation but the seven leaders who will be speaking at the rally have been unconditionally released and are therefore entitled to speak to their people if they so please," said a representative. Speaking on behalf of the National Reception Committee, which is hosting the rally, the United Democratic Front's Murphy. Morobe said if there were any interference with the rally it would be a clear indication that the leaders have been released with "invisible restrictions".

Morobe said W. alter, Sisulu, W. Mtshali, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Mosekolehi and Andrew Mlangeni would be speaking. So will former ANC national chair-

● TO PAGE 5

# Targets for murder



Who are these men? Death-row prisoner Notomela claims they are ANC operatives. He was ordered to hunt down and kill

**T**HESSE are photographs of suspected ANC guerrillas, found under a mattress in the home of former security policeman and death row prisoner Butana Almond Notomela. He says he was ordered to kill the men.

These pictures are part of the evidence that emerged this week to back Notomela's claims that he was part of a police death squad which assassinated human rights activist Griffiths Mkhenge and at least eight other individuals linked to the African National Congress.

The men in the pictures have either been assassinated or were targets for assassination before Notomela's arrest for murdering a white farmer in 1986. *Weekly Mail* has not been able to identify the three.

Also discovered in Notomela's home this week by members of Lawyers for Human Rights were a cache of 9mm bullets, false passports and foreign currency.

One of the passports bears a Swaziland border control stamp, Notomela claims he used it on an assassination mission in the neighbouring state.

And further evidence of the existence of a secret "anti-terrorist" hit squad based in security

**I** was told to kill these

**activists, says 'hit-squad'**

**policeman on death-row**

**Notomela**

My police headquarters in Pretoria — including the names of policemen implicated by Notomela — has emerged in two separate inquiries in Natal.

In both this week's inquiries, involving incidents in Piet Retief and Chesterville, a Major Eugene Alexander de Kock appears as a senior officer commanding the operation. In the Piet Retief case, he personally headed an ambush in which four suspected ANC guerrillas were killed.

De Kock's name also appears in Notomela's affidavit as a senior link in the chain of command.

one to have been investigated so far — a member of the Pretoria security police squad claiming to be an ANC contact, met the four youths on the Swaziland border and led them into a police trap.

In an affidavit sworn for the Chesterville inquiry, De Kock, who describes himself as "unit commander concerned with investigating terrorism", says: "Since 1983 I have been connected with investigating terrorism countrywide. These operations (covert operations) like that in Chesterville, are only carried out in exceptional circumstances where it is believed that groups from the ANC are operating."

Beneath De Kock in the Chesterville chain of command was field officer Lieutenant Paul Jacobs van Dyk, who said in an affidavit put before the court that the unit he led had been together for three years at the time of the Chesterville killings.

He told the court that it travelled down from headquarters in Pretoria to set up in operation at base at CR Swart Police Station in Durban and the "unit came to see me there."

This *morlin* operation, says in detail with Notomela's allegations of how this unit operated.



# Future protest hangs on (VIA) Sunday rally

● From PAGE 1

man Govan Mbeki, who was freed in 1987. Mbeki's restriction orders were lifted for a week to allow him to speak on Sunday.

Muntu Myeza, of the Black Consciousness Movement, said BCM supporters would attend the rally "in a spirit of comradeship".

If the event goes ahead without incident, it will confirm semi-legal status for the ANC within the country, and will mean the Congress-aligned forces will operate at four levels.

The ANC and SACP will have public faces, and at least seven representatives immune from serious threat of prosecution. At the same time they will maintain underground structures.

The UDF, which is restricted, has re-emerged as a public force and is building up its structures.

The Mass Democratic Movement, created to fill the gap left by the UDF, has pulled the UDF, Cosatu and several previously unaligned groups into a coherent and public alliance.

A fifth level could be created if the Conference for a Democratic Future in December succeeds in forging a broad alliance of anti-apartheid forces.

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W. Mail 27/10-2/11/89 (11A) (11B)

# Transkei plans to unban ANC, PAC

THE African National Congress could soon have offices in the Transkei.

The "independent homeland's" government announced yesterday — at what may well be the territory's last "independence" celebrations in the territory — the possible unbanning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress and the legalisation of unions.

This follows several weeks of protest by dissatisfied workers and a new mood of liberalisation under what was once one of the sub-continent's most brutally repressive governments.

State President Tutor Ndamase told a crowd of about 8 000 at the stadium in central Umtata of the possible changes. "The government is presently considering the unbanning of political organisations in the country. This includes organisation like the ANC, PAC and others. However, this has to be done in a manner that will not disturb the maintenance of law and order," he said.

Such a move would have major regional implications, particularly since it comes within days of Holomisa calling into question the territory's independence and calling for a referendum on the matter.

Of course, Holomisa's government

By LOUISE FLANAGAN, Umtata

could not simultaneously reverse its "independence" and unban the ANC. That organisation is not only banned in South Africa, but its presence in neighbouring states has led to threats and tension between them and Pretoria, and even cross-border raids by the South African Defence Force.

Ndamase also said that events in South Africa indicated that political prisoners and exiles may soon be returning to Transkei. "Some of those exiles have their homes in the Transkei and not in the townships of the Republic of South Africa," he said, in a remark seen as a clear reference to Nelson Mandela, who was born in the Transkei.

This is of major significance, since Mandela has previously been offered his freedom if he lived in the Transkei, but has refused it on the grounds that he did not recognise its independence. A Transkei that rejected independence, or had unbanned the ANC, may allow Mandela to rethink his position.

There are also plans to review the territory's unpopular security legislation.

"Transkeians have never been found wanting when it comes to the

vanguard of spearheading the liberation of the black people. In pursuing this noble objective, the Transkei government has pledged itself to review security legislation," Ndamase said.

Ndamase also announced long-awaited changes to the labour laws, making Transkei the first "independent" homeland to legalise unions.

He went even further — actively encouraging the formation of worker organisations. He told workers to form unions and register these with the Department of Manpower Planning and Utilisation by the end of November.

A Wage Board will start operating next month and an Industrial Council is also on the cards. These are all to be "interim arrangements" until the new laws are promulgated early next year.

● The Transkei Workers Coordinating Committee, the forerunner of a general union, said yesterday they were sceptical of these promises, pointing to the detention of 200 youths in Umtata yesterday. The youths were apparently meeting to discuss the formation of a new youth organisation.



# Only one place to be, says Motlana

"There is only one place to be on Sunday," said veteran Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana. "We've got to be there listening to them"

He was, of course, referring to the mass rally at Soccer City stadium between Johannesburg and Soweto to introduce — or reintroduce — the newly-freed political prisoners "to the people."

There is some debate about whether or not the rally will be a formal African National Congress event. A warning by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that the ANC is still outlawed, with the implied threat of police action if ANC aims are furthered, gives the discussion a sharp edge.

But whatever the official description of the rally it will see the largest concentration of senior ANC leaders in decades.

Seven of the eight men released on October 15 are ANC men. The seven ANC patriarchs will be joined by an eighth Mr Govan Mbeki, who was freed two years ago and whose legal fetters have been relaxed to enable him to address the crowd. As Mr Murphy Morobe, of the National Reception Committee, observes "The rally will be addressed by ANC leaders"

## Celebrating

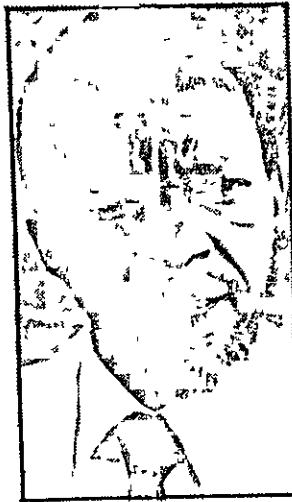
The people will be celebrating the return of ANC leaders after 25 years. Their joy will undoubtedly be expressed in a regalia of banners and flags, and through songs and dances, steeped in the tradition of the Freedom Charter, of which the ANC is an inseparable component.

Whether that makes it an ANC rally is largely a matter of semantics. What is relevant is that magisterial permission to hold the meeting has been granted.

The rally takes place in the shadow of the Transvaal congress of the National Party last weekend, at which high-ranking party men spoke of the need to show the ANC that it was "not the only pebble on the beach".

Their view is summed up by President de Klerk "There is no single party or grouping that can lay claim that it alone speaks on behalf of black South Africans"

Against that, however, the Clarerists will be anxious to demonstrate the extent and depth of their support, to show



Dr Motlana ... "We must listen to them."



Mr Vlok ... veiled threat.

# Thousands are poised to greet the ANC eight

Slow 27/10/89

Sunday's rally at the Soccer City stadium between Johannesburg and Soweto, for which magisterial permission has been granted, will see the largest concentration of African National Congress leaders in decades. There is debate about whether the rally, which is expected to attract thousands of people, will be a formal ANC event. But whatever its official description, it will be closely watched by leaders on all sides of the political spectrum, writes **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

to the world that they are by far the biggest pebble on the beach.

Inevitably comparisons will be made, leading to deductions about the strength of the rival movements.

The pro-Freedom Charter United Democratic Front and its trade union ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, have held big rallies in the past, notably the May Day rally in Soweto in 1986. On that occasion, perhaps as many as 25 000 people squeezed into Orlando Stadium.

An immediate target to supersede will be the 60 000-strong crowd which crammed into King's Park Stadium in Durban in 1986 to mark the es-

tablishment by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, of the United Workers Union of South Africa.

Inkatha used to hold major rallies in Soweto at Jabulani Amphitheatre. It has not held a rally there since June 1986. The stadium holds between 12 000 and 15 000 people. It was usually filled for Inkatha's rallies or, as they were officially billed, prayer meetings.

The Africanists, whose tradition dates back to the Youth League in the ANC, embrace the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the newly-established Pan-Africanist Federation. They have not held a major rally in recent years.

But there is no doubt that they will monitor Sunday's rally closely, if only to gauge the popularity and organising ability of the ANC-UDF-Cosatu axis.

Their attitude towards public demonstrations of support, as expressed by the PAC president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, is contemptuous. They contend that the protest marches — and, by extension, rallies — in the present climate help President de Klerk by giving him the appearance of a democrat who allows his foes freedom of expression and association.

Another political camp which will watch events closely is the Black Consciousness Movement. The hope of its founding father, Steve Biko, was that it would emerge as a Third Force occupying a bridging position between the ANC and the PAC. That alone gives it a vital interest in the rally.

Leaving organisations aside, two powerful men will keep the rally under the closest scrutiny: Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

## Open force

Mr Mandela has devoted his life to the ANC and, it is speculated, is masterminding the de facto emergence of the ANC as an open political force in South Africa as distinct from a clandestine organisation functioning under an exiled leadership.

More than that, however, Mr Mandela is understood to be in favour of channelling as many "pebbles" as possible along a single track, so that — if need be — they can move forward inexorably against whatever obstacles may lie ahead.

A bit of history is pertinent: one of Mr Mandela's last public actions before going underground to help found Umkhonto we Sizwe was to organise an "All-in-Convention" in March 1961 in a bid to unite black people of all ideological persuasions.

Mr de Klerk, having — to continue the metaphor — loosened the pebbles which can become an unstoppable and uncontrollable avalanche, will clearly have a direct interest in the progress of the rally.

If it proceeds smoothly and peacefully, his hand will be strengthened against his foes on the far right, if not, he will be vulnerable to their charges that he has been reckless with the country's security.

# Mr Sean 98/10/99 Death shattered a dream

## ANC leader, wife never managed to live together

THE one person who waited for many years, but was not around to greet African National Congress leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi (65) when he was released from prison to a hero's homecoming recently, was his wife Irene.

She died 10 months ago — almost a year after the couple had married behind prison bars.

They had been lovers before Mr Mkwayi's arrest 24 years ago, but they never had the opportunity to live together as man and wife.

Mr Mkwayi, who led the military arm of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe high command, was sentenced to life imprisonment in December 1964 at the end of what was called the "little Rivonia" trial.

For 22 years the couple tried to get permission to marry, but prison authorities continually refused until 1987 when they were suddenly and unexpectedly given the go-ahead.

Until then, Mrs Mkwayi spent many years travelling to Robben Island to visit her common-law husband. For the first 12 years the couple were denied any form of physical contact.

When he and seven other long-term political prisoners were released two weeks ago, Mr Mkwayi, who has no remaining family in Soweto, was taken by prison authorities to the old Orlando West home of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mkwayi, speaking from his temporary home in an exclusive interview this week, said (although he was very happy to be released) he felt the loneliness of not having his wife at his side.

"I was married to my wife and I was married to my organisation (the ANC). My wife died, leaving my organisation to console me."

### Saw specialist

The last time he saw his late wife was on October 25 last year when she came to visit him on Robben Island. She was going to visit him the next day but he suggested she saw a specialist instead as she was not well. "I never saw her again."

Mrs Mkwayi died the next month. "I don't know how to express the shock I felt the day I heard she had died," he said.

Mr Mkwayi was refused permission to attend his wife's Soweto funeral, which was restricted and characterised by heavy police presence and the chanting of freedom songs and marching.

Mrs Winnie Mandela lives in Mr Mandela's other home in Diepkloof.

"I think I have seen her twice since I came out," he said, adding that the authorities had informed him before his release he would be staying at the Mandela home until he had one of his own.

Mr Mkwayi returned to Soweto to be greeted by a large "family". When the Saturday Star visited the house this week it was filled with people.

### Photo album

"Two 'bodyguards' stood at the entrance of the gate, and three women were preparing food in the kitchen. A number of activists from Soweto civic and youth organisations were busy around the house.

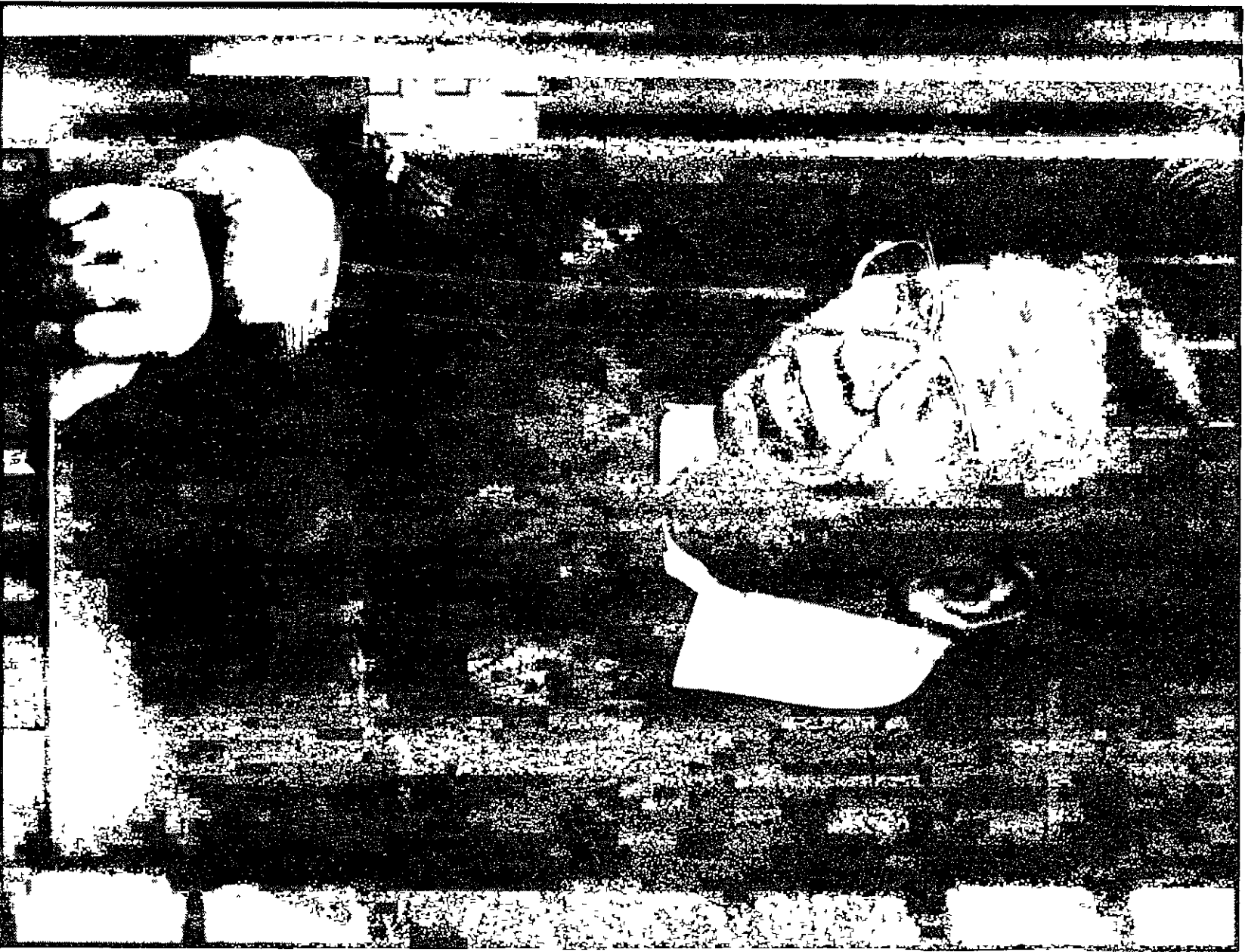
He said the past few weeks had been "exhausting, especially without a wife to comfort me", but the spirit of the people in Soweto had given him hope and inspiration.

Mr Mkwayi has conducted about four press interviews a day and has given impromptu speeches to young people from neighbouring schools who have been walking past the home to greet him.

Midway through the interview, Mr Mkwayi fetched his photo album which he had kept with him in prison. He showed the pictures of his very unusual wedding ceremony conducted at Pollsmoor Prison in November 1987.

That day, the bride wore a white outfit and he wore a tuxedo. Mr Mkwayi had brought with him from Robben Island — where he had been held prisoner since 1965 — and a bouquet of flowers he had picked from the prison garden of fellow prisoner, Mr Elias Mtsoseladi.

For their "honeymoon", the newly weds were given a special visit of 40 minutes the following day. Then the two were separated again with the hope that one day they would be united together under one roof. It was never to be.



TEN MONTHS TOO LATE: For 24 of the 25 years he was in prison, African National Congress leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi's wife Irene stood by him. His release last week came too late for her — she died 10 months ago. Picture by Sean Woods.

# Soweto rally: tight security after threats from Right

PAT DEVEREAUX and JANET HEARD

ADDITIONAL security measures to prevent threatened right-wing attacks have been planned for tomorrow's rally at Soccer City near Soweto, which an estimated 80 000 people are expected to attend.

The rally has been organised by the National Reception Committee (NRC) to celebrate the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and six other African National Congress leaders from jail.

A spate of right-wing attacks and threats marred the eve of the rally, and 70 marshals have been appointed to patrol the stadium in addition to the Soccer City security staff.

Organisers expect the event to be one of the largest displays of support for the banned organisation since it was formed in 1912.

Senior South African Police spokesman General Herman Stadler said police were aware of a threat by right-wing fanatics to unleash violence and they would watch the rally closely.

Fears of possible disruption of the event were sparked after two unidentified armed men, who claimed to be members of the right-wing "Gemeente van die Verbondsfolk", visited the offices of the Afrikaans weekly paper, *Vrye Weekblad*, in Bree Street, Johannesburg.

In a front-page report in the paper this week, the pair said they planned to start a bloodbath. They said they had attended earlier protest marches to study the potential for wreaking havoc.

The men said they wanted details of tomorrow's rally.

Hundreds of journalists attended a press briefing given by the NRC yesterday. At least 300 media representatives are expected to cover the event and

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● TO PAGE 2.

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## Rally

FROM PAGE 1

more than 100 diplomats have been invited to the rally.

At least 300 buses have been booked to transport people from other parts of the country to Soweto.

The NRC said in a statement issued at the briefing that the rally would provide an opportunity for the ANC leaders to speak to "their people, who have been prevented from hearing them express their views for the past 25 years".

"It was on this basis that the NRC informed the State President, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Law and Order and the Johan-

nesburg Chief Magistrate about the nature and purpose of the meeting. They gave the meeting their go-ahead," the statement said.

Government sources were reported as saying yesterday that the rally could go ahead and that the police would maintain a low profile.

However, if there were contraventions of the Internal Security Act — in other words, if the aims of the ANC were furthered — police would investigate but would not act on the spot.

The rally, which starts at 9 am with cultural events, officially opens at noon with the singing of the African national anthem.

# Sisulu to point the way

11A  
29/10/89

By DAVID JACKSON

**THE FIRST formal indication of the ANC's stance towards negotiations with the Government will be given at a mass rally today in Mr Walter Sisulu's keynote speech.**

The rally at Soccer City, south of Johannesburg, is expected to be one of the biggest ever staged in South Africa. The organisers expect up to 100 000 people in the brand new football stadium.

The rally is being held to celebrate the release from prison on October 15 of seven ANC leaders.

ANC stalwarts Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Harry Gwala — both released earlier — will also attend.

Observers believe the tone of Mr Sisulu's speech could also influence the Government's timetable for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The rally takes place against a background of threats from a hitherto unheard-of rightwing fringe group calling itself the "Geneste van die Verbondsvolk" (Congregation of the Covenant).

Hundreds of buses and minibuses have been converging on Johannesburg for the rally.

The stadium will be festooned with black, green and gold ANC flags and banners. On sale will be thousands of T-shirts with the slogan "ANC lives ANC leads" with the names of the seven released prisoners on the back.

There will be a strong

## GIGANTIC RALLY TO HEAR ANC'S TALKS STANCE

presence. But all indications yesterday were that police would not intervene except in the event of disorder.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok warned this week that the ANC was still a banned organisation in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The head of the SA Police public relations division, Major-General Herman Stadler, told the Sunday Times that carrying an ANC flag or wearing an ANC T-shirt was not necessarily an infringement of the Act "it would depend on other circumstances," he said.

"Also bear in mind that police may not necessarily act at the time, but may sub-

mit a docket to the Attorney-General afterwards if they have reason to believe an offence has been committed. "But this will be at the discretion of the police officers at the scene."

### Alert

General Stadler said police were aware of the rightwing threat and had anticipated such a possibility in their contingency plans.

The organisers have also put 700 marshalls on "red alert".

Observers will include about 100 members of the foreign diplomatic corps in what is the first public rally to be addressed by ANC officials on SA soil since the movement was banned in 1960.

The National Reception Committee (NRC), the umbrella body co-ordinating the rally, said Mr Sisulu, 77, will cover a "wide range" of issues, including the unbanning of the ANC.

Other released prisoners, Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Govan Mbeki will also speak. But the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will not be officially represented.

Mr Jatta Masemola, the eighth prisoner released along with Mr Sisulu and the others, has not been invited to address the rally.

The NRC said police had co-operated over the arrangements for the rally and had agreed not to fly helicopters overhead during the speeches.

y

# Sisulu thanks world

WALTER Sisulu and five other freed Rivonia trialists met diplomats from over a dozen countries this week to thank the world community for its support.

A long line of ambassadorial limousines made its way through the dusty, garbage-strewn Soweto streets to the meeting at a church hall.

British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick, whose government's opposition to increased sanctions has been condemned by leaders of the anti-apartheid community, said Sisulu called for continued world pressure on Pretoria.

The six were freed on October 15 after spending nearly 26 years in prison.

"Sisulu gives me the impression of a very wise old gentleman," said another envoy of former ANC secretary-general. — Sapa

29/10/89  
C. P. S.

(11A)

# ANC, PAC may go free in Transkei

CP Reporter

CP Press: 29/10/89  
TRANSKEI president Tutor Ndumase this week told a cheering crowd of 8 000 at the Umtata stadium that his country might join the ANC and PAC

views of Transkeians on re-incorporation into South Africa. He also placed a moratorium on 12 political prisoners held in the Transkei in

A PAC statement said the unbanning of liberation movements did not constitute freedom for the majority of people in South Africa. President Ndamase said Transkei was still committed to the bold stand made by KD Matanzima in 1976 when he said the independent status of Transkei would be used for the liberation of South African blacks.

Transkei's military ruler, Bantu Holomisa, surprised the world at King Sabata Dalindyebo's funeral by saying his government wanted to hold a referendum to test the

On Friday, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. W. Botha, said organisations such as the ANC and PAC, which advocated violence, did not further the interests of the southern African region



Tutor Ndumase

By SANDILE MEMELA

THOUSANDS of people from all over the country are expected to gather today at the First National Stadium near Nasrec for a rally to welcome home eight "people's leaders".

It will be the first open-air rally to be addressed by former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu and his colleagues in over 26 years.

The rally begins at 12.00 and the stadium is expected to be filled to capacity.

However, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok warned earlier this week in a speech in Bloemfontein that the ANC was still banned and was still a threat to the security of the country. It was still an offence to promote the organisation.

"We will maintain law and order and, if the Internal Security Act is broken, we will act," said Vlok.

The ANC veterans were released without restrictions and have made no secret of their continued allegiance to the ANC.

The primary purpose of the rally is to weld together the scattered local and provincial organisations engaged in mass resistance.

It will provide the local anti-apartheid movement with a united voice under the leadership of the released ANC veterans.

# Leaders to speak at last

Today's  
rally  
will be  
packed

The rally will be the largest gathering addressed by ANC leaders since the Congress of the People, held in Kliptown in 1955

As members of the Congress Youth League at the time, the seven released leaders called for a programme of action. This marked a turning

point in black politics in the 1950s

Sisulu will deliver the keynote address. He will share the platform with Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Japhta Masemola, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala and Oscar Mpetha.

Restrictions on Mbeki, a Port Elizabeth ANC and SACP veteran, have been temporarily lifted enabling him to travel to Johannesburg to share the stage with those with whom he spent 25 years in prison

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been informed of the planned ral-

ly and has given his consent

The National Reception Committee said the rally would take place in the tradition of the mass marches and defiance campaigns.

The ANC leaders will deal with the burning issues of the day and will give the organisation's official stance on negotiations, the peace process in Natal, the education crisis and the Labour Relations Act.

Throughout the week the ANC leaders have been engaged in high-level consultation with leaders of the mass democratic movement in preparation for today's meeting

11A City Press 29/11/78

# Fears of right-wing violence... but it's on!

# THREAT TO BRAVLY

11A Press 29/10/89

By LEN KALANE and SANDILE MEMELA

THE big rally goes on today - come rain, lightning or sunshine.

That's the word from the organisers, the National Reception Committee (NRC), in the wake of rightwing threats that the event would be disrupted.

A rightwing group calling itself the "Gemeente van die Verbondevolk" (Congregation of the Nation of the

## Increase in hangings

By DESMOND BLOW

THE government was this week accused of a "post-election rush of execution notices" by Lawyers for Human Rights.

Fifteen people have been hanged at Pretoria Central Prison since President FW de Klerk took office on September 6, which increased the

number of executions this year to 47.

Five more men are due to hang on Thursday.

Twenty-seven death notices have been served on condemned men since De Klerk came to power but some have had a stay of execution.

In the first eight months of this year 32 condemned men

record low compared to previous years.

On July 26 there were a total of 283 people on Death Row.

In 1988, 117 people were executed and in 1987 a record 164, excluding the homelands.

When De Klerk took office he reprised seven condemned men.

Lawyers for Human

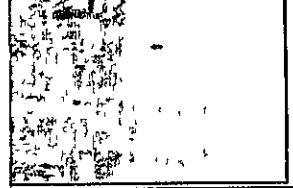
## Cops linked to Natal killings

By S'BU MNGADI

FOUR separate court hearings in Natal this week linked police to the killing of 21 people.

Police are searching for two policemen who have been implicated in the massacre of 11 people near New Hanover in December last year.

Police spokesperson Maj Pieter Kitching said they were searching for



Wilton and Irene - joined in spirit

The mass democratic movement (MDM) has appointed 700 marshals to patrol the stadium with stadium security staff. All will be on "red alert".

Senior SAP spokesman Gen Herman Stadler said police were aware of the threats and had contingency plans.

The NRC said the rally had been called by the NRC and no other organisation.

It was on this basis that the NRC informed government of the nature and purpose of the meeting.

"We take this opportunity to invite all South Africans to come and hear these great South Africans speak for themselves," the NRC said.

More than 300 buses

## Police warn of Ciskei coup

By S'BU MNGADI

DISILLUSIONMENT in the Ciskei security forces could lead to a coup, senior homeland police officers warned this week.

Police living in the village were ordered to take part in the raid where for fear of reprisals.

Some have since sought refuge elsewhere.

If you dare refuse to carry out these & ridiculous orders, you are

Rights yesterday called on him to revoke all those on Death Row.

LHR also called for a commission of inquiry into capital punishment.

Welcoming the reprieve of 60 condemned prisoners this year, LHR said it demonstrated the arbitrariness with which capital punishment was applied.

Jules Browde, SC, national chairman for Lawyers for Human Rights said: "The large number of executions since the State President's inauguration has come as a shock."

A Press release by H Selanyiso of Lawyers for Human Rights yesterday



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man Gen Herman Stadler said police were aware of the threats and had contingency plans

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It was on this basis that the NRC informed government of the nature and purpose of the meeting.

"We take this opportunity to invite all South Africans to come and hear these great South Africans speak for themselves," the NRC said.

More than 300 buses will ferry supporters from all over the country to Soweto for the rally.

More than 100 diplomats had been invited to attend, NRC joint chairman Murphy Morobe said.

Former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu would address major issues, including immediate elimination of apartheid, unbanning the ANC, release of political prisoners and the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe, sanctions, protests and the bid to forge a democracy in a unitary South Africa with one-man-one-vote.

It was learnt that released prisoner Jafta Mase-mola of the PAC had not been invited to address the rally.

Among those to address the rally are Raymond Mhlaba and Ahmed Kathrada

NRC joint chairman Cyril Ramaphosa said the NRC was concerned about "hysteria" which Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's "dramatic and exaggerated warnings" about violence was whipping up

"This will be used as an excuse to have a heavy police presence and create a situation of confrontation," Ramaphosa said

But the NRC hoped it would not happen. Police had been co-operative about rally arrangements and had agreed not to fly helicopters overhead during speeches

The NRC asked people attending the rally to be disciplined to make it easier for the marshals

## By DESMOND BLOW

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Fifteen people have been hanged at Pretoria Central Prison since President FW de Klerk took office on September 6, which increased the

## Police wa

By S'BU MNGADI

DISILLUSIONMENT in security forces could lead to senior homeland police warned this week

Two senior police officers' situation was rapidly deteriorating. Every policeman and soldier coup was inevitable

The security forces were used as "instruments of re-against Ciskeians

Last week they were "for their superiors to beat up, at the homes of residents of N village in Peleton for oppos

## Lawyers threatened on miners' march

By DAN DHLAMINI

A FIRM of attorneys that applied for permission for the Western Transvaal miners' march have received a threatening letter from an anonymous writer who claims to be an AWB member.

The march is on Saturday to the Klerksdorp Police Station to demand police produce Nicholaas Boiki Tlhapi, who was detained in 1986 and has since been missing.

The letter, written in Afrikaans and spiced with vulgar words and racial slurs, was addressed to lawyers Satish Roopa and Iqbal Motala of Motala, Roopa and Associates.

Roopa said they viewed the threat in a serious light, and had laid a formal complaint with the police.

It said if the march took place, the "coolies" should not hide in their offices.

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# ANC seven guilty as eight freed

Press 29/10/89

By DAN DHLAMINI

THE Potchefstroom regional court was tense this week when seven ANC members were found guilty of terrorism.

They are Jacob Liltakenyane, 19, of Vanderbijlpark, Laurence Selkwe, 19, of Welkom; Jackson Batyi, 23, of Port Elizabeth; Edward Motubatsi, 29, South Tso-

tetsi, 35; Enimah Madzikane, 34, and Angelina Mogosi, 44, all of Sebokeng.

Just two weeks ago, seven ANC leaders and one PAC leader were released after serving over two decades on Robben Island for political actions.

Earlier, hundreds of spectators, friends and relatives forced their way into the small Louis le

Grange court building

Riot Squad police moved in and warned those who could not get into the courtroom to move at least 20 metres away from the court building.

In a lengthy judgement, Magistrate Jack la Grange found that Liltakenyane, Selkwe and Batyi did military training outside the country.

Motubatsi, Tsotetsi and Mogosi were also convicted on the main count of terrorism.

Madzikane, who has been in detention with her 16-month-old baby, was convicted on the alternative charge of rendering assistance to ANC members.

The case was adjourned until November 13 when sentence will be passed.

# ANC trio seen as heroes

(11A)  
C. Ross

29/10/81

By DESMOND BLOW

THOSE who take up arms against the Pretoria government are regarded as heroes, according to Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

He was giving evidence in mitigation for the Broederström Three in the Pretoria Regional Court this week.

"If they were to appear in Soweto, they would be regarded as kings and queens," he told the court. Buthelezi said he was against violence himself, but since 1976 had found black youths accepted violence as the only solution to ending apartheid. Buthelezi added that the ANC was no longer looked on as a political party by the people, but

## Soldiers not "terrorists"

as a symbol of hope. He said the way people reacted to the release of the jailed ANC leaders was proof of this.

The Bishop said that, for instance, when equal education was discussed as a solution to ending apartheid, young people kept asking him whether education was enough.

"What about steel?" they would ask him. He said "steel" meant violence.

The Broederström Three, Daman de Lange, 30, the military commander, Ian Robertson, 36, the political commissar, and Susan Westcott, 25, were arrested on May 8, 1988, with a large arsenal of military weapons. The three were held in detention for 13 months

before being brought to trial in June when they pleaded guilty.

The two men have been found guilty of 11 acts of "terrorism" and Westcott of 10 acts. In addition De Lange was found guilty of two acts of arson in that he petrol bombed two PFP offices in 1981.

Defence witnesses have stressed the Broederström Three see themselves as soldiers and not as "terrorists" although they all pleaded guilty to acts of "terrorism".

This week the State displayed some of the captured weapons in court, including a SAM 7 ground-to-air missile and an underwater mine.

According to Security Branch weapons expert, Captain Hendrik van



**Bishop Manas Buthelezi distressed as youth see violence as only solution to ending apartheid.**

Niekerk Kotze, the captured arms are used in conventional warfare and were not terrorist weapons.

The State screened a video showing the damage that could be caused by the weapons.

When prosecutor Franz Roets asked Captain Kotze whether a mortar launcher could be fired into a crowded Loftus Versveld Rugby Ground, defence advo-

cate David Soggot SC objected to the line of questioning.

Soggot accused Roets of trying to "create an atmosphere".

He said the prosecutor could create the impression the arms were meant to be used against a hospital or a cripple home.

Soggot has also pointed out the three came to attack military targets and not civilians.

The trial continues tomorrow at 2 00pm

**World publishers in cash scramble for his smuggled jail memoirs**

# TO JMWAKERS \$1M

RALLY TO POINT THE WAY FOR ANC Page 2

STimes  
29/10/89



NELSON MANDELA

By JEREMY BROOKS, DAVID JACKSON and TERRY VAN DER WALT

**NELSON MANDELA** has written a secret autobiography set to earn him at least \$1-million. An international scramble has started for rights to the book, described as the hottest property in publishing.

The life story of the world's most celebrated living political prisoner is expected to sell hundreds of thousands of copies when it hits world bookshelves.



The mystery Mandela manuscript — for which agents are reported to be demanding \$1-million (\$2.6-million) in advance royalties — was the talk of the Frankfurt Book Fair this month.

It was written secretly a decade ago on Robben Island by the jailed ANC leader.

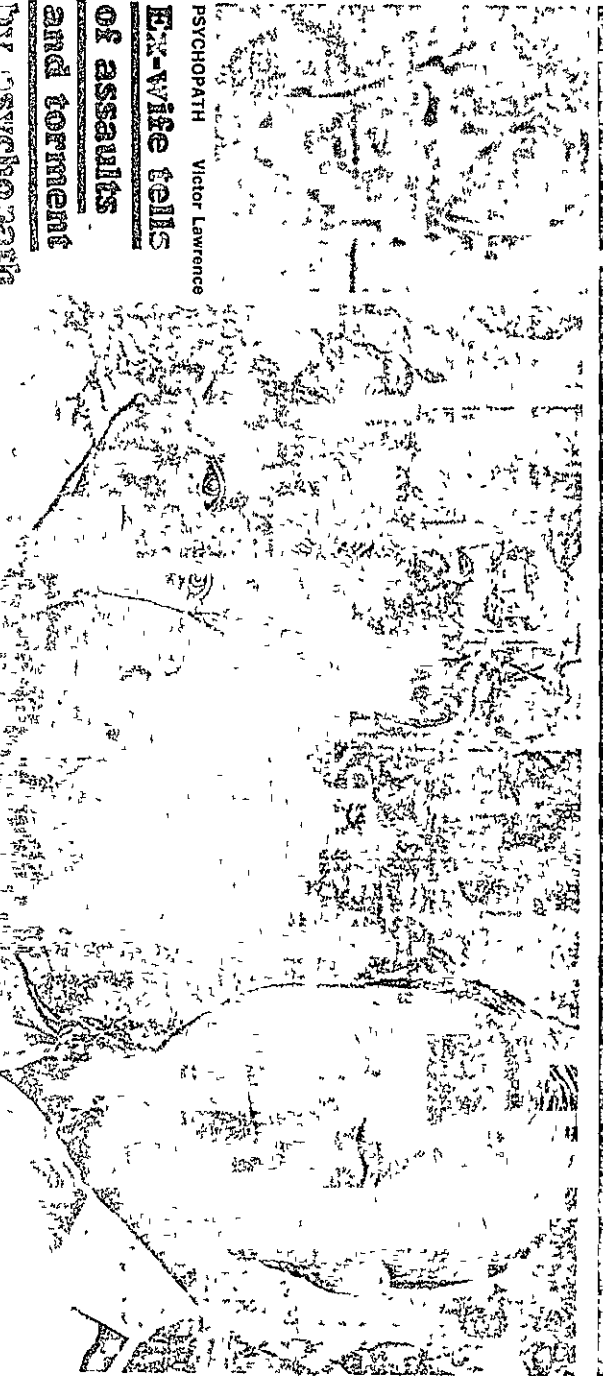
Yesterday Mr. Ahmed Kathrada, Mr. Mandela's fellow prisoner and recently released as one of the "ANC Seven", confirmed the existence of the manuscript.

He also told how it was written clandestinely in the island jail.

"The original was hidden in little containers in the prison garden. It was all done secretly."

It was later discovered by

## My life of sex hell with the Boksburg Butcher



PSYCHOPATH Victor Lawrence

**Ex-wife tells of assaults and torment**  
By PSYCHO PATH

**MANDELA has written autobiography set to at least \$1-million.**

International scramble has started for the book, described as the property in publishing history of the world's most celebrated political prisoner is expected to sell hundreds of thousands of copies when it hits world bookshelves

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Yesterday Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Mandela's fellow prisoner and recently released as one of the "ANC Seven", confirmed the existence of the manuscript.

He also told how it was written clandestinely in the island jail.

"The original was buried in little containers in the prison garden. It was all done secretly

"It was later discovered by prison officials — but by that time we had managed to get the manuscript off the island in circumstances I would rather not divulge at this stage

"My handwriting was also on the manuscript because Mr Mandela had passed it on to us for suggestions and comments from time to time

"We were punished as a result. We were deprived of our study privileges"

Mr Kathrada said there was no doubt about the manuscript's authenticity. Written in Mr Mandela's own hand, it covered the period of his life up to a point in the early '70s

He said Mr Sisulu had also written a manuscript

"I have been trying to trace the whereabouts of the manuscripts, but have not had much time since my release. I hope to be in a position soon to know where they are"

Mr Mandela's close friend and biographer, Professor Fatima Meer of Durban, said yesterday she believed a copy of the book had found its way to Lusaka

**Bait**

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, is said to have begun negotiations with executives of the Penguin publishing company

Penguin's management, contacted in London this week, would not comment on the reports — but did not deny them

A senior London literary agent said news of the Mandela autobiography caught the imagination of publishers assembled at the Frankfurt Book Fair and was almost certainly leaked there by someone acting for the author

"The fair is the traditional testing ground for agents who want to gauge the market's reaction to an author's work.

"They put out the bait — then sit back and wait for the

□ To Page 2

**MANDELA'S \$1m**

□ From Page 1

"He nibbles as speculation mounts," he said

Discussion at the six-day fair, with over 8 000 publishers from 89 countries present, centred on two topics, he said

One was the Mandela book, the other Salman Rushdie's next novel, for which his agents, Andrew Wylie and Gillon Aitken, are asking R36.4-million

**Hidden**

"The figure of R2.6-million bandied about for the Mandela book would be a floor price — the one at which publishers can begin negotiating.

"Mr Mandela could command a figure substantially above that

"His autobiography would be an instant, guaranteed and international bestseller

"As far as the big publishers are concerned, that is the only South African book they are interested in right now

the big one, the one everyone has been waiting for," the agent said

Mrs Meer said this week "When I first spoke to Mr Mandela in May this year and asked him about his youth, he said I could get it all from his autobiography

"He asked me to try to locate it — but I came up with nothing

"Mr Mandela said he had hidden it in the prison grounds in a concrete pipe which was demolished — so he lost his copy of it."

Professor Meer was working on a revised edition of her biography of Mr Mandela — Higher than Hope, published in September last year — when she was told about the autobiography

SA publishing sources predict a rash of books on Mandela and the release of the "ANC Seven"

Said one publishing executive "The race is on, but the definitive Mandela book will be his own story — in his own words"

Stadium a sea of black, green and gold as thousands flock to rally

# The ANC captures centre stage

11A

show 30/10/89



Above: Seemingly incongruous displays, such as this church T-shirt combined with the flag of the South African Communist Party, were commonplace sights.

Right: An excited young man carries a toy AK-47 and a child at yesterday's "Welcome Home" rally at Soccer City.

● Pictures by Kevin Carter.



Left: Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the seven ANC leaders released from prison two weeks ago, is surrounded by supporters at the rally.

● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.



By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

Thousands of people from all over the country poured into Soccer City near Soweto yesterday for what was effectively South Africa's first ANC rally in decades.

The crowds did not quite fill the 75 000-capacity stadium, but that the ANC had captured the centre stage in South Africa was clear as the massive stadium was swathed in a sea of

black, green and gold flags and a huge banner proclaimed "ANC Lives! ANC Leads!"

The rally was opened in absentia by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, and the final message of support came from the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo.

Speeches from three of the recently released ANC stal-

warts, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, roused a well-ordered crowd to their feet and saw Soccer City throb with on-the-spot "toyi toyi" dancing.

The event was incident-free — the only scuffles occurred when people dropped their flags and others dived to grab them and hold them on high. Claims that crowds were

slowed by road blocks on the Soweto road could not be confirmed.

Police presence at the stadium was low-key. Occasionally a yellow and blue helicopter with what appeared to be a TV camera attached to the nose, buzzed the stadium.

Next to the ANC flag on the official podium, the red, black and gold colours of the SACP

were emblazoned and SACP flags were dotted throughout the audience.

Also in evidence were banners representing Nusas, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the United Democratic Front, Swapo and various trade unions.

Spotted among the crowd was a "comrade" waving a wooden AK47.

A high moment came when the leaders and their wives walked on to the soccer pitch led by a uniformed guard of honour and again when freed (but restricted) ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki stood up and shouted his greetings to the masses.

The ebullient mood of the crowd waned during the lengthy speeches denailing the history of the ANC

Included in the audience were the widow of ANC leader Chief Albert Luthe, veteran civil rights campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph, Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck and representatives of the Finnish, Swedish, American, British, Japanese and West German governments.

Running in tandem with the spirit of liberation was an en-

trepreneurial spirit

Members of the audience who did not arrive wearing a "struggle" T-shirt could buy them from makeshift stalls all over the stadium.

Also on sale were posters, poems and literature

● A Uitenhage man was killed and a second injured in a car accident near Bloemfontein while en route to the rally

## Security Laws broken

Virtually every aspect of yesterday's rally, including repeated praise for the ANC's guerrilla campaign, violated security laws, but police kept their distance.

Diplomats from at least 15 countries and hundreds of South African whites attended the rally.

"We have come here to witness a historic event," said West German diplomat Mr Andreas Zobel

Deafening cheers erupted when Mr Walter Sisulu, the ANC's former general secretary, and his colleagues emerged from beneath the grandstands and circled the playing field behind an honour guard of 20 young militants.

At the end of the parade was 80-year-old ANC official Mr Oscar Mpehla, being pushed in a wheelchair

During the speeches, the thousands of people repeatedly chanted "Amandla Awethu" and "Viva ANC, Viva".

Paper notes mixture of conciliation and toughness in Sisulu's address

# UK media gives wide coverage to ANC rally

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Yesterday's ANC rally in Johannesburg has received wide coverage in the British media, with most commentators saying the large crowd was evidence of support for the still-banned organisation

The rally was among the top items on Britain's abbreviated Sunday television news bulletins and made the front pages of several of the national dailies today

Most observers emphasised the good behaviour of the crowd, estimated at about 70 000

Independent Television News said the rally had shown "unprecedented support for the ANC (which) has resurfaced after almost three decades underground"

BBC news said the ANC "does not look like a banned organisation any more"

The rally's message, it said, had "blended toughness with conciliation", indicating that although there would be no unilateral renunciation of the armed struggle by the ANC, there was the hope of negotiation

"To many in the crowd the Government has shown it acknowledges that black majority rule is the only possible outcome for South Africa"

The *Times* said in a front-page report today that the sight of so many ANC supporters had been "unthinkable two weeks ago"

Mr Walter Sisulu's speech, it said, "reflected detailed consultation with the ANC leadership in Lusaka"

The *Financial Times* said symbols of militancy had been everywhere, including militant youths carrying toy guns, but the language of those who addressed the crowd had been "surprisingly conciliatory", with Mr Sisulu "pointedly adopting the rhetoric of peace"

"Thus, and the fact that the rally passed off peacefully in spite of threats of violence from white extremists, could improve prospects for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela"

**Drawn**

Although the rally had not drawn the 90 000 crowd expected, the paper said, it had been "a major event in South African political history"

The *Daily Mail* highlighted Mr Sisulu's statement that the armed struggle would not be abandoned unilaterally, the only paper to interpret this as a call for "renewed violence"

rally



# Govt mum on Mandela book

(U/A)

THE Prisons Service yesterday declined to comment on reports that an autobiography by ANC leader Nelson Mandela may be published soon

The Johannesburg weekly, the *Weekly Mail*, on Friday said a lawyer acting for Mandela, Mr Ismail Ayob, sought a R1-million dollar advance from publishers at the Frankfurt Book Fair this month

A Prisons Service spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said "It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on speculative reports"

The manuscript was reportedly written by Mandela on Robben Island and buried in containers in the prison garden

It had since been smuggled from prison and its exact whereabouts were unknown

Observers said the book, by the "world's best-known political prisoner," had all the hallmarks of an international best-seller

Penguin was named as a publishing company involved in negotiations for publication rights - Sapa

20/10/89

Sowetan

# Massive Welcome

(11P)

Source

30/10/89

**SHOUTS** of "Amandla" vibrated throughout the FNB stadium yesterday where over 80 000 people converged for the biggest political rally held in South Africa.

More than 150 buses and hundreds of private cars and mini-buses, car-

**By SY MAKARINGE** at about 11am Proceedings began with cultural events, when poets read their works to the ecstatic crowd who responded by chanting slogans and singing freedom songs.

Mzwakhe Mbuli was given a rousing ovation when he took the stage. Several musical acts also gave lively performances

Security was very tight. Marshals were posted at strategic points inside and outside the stadium to maintain order.

**Flag**

The red South African Communist Party flag was displayed side by side with the black, green and gold African National

Congress flag on the stage.

The seven released ANC stalwarts, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Mokoale, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Oscar Mphahlela and Mr Govan Mbeki were led on to the pitch by khaki-clad

soldiers before taking the stage to address the crowd.

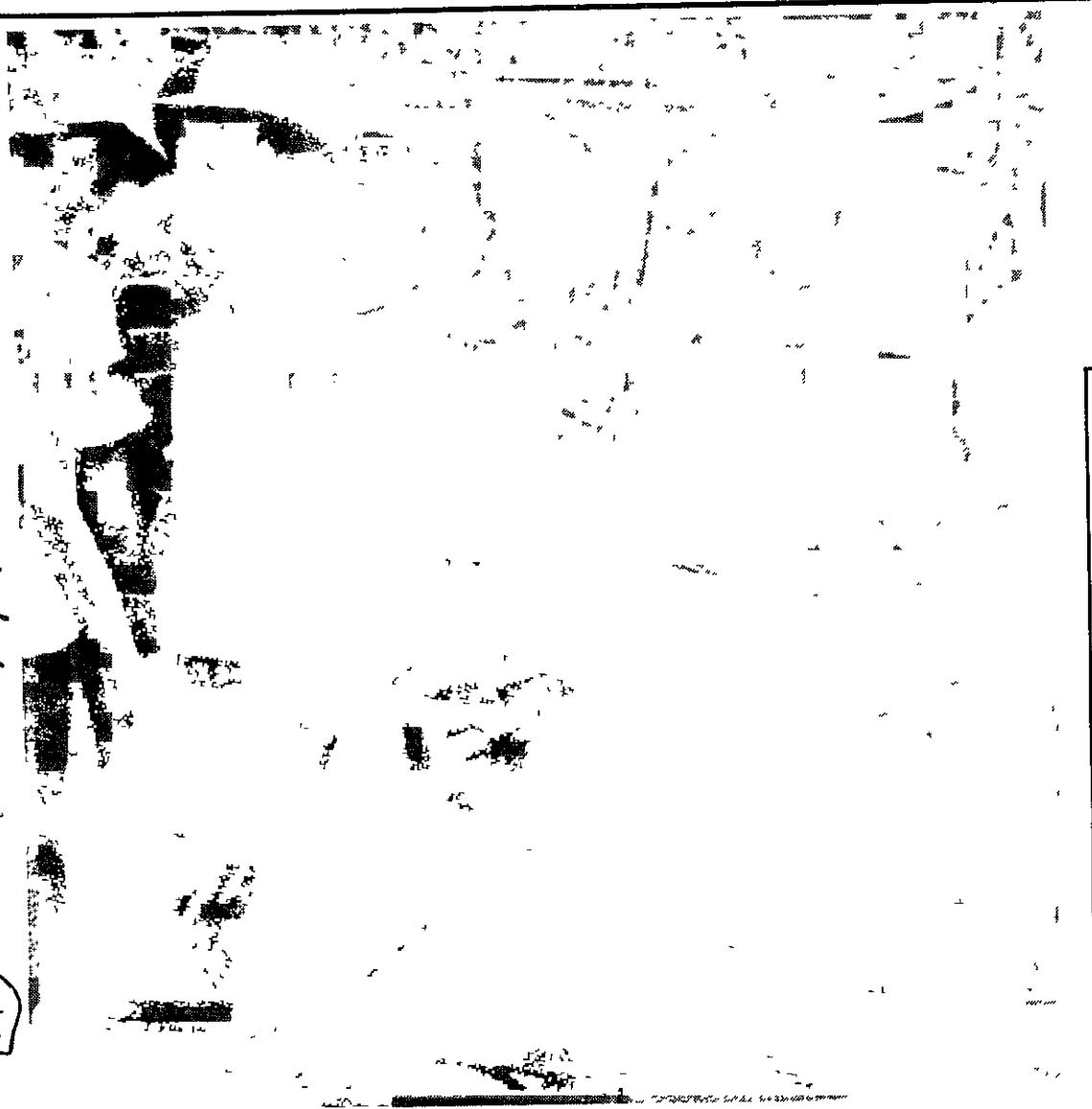
Messages of support were received from various organisations in Italy, the Netherlands, Canada, Japan, Ireland, Norway, Denmark, South Korea, Australia, and West Germany. Messages from Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, Rajiv Gandhi,

prime minister of India, the United Nations, and Trevor Huddleston of the anti-apartheid movement in Britain, were read at the rally.

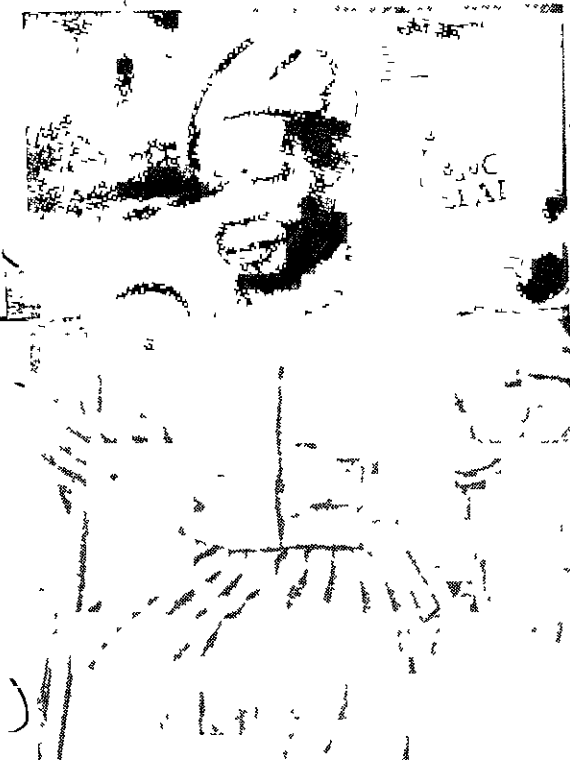
Helen Joseph, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner was given a standing ovation when she arrived for the meeting.

# Thousand- welcome leaders

(11A) Sowetan 02/10/89



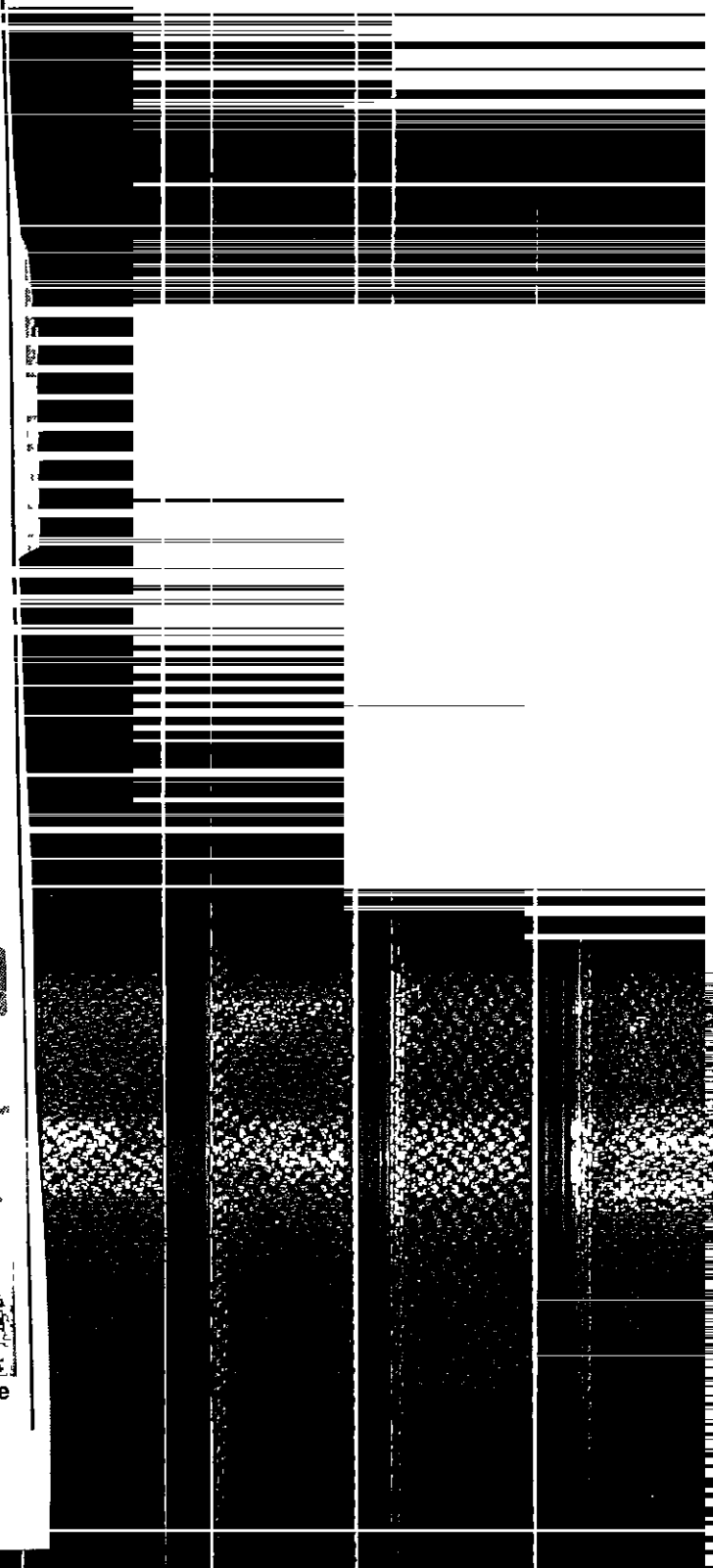
Oscar Mphetha assisted by marshalls before he ascended on the stage.



The wife of former ANC president Albert Luthuli, Mrs Nokukhanya Luthuli, attended in a wheelchair.



The aged Mrs Helen Joseph had to be helped at the First National Bank Stadium.



# Page one comment

**T**HE biggest political rally, with over 80000 people attending from all parts of the country, was held at the FNB stadium to welcome the ANC seven who collectively spent close to 150 years in jail.

The rally was not only the biggest single political gathering held in the country in all time, it was also the largest and the first of its kind to have been held by any political organisation in South Africa.

The political significance of this rally is that the nation was paying its dues to men who have spent their entire adult lives in jail for a commitment that intimately affects all our lives.

There is no doubt that this event will go down in history as the most dramatic, most poignant, and perhaps the most politically significant since the start of the struggle for liberation.

Even the massive police presence that was allegedly launched to safeguard life

and property, appeared awed by the size of the gathering. The rather petulant threat by some radical rightwing groups that they would disrupt the event, looked silly long before the seven and their ANC colleague, Govan Mbeki, went on stage to address the nation.

We do not know how the state media will treat the event, but we are sure they will look pretty ridiculous to the world if they do not display the type of promise the story deserves. These old men can die happy after the type of welcome given to them by the South African nation.

This day was in effect preparatory to the release of Nelson Mandela, as well as the prelude to the type of welcome that will be given to him. It will be a fitting welcome which might lead to the final resolution of the difficult problems we have had under apartheid for more than 40 years.

(11)

6/2/68

South

# GIVE US SOLUTIONS

London 20/10/89

THE "the eight" were released this week and thus added fuel to the debate on negotiations.

The country's business leaders, like Gavin Rilly of the Anglo American Corporation, have jumped into the arena and called on the Government to negotiate with the ANC.

After a recent meeting with the new State President, Mr FW de Klerk, Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, is now telling the Commonwealth heads of State in Kuala Lumpur to give the Government six months' grace.

This is a roller-coaster ride, but we need to keep our heads clear. As we ponder the



question of negotiations we should take several things into account: What is at stake in the negotiations? What do we hope to achieve? What happened when we sat down to negotiate before? Unless these questions are answered clearly false hopes will be raised and we might come crashing to earth. What is at stake in the negotiations?

In yesterday's *Sowetan*, Thami Mazwai quoted figures that illustrate the injustice graph-

cally. In 1987 the Government spent R476 on the education of a black child, and R2503 on that of a white child.

In that year the white university student population was almost three times the black one.

In 1986 there were 666 indigenous African apprentices against 9248 white apprentices.

Mazwai was just scraping the surface of this infuriating subject - any set of figures that measures political and economic power shows the same differences between the minority that is in power and the deprived majority. And it all starts with

political power. What De Klerk has promised is to share political power, hence the euphoria about negotiations.

But De Klerk and the National Party are not offering to share power in the way it is done in other democratic countries. They believe that power must be shared between "groups" with the implications that there will be a white veto.

They have put it much more subtly, calling for a "democracy" where there is no domination of one group by another.

They still refuse to see South Africans as one with each South African enjoying the same powers

redistribution of the resources of this country, there will be no solution.

We saw it happen after the Wichahn Commission opened the way to a non-racial labour "dispensation" in 1979. Black trade unions were recognised by the law, the statutes were changed to allow for desegregated shop floors, and labour and management were freed to enter a new era.

Everybody knows that it has been an era of increased conflict. Black trade unionists know that the conflict has just begun, with whites retaining their privileged positions in the economy. No, sir. We need real solutions, not phantoms.

as the next in a truly non-racial democracy. Their eyes deliberately blur when this prospect is put before them.

And this is obviously because they do not want white privilege taken away. They are hoping that in the end they will continue to wield and enjoy the economic power they do now.

Unless De Klerk commits himself to the principle of a non-racial democratic South Africa, talks with him will not lead to a "solution". A few more blacks might be co-opted into the system, but the conflict will continue.

Unless the National Party also looks seriously at the question of the solutions, not phantoms.

Spectrum

# Rally of welcome

## 24 HOURS

**PEOPLE** packed Soccer City outside Soweto yesterday to welcome back seven recently released African National Congress stalwarts at a peaceful and uneventful all-day rally the first since the ANC was banned in 1960.

The less-than-capacity crowd estimated at 85 000 by the organisers erupted in spontaneous applause as the former — Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Wilton Mkandawire, Elias Mokoalele, Oscar Mphahlele, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Nhlaba — entered the stadium shortly after noon.

They were accompanied by a uniformed guard of honour the Young Lions of the South African Youth Congress and Mr Govan Mbeki, who has been severely restricted since his release in 1987.

Alongside ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo delivered an in absentia opening address read out by Mr Murphy Morobe of the National Reception Committee established to organise the men's return to Soweto after almost three decades in jail. Mr Tambo may not be quoted in South Africa.

**Low profile**  
Police regularly patrolled the main streets leading to the stadium between Soweto and Johannesburg but kept a low profile.

In his half-hour address Mr Sisulu made a strong plea for peace in South Africa, calling on all people regardless of colour and political affiliation to unite on the ANC's principles of non-racialism and democracy.

We share the ideals of peace-loving people the world over. We are interested in the new phase of political openness and peace that is unfolding all over the world. By dedicating ourselves to peace and contributing to peace at home and to world peace. We dedicate our lives to this end.

"If such a climate is created the ANC is prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides. There can be no question of us unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle."

To date we see no clear indication that the government is serious about negotiations. All their utterances are vague.

Rejecting the government's plans for ethnic elections, Mr Sisulu said the ANC was looking forward to the election of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

**Representatives**  
"This is where the true representatives of the people will discuss the future. If the government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution they will agree to this logical step."

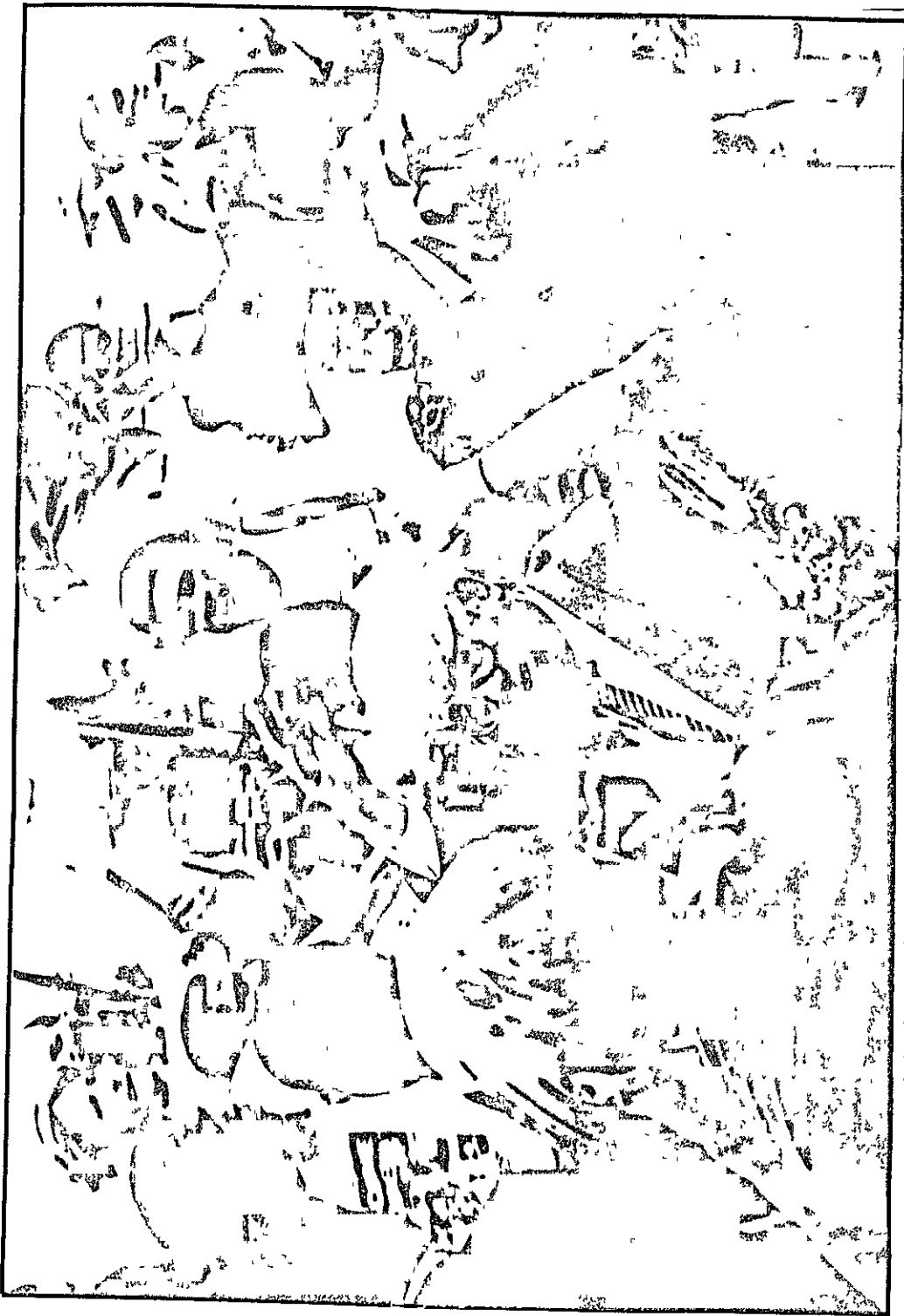
Mr Kathrada said the ANC had never advocated black majority rule but a struggle for all South Africans across the racial divide.

The new government under the ANC could be all black, mixed or all white. It will be a government in which colour plays no role. It has never been the aim or policy of the ANC to drive whites into the sea, to harm the heritage, culture or language of the Afrikaner.

Attempts by the government to portray the black population as a "monster" which was determined to destroy whites were irresponsible, despicable and dangerous.

**'Selfish gain'**  
"They know they are doing this for selfish political gain. He rejected the FW de Klerk administration's emphasis on group rights and participatory democracy as just a change in terminology for which the Nationalists were well-known."  
"We are still waiting for De Klerk to..."

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, of The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg



Mr Walter Sisulu and Mrs Sisulu at yesterday's rally at Soccer City near Johannesburg

ANC  
PITTS

Sisulu made a strong plea for peace in South Africa calling on all people regardless of colour and political affiliation to unite on the ANC's principles of non racialism and democracy

We share the ideals of peace loving people the world over We are interested in the new phase of political openness and peace that is unfolding all over the world By eradicating apartheid we will be contributing to peace at home and to world peace We dedicate our lives to this end'

But he vowed that the armed struggle and the call for sanctions would be intensified in order to "get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation" in South Africa He called on the traditional leaders of the homelands and those in government-created institutions to "seize the moment and join the struggle of freedom"

### Troops

He also called upon Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha to continue their quest for peace in strife-torn Natal

Before negotiations could take place, the Nationalist government should release all political prisoners, unban political organisations, remove the troops from the townships, end the state of emergency and cease all political trials and executions

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### 'Selfish gain'

They know they are doing this for selfish political gain

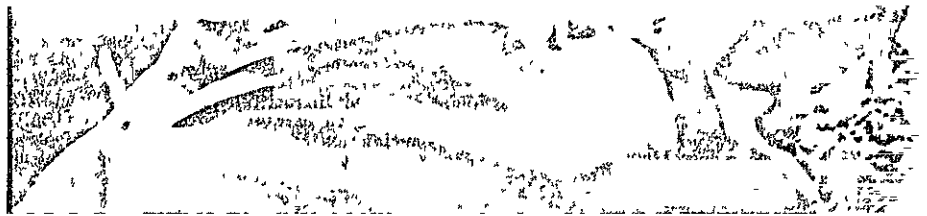
He rejected the FW de Klerk administration's emphasis on group rights and participatory democracy as just a change in terminology for which the Nationalists were well known

"We are still waiting for De Klerk to acknowledge the mistakes of the past and to show remorse for 40 years of Nationalist misrule We are still waiting on them to apologise to the people of South Africa for the hardships and cruelty inflicted on South Africa"

The future, happiness and safety of all South Africans did not lie in group rights, but in individual human rights

One of the ANC's most important tasks was to eradicate whites' fears This would take time, since the Nationalists had 'insulted the intelligence of the Afrikaner' by deliberately preventing whites from hearing and independently assessing the ANC's policies

Earlier, National Reception Committee member Mr Cyril Ramaphosa who chaired the rally, read out messages of support from across the world



Mr Walter Sisulu and Mrs Sisulu at yesterday's rally at 5.



Mr Raymond Mhlaba is escorted into Soccer City.



Marshals toyi :

# From all over SA they came . .

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN of The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg

THEY came in all shapes and sizes from across South Africa, on foot and in buses, to the Soccer City stadium, Johannesburg, for South Africa's first ANC rally in nearly 30 years

That "the ANC has today captured centre stage in South Africa" was clear as the massive stadium was swathed in a sea of black, green and gold flags and a huge banner proclaimed "ANC Lives! ANC Leads!"

Significantly the rally was opened in absentia by ANC president Oliver Tambo, and the final message of support came from the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo

Speeches from the recently-released ANC stalwarts, Raymond Mhlaba, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada roused a well-ordered crowd to their feet and saw Soccer City throbbing with on-the-spot "Toyi toyi" dancing in an otherwise incident-free event

The only scuffles were when people dropped their flags and others dived to hold them on high

Police presence at the stadium was low key Occasionally a yellow and blue helicopter with what appeared to be a TV camera attached to the nose buzzed the stadium and the odd vehicle circled outside

Alongside the ANC flag on the official podium the red, black and gold colours of the SACP were emblazoned and that flag was dotted throughout the audience Also in evidence were banners by Nusas, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the United Democratic Front, Swapo and numerous trade unions

There were also homemade banners, including one which pictured PW Botha, FW de Klerk and the silver-haired Oliver Tambo and read "Enough crazy bald heads, let's have a leader with hair"

Also spotted in the crowd was a "Comrade" waving a wooden AK47

A high moment came when the leaders and their wives walked onto the soccer pitch lead by a uniformed guard of honour, and later when restricted Ri



Supporters salute and chant songs of welcome to the speakers at the rally.

vonia trialists, Govan Mbeki, stood up and shouted his greetings to the masses

The mood waned during lengthy speeches detailing the history of the ANC

Included in the audience were the wife of former ANC leader, Chief Albert Lethuli, veteran civil rights campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph who arrived in a wheelchair, Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck and representatives of the Finnish, Swedish, American, British, Japanese and West German governments

Running in tandem with the spirit of liberation was an entrepreneurial spirit and members of the audience who did not arrive wearing a "Struggle" T-shirt could buy their own from makeshift stalls all over the stadium

Also on sale were posters, poems and literature

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that the rally has had wide coverage in the British media, with most commentators saying the large crowd was evidence of support for the still-banned organisation

The rally was among the top items on Britain's abbreviated Sunday television news bulletins and made the front pages of several of the national dailies today

Most observers emphasised the lack of violence by the crowd

Independent Television News said the rally had shown "unprecedented support for the ANC (which) has resurfaced after almost three decades underground"

The BBC news said the ANC "does not look like a banned organisation any more" The Times said in a front-page report today that the sight of so many ANC supporters had been "unthinkable two weeks ago"

The Financial Times said symbols of militancy had been everywhere - including militant youths carrying toy guns - but the language of those who addressed the crowd had been "surprisingly conciliatory" The conservative Daily Mail highlighted Mr Sisulu's statement that the armed struggle would not be abandoned unilaterally It was the only paper to interpret this as a call for "renewed violence"

# POLICE praise ANC crowd

AGVS 30/10/89 (11/10/89)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Police have praised the crowd at the Soccer City rally here for good behaviour and for acting within the norms of democratic society

Major General Herman Stadler public relations chief said there was no need for the police to act at yesterday's rally — held to welcome seven released ANC leaders — and the event passed without incident

Last week we appealed to those who intended attending the rally to act in a spirit of peace and this appeal was heeded. We thank the people for behaving within the norms of democratic society. General Stadler said

Government ministers were not available for comment today as virtually the entire cabinet was on a retreat to discuss policy but a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said police were grateful the rally had gone off peacefully

### Kept low profile

A feared rightwing extremist demonstration before the rally did not materialise. Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said police monitored the proceedings thoroughly but kept out of the way

Captain Opperman said police video teams filmed the rally from the ground and the air. Our monitoring was routine and low-profile and we merely did what we always do at marches or rallies of this nature, he said

Regarding possible contraventions of the law and the Internal Security Act, Captain Opperman said: "We will be able to see from our footage whether any contraventions of the law took place. These will then be investigated and handed to the Attorney General for his decision"

There is some concern in government circles, however, about the display of ANC and communist banners and the shouting of slogans supporting the ANC, writes The Argus Political Correspondent, Tos Wentzel

A spokesman for President De Klerk's office said there was no immediate reaction to their speaker Mr. Walter Sisulu's indication that the ANC would consider suspending its armed action if certain conditions were fulfilled



WELCOME HOME ANC leader Mr. Walter Sisulu raises his arms in salute at the rally for him and six other released ANC veterans near Johannesburg at the weekend

24 The giant welcome rally — page 11



HISTORIC RALLY Part of the crowd of more than 70 000 people which filled Soccer City outside Johannesburg for the "Welcome Home" rally for seven recently released ANC veterans, led by Mr. Walter Sisulu



# ANC crowd

WEICC  
arms in

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The Argus Correspondent

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## 'Impressive event'

Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said the rally was an impressive event marked by a high level of maturity

The ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle and the call from the rally for continued international sanctions was predictable

While the Democratic Party would concede that external pressure had had some effect in driving home to whites the moral indefensibility of certain aspects of apartheid, the effect had been limited

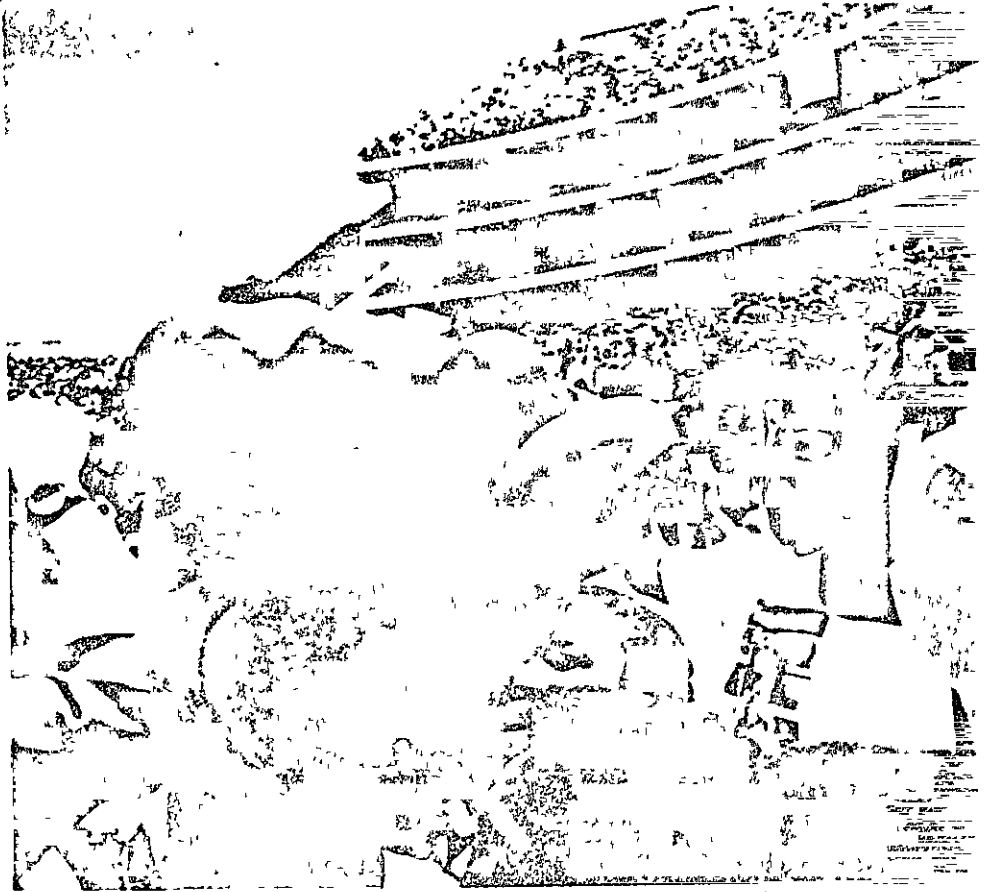
Mr Sisulu's statement regarding the armed struggle was actually quite flexible

Dr Worrall said he did not believe that President De Klerk and his government should be discouraged by this statement because the government had only begun to move toward realising some of the conditions for negotiation to begin

"What absolutely amazed one was SATV's scanty treatment of the event. This was the international event of the month, much more important than the release of Sisulu and company

"SATV failed in its duty to educate and prepare the public by not reproducing any part of Mr Sisulu's speech. I believe that some explanation is required," Dr Worrall said

Mr Sisulu's speech has been interpreted by some as a hardening of his stance and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned the government that it was creating a revolutionary climate



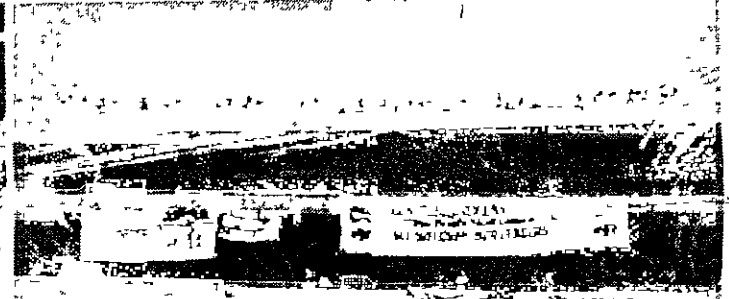
HISTORIC RALLY  
ple which filled S  
come Home" rally

# Thousands welcome leaders

*Sowetan 30/10/89  
11A*



Part of the tens of thousands who gave a rousing welcome to the stalwarts of the African National Congress at the rally held at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.



*Sowetan 30/10/89  
11A*

Excited youths "toyied" as the ANC leaders arrived at the First National Bank Stadium.

Workers came from all parts of the country to welcome their heroes.

# 14 other men are serving life for political offences

WHILE "Release Nelson Mandela" is the anti-apartheid movement's rallying cry, activists allege another 3 300 South African political prisoners remain behind bars in comparative obscurity, including at least 14 jailed for life

In the quarter of a century since the black nationalist leader's conviction for sabotage and conspiracy to topple the government, Mandela's reputation has grown to heroic proportions.

He has been the subject of tributes, articles, books and films around the globe that have made him the world's best known political prisoner.

The Release Nelson Mandela Campaign (RMC) was formed six years ago to press for his release and that of seven colleagues sentenced with him to life imprisonment in 1964.

## Bold

In the boldest stroke so far in his reform programme, President F W de Klerk freed Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of Mandela's outlawed African National Congress (ANC), and seven others this month after long prison terms.

Like Mandela, they became more revered with each successive year in jail.

But 14 others serving life sentences for plotting to overthrow the Government are less well known. "The problem is that

Mandela has become so big that all other ANC personalities shrink in comparison," a leading activist told *Reuters*. He did not want to be identified, saying he would be seen by other activists as being "anti-Mandela".

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in March there were 374 people serving sentences for offences against state security.

## FOCUS

The anti-apartheid Human Rights Commission said Coetsee's figure ignored about 3 000 political prisoners in "homelands" - impoverished black mini-states created by Pretoria under a policy of geographically separate different ethnic groups.

"If my uncle is not mentioned anywhere, then I guess we can't be honoured," says an activist who did not want to be identified. Four of his relatives are in jail for offences against anti-apartheid campaigners regarded as political.

## Prison

One of them, Anthony Xaba, now 56, has spent 25 years in prison.

A member of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing he

## Mandela symbolic, says RMC official

was arrested in Zambia in 1963 while that country was still under British rule.

He was deported to South Africa, convicted on charges of terrorism and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

After being released on completion of his initial sentence Xaba was again detained, charged with conspiracy to overthrow white rule by violence and sentenced to life imprisonment.

"Why not 'viva Xaba,' 'viva Xaba' and only 'viva Mandela,' 'viva Mandela'?" "Xaba's relatives asked

## Arms

Gwala was freed in November 1988 after spending 21 years in jail with Mandela for plotting to overthrow white rule. While in jail he lost the use of both arms from an incurable disease.

Others who have served between 15 and 25 years as part of their life sentences are Elphas Mdlalose (65) Msomi Miyiwa (65) and Vusumuzi Nene and David Moise, who are over 50.

## Sactu!

Mdlalose, a member of the ANC and its now-exiled trade union wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, was detained in 1963 and sentenced to ten years. He was released in 1974 but 18 months later was arrested and sentenced for life.

Fellow ANC members Miyiwa and Nene have been in jail for 22 years and 15 years respectively. Sapa-Reuters

People arriving at the FNB Stadium yesterday for the welcome reception for the African National Congress leaders who have been released by the Government.

# Prisoners world has forgotten

11A  
Sowetan  
20/10/89



Birthday smiles . . . Mrs Albertina Sisulu celebrates her 72nd birthday with her recently-released husband Mr Walter Sisulu (left), Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Andrew Mlangeni (right) at an impromptu party in Soweto at the weekend.

## Sisulu, ANC comrades to speak at rally

By Sefako Nyaka

Former African National Congress general-secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and his freed ANC comrades will address a rally at Johannesburg's Soccer City on Sunday

According to the National Reception Committee, letters have been written to President F W de Klerk, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg informing them about the planned rally.

"It does not seem as if we are going to have major hurdles," said committee member Mr Murphy Morobe.

The committee has also applied for Mr Govan Mbeki's restrictions orders to be relaxed to enable him to join his colleagues at the rally.

"A further application has been made to have Mr Mbeki's order lifted Not only his, but also those of other restrictees," MDM leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said

Natal activist and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Harry Gwala is also expected to attend

### BURNING ISSUES

An ANC spokesman said the 26-point declaration, supported in its entirety by all Commonwealth nations except Britain, provided a "programme of action on sanctions, on the promotion of the struggle for the settlement of the South African question" He added that it had "sent a correct signal to Mr de Klerk that the Commonwealth and the world want an end to apartheid and will continue to act

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# R400 000 for ANC raid home

THE RIVONIA homestead where Walter Sisulu and the ANC high command plotted to overthrow the State has been sold to an undisclosed buyer for "around R400 000".

Confirmation of the deal came shortly after this week's announcement by President F W de Klerk that Sisulu and four other Rivonia trialists were among eight political prisoners to be freed unconditionally.

But the seller, Mr Jacobus "Nols" Louw, 45, managing director of the Cape-based Pepkor Group — holding company of Pep stores — said the timing of the deal was "purely coincidental".

The historic home stands on a half-hectare plot in Rivonia woods in the heart of one of Sandton's most affluent suburbs.

A Rivonia property agent described it this week as "a lovely home, with a lot of wood and a lot of character".

In one of South Africa's biggest security coups, police raided the property — then known as Lilliesleaf Farm — on July 11 1963, and arrested Sisulu and 17 others after weeks of surveillance.

This led to the famous "Rivonia trial" in Pretoria the following year in which Nelson Mandela, Sisulu and six others were sentenced to life imprisonment on sabotage-related charges.

Nelson Mandela was not among those arrested at Lilliesleaf — he was already serving a five-year jail sentence for incitement and leaving the country without a permit.

It's something I have discussed with my wife because we made a point of reading up the history of the property. We loved the place. But the sale was for purely private reasons."

He added, apparently tongue-in-cheek, "But if F W de Klerk had told me what was going to happen this week then maybe I wouldn't have sold."

He said the deal was "signed and sealed", subject to a bond, and would take effect from the end of December.

The buyer is understood to be a businessman who is about to move to the Rand.

The Louws lived at Lilliesleaf for eight years before moving to the Cape. The property has changed

hands at least twice since the Rivonia raid, when it stood on nine hectares of land. There have been only minor structural alterations since then.

The surrounding land has since been swallowed-up in residential development. Lilliesleaf's present tenants are publisher and journalist Mr Al J Venter and his wife Madelon.

The couple said they had been given notice to vacate the premises in 1970. Mr Bryan properly agents Mr Kees Groenendijk, who was involved in the transaction, said "I cannot give you any details. I have to respect the buyer's confidentiality."

## 18 Rivonia conspirators were caught red-handed by 40 police hidden in bakery and laundry vans

FOR a deposit of R10 000, the quiet nine-hectare rural retreat with a price tag of R25 000 changed hands and became the residence of Johannesburg artist Arthur Goldreich and his wife Hazel. That was 26 years ago. Within months, Lilliesleaf farm — surrounded by trees and almost invisible from the road — was converted into the nerve centre of the ANC high command, plotting rebellion against the State.

Today Lilliesleaf homestead nestles on a half-hectare site surrounded by modern-day Rivonia in Sandton's milk-and-manure belt.

But it remains a monument to one of the most extraordinary cloak-and-dagger security operations in South Africa's history.

When security police, led by Colonel J G Khundt, raided the building in July 1963 to catch Walter Sisulu and his co-conspirators red-handed, Lilliesleaf was guarded by two cackling geese and nine vicious dogs.

Today a couple of well-groomed Bouviers and Yorkshire terriers romp across lawns carefully manicured by the present tenants, publisher Al Venter and his wife, Madelon.

"We had some visitors who were lost and asked the way to the 'Mandela house' at a local filling station. They got Amanda's salutes and prompt directions," said Al, who has lived at Lilliesleaf for the past two years.

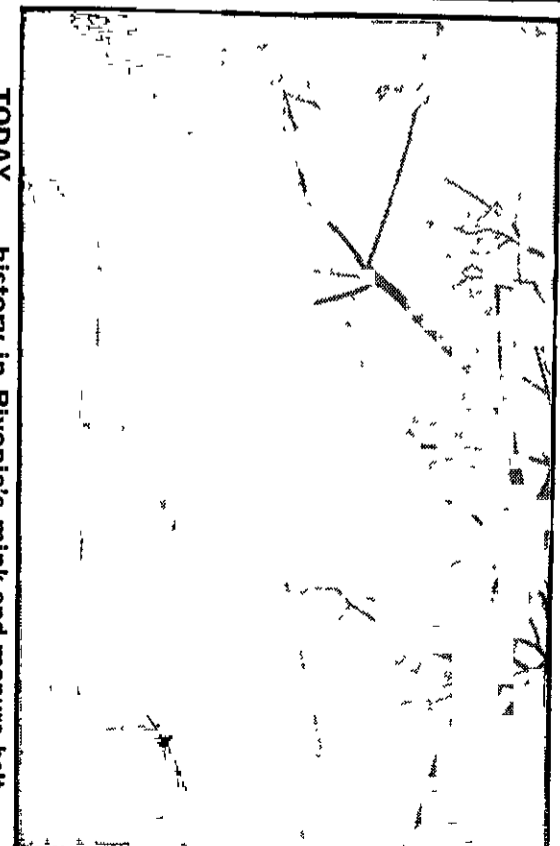
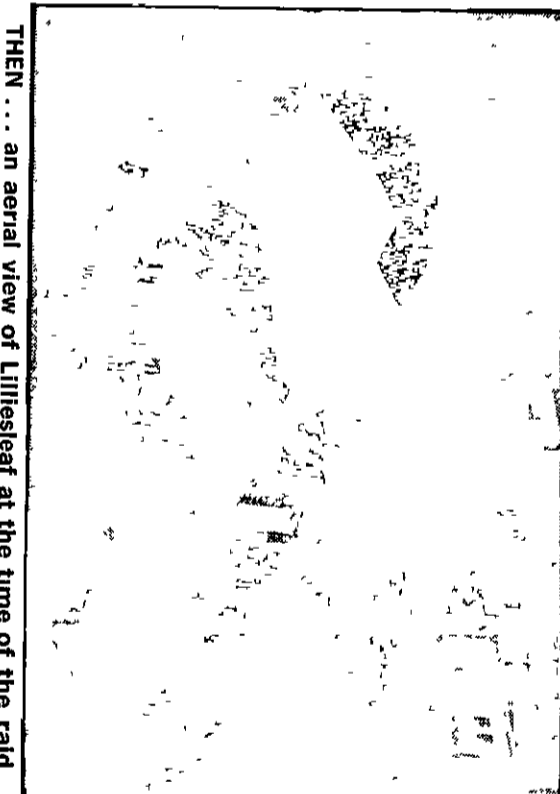
The Rivonia raid was a major security coup. Six whites and 12 non-whites were arrested. The raid led to the famous Rivonia trial at which ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Sisulu and six others were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The raid followed months of intensive investigation into the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) — the military wing of the ANC.

Of the eight men whose

names were announced this week, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba were arrested at Lilliesleaf. Govan Mbeki, who was also held in the raid, was released in 1961.

In a James Bond-style operation, a squad of 40 policemen, concealed in the back of a bakery truck and a laundry van, swooped on the homestead after weeks of surveillance. They surrounded the main property and outbuildings. A policeman



THEN... an aerial view of Lilliesleaf at the time of the raid

TODAY... history in Rivonia's milk-and-manure belt

## Mystery buyer snaps up hide-out

The Rivonia home is regarded as a "national shrine" as a "national shrine". But Mr Louw said this had not been a factor in the sale.

It's something I have discussed with my wife because we made a point of reading up the history of the property. We loved the place. But the sale was for purely private reasons."

He added, apparently tongue-in-cheek, "But if F W de Klerk had told me what was going to happen this week then maybe I wouldn't have sold."

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hands at least twice since the Rivonia raid, when it stood on nine hectares of land. There have been only minor structural alterations since then.

disguised in a long white coat emerged from the laundry van and pretended to inspect a tyre. Then he gave the go-ahead, "Ous staan toe!" They surprised several men huddled in a room — with a key document called "Operation Mayblye".

Rebellion was plotted around a simple wooden table in a stark room. Now, Mr Venter's collection of books and Afrikaans domini-

Operation Come Back! lying open on a table. Walter Sisulu tried to escape through a window — but instead jumped into the eager jaws of a snarling policeman. The former command room, looking out on to

the carefully-tended lawns and swimming pool beyond the bay windows, is a living room. Rebellion was plotted around a simple wooden table in a stark room. Now, Mr Venter's collection of books and Afrikaans domini-

## Trialists planned national uprising

In the months leading to the Rivonia raid, the ANC vowed to hit back following Mandela's capture. And its military wing masterminded a wave of bombings and sabotage across the country.

Among those held in the raid was the homestead's official owner, Arthur Goldreich. He later escaped from Marshall Square police headquarters along with an attorney after bribing a warden.

The Transvaal, "presumably to be used as bases for guerrilla warfare". Another section detailed a plan which included the landing of guerrilla troops either by sea or air.

Just how close Mr Justice Quartus de Wet came to sending the main conspirators to the gallows is clear from the court record. The State did not charge the men with high treason — Mandela having been among those acquitted when the State failed in its attempt to get treason convictions in a celebrated earlier case in the '50s. A legal nuance probably saved their necks — literally.

The main charge in the Rivonia trial was in effect one of conspiracy. Judge de Wet said the

offences were essentially treasonous, but the State had not charged the accused with treason and he would not impose the death penalty, "which in a case like this, would usually be the proper penalty for the crime". The names of some of the accused have already faded into relative obscurity. Hundreds of spectators waiting outside Pretoria's Palace of Justice on a sunny winter's day, black and white, burst into song when the sentences became known. Posters were unfurled. "You will not serve these sentences as long as we live," one read.

## Exile

Police linked arms and pressed the crowd off the streets. Then, preceded by a troop carrier full of armed policemen, the convicted men were driven away — on their way to exile on Robben Island.

Now history has turned full circle. Lilliesleaf is about to change hands again — this time for R400 000. And as all but one of the Rivonia trialists emerge as free men, the quest for political solutions continues.

# 'Worker unity'



Young Tsikile Luthuli in a scene from Sipho Luthuli's play *Abasebenzi*, about the effects of trade unionism on illiterate workers

## A message in Luthuli play

By BONGANI HLATSHWAYO

**P**LAYWRIGHT Sipho Luthuli's latest offering, *Abasebenzi*, deals with trade unionism among illiterate workers

Luthuli, who also directs the play, hopes to take it to professional theatres soon

"In this play we look at the plight of workers on strike who end up without jobs

"The message in this play is unity among all races in the country," said Luthuli

The play stars young actress Tsikile Luthuli as Zombo, a domestic worker who fights against poor wages and the lack of a pension system

She sells dagga to supplement her wages

Sipho Luthuli is Zwehznina, an old-fashioned man who eventually adopts the hard-line politics of the youth

The play is currently being performed at Soweto schools Luthuli hopes to stage it at professional theatres.

Luthuli's career in theatre began when his 21-man play *Give Us This Day* was performed in 1973 It was banned for five years in 1976

In 1978 he hit the road with his second play, *Isiko*, which was also popular in the townships

Despite having serious financial drawbacks to putting on his productions, Luthuli pushed ahead He says he lost R35 000 which was stolen at the door of *Isiko* when the play toured Botswana, Lesotho and Kuruman

"Well, I've never been a gambler all my life," he says

Thumbs up for reggae music

By BONGANI HLATSHWAYO

**T**HE SABC is giving more airtime to reggae music, making it possible for reggae artists to break into the music scene

One who has benefited is Carlos Djedje, who recently released his first album, *Remember Them* - the martyrs of the African struggle

"Previously the SABC did not play my music on television and radio," said Djedje in an interview.

Some of the tracks were initially banned by the SABC.

"They banned *Jah Give Us This* because they did not want to promote Rastafarianism," said Djedje

"The SABC have now given me a lot of exposure - so much that people are talking about my album all over the place and sales are improving."

Five years ago things were difficult for reggae artists as most record companies opted for commercial music

"But now reggae is in demand with the mushrooming of record companies"

"The promoters no longer shun me but I'm choosy about the jobs I take - I want community-related projects in which the underprivileged will benefit."

City Press 15/10/83

11A

WIN A FORTUNE

WIS

COULD EQUAL YOUR DEPOSIT

THE CHANCES OF THE SYSTEM IN OUR STORE!

# A blue token of hope

By SOL MORATHI

City Press

15/10/89  
years before he was sent to Robben Island They had a three-year-old son, Tebogo

(11A)

A BLUE overall which belongs to jailed Pan Africanist Congress member Japtha Masemola hangs behind the kitchen door at number eight Masemola Street in Atteridgeville

The overall has been hanging behind the door for the past 27 years

Praises Masemola, 47, wife of the jailed former Atteridgeville school teacher, said the overall has worked wonders for her since 1963. It has helped her endure the pain and frustration of living without a husband

"I would be so delighted to see him wear it once again. It has worked wonders for me. Whenever I see it, it brings good memories," said Praises

Masemola was sentenced to life imprisonment together with John Nkosi, Simon Brander and ten other people by Judge Cillie at the Old Synagogue in Pretoria on July 2, 1963

He was found guilty of conspiracy and terrorism. Nkosi, also of Atteridgeville, was released with Govan Mbeki in 1987

Masemola married Praises two

"I was shattered by the sentence," said Praises, who prefers to be called Thandi

She later lost their house in Atteridgeville. Often she went for three days without food and saw their son grow up fatherless

"It was hard and very painful without him. I almost broke down at some stages," she said

Thandi recalls that during those days she was unemployed and had no one to turn to for financial help

But she endured the hardship and pain thanks to the encouragement of Reverend Daniel Marivate and her late mother

"I prayed every day to be reunited with my husband. Sometimes I believed he would never be released

She criticised apartheid laws "I suffered a lot and believe that other women whose husbands are still languishing in jail feel the same"



**The PAC's Japtha Masemola was the first political lifer in South Africa and the longest serving political prisoner.**

15/10/89 City Press

# THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE

## The boy who never touched his father

### His dad's name opened no doors

THE past quarter of a century has not been kind to Kokoi Motosaledi, the last-born son of Rivonia trialist Elias Motosaledi.

Life under apartheid has given him few privileges, nor did his father's name open doors for him.

Motosaledi was jangled shortly after Kokoi's birth in 1963. The boy grew up never knowing what his father looked like.

Kokoi and his six brothers and a sister were supported by his mother, Caroline Motosaledi. She battled for 26 years to bring up her large family on the meagre salary of a factory machinist.

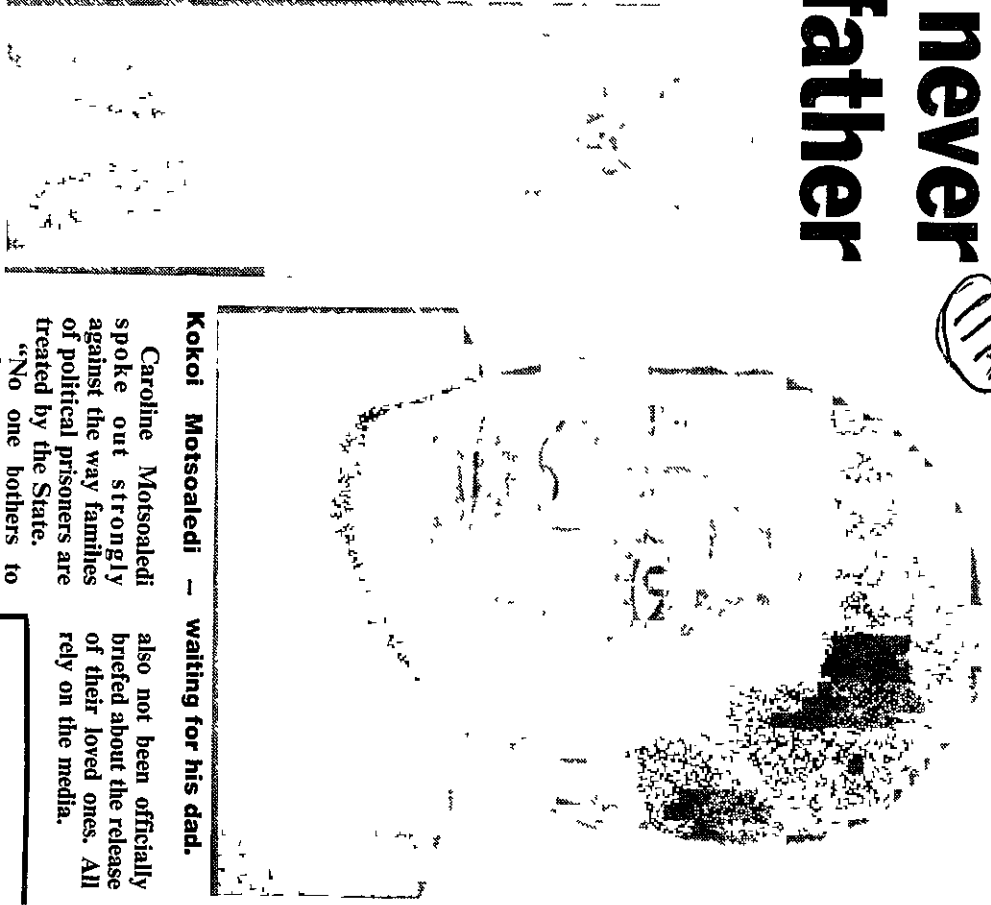
As a child Kokoi asked his mother about his father. She could only tell him his father

was in prison for his political convictions. He struggled to come to grips with life under apartheid.

Kokoi joined the Soweto Students Congress when he started high school at Anchor High School in Mzimhlopho. He matriculated in 1984.

"It was no child's play to obtain a matric under those conditions. We had running battles with the police. I was involved in the struggle, but not in a leadership role. The fact that I was Motosaledi's son did not make a great impact on my peers," he said.

Kokoi dropped out of university in his second year because of a lack of finances and now works as a clerk for a large insurance company. He was twice refused



**Elias Motosaledi as a young man.**

the right to sit for examinations because he could not pay his fees. His dreams of becoming an engineer were shattered.

**Kokoi Motosaledi - waiting for his dad.**

Caroline Motosaledi spoke out strongly against the way families of political prisoners are treated by the State.

"No one bothers to send us a letter, make a telephone call or send someone to break the news about the latest development. We have to depend on TV and newspapers," she said.

The Sisulus, Mlangenis and Mkwazis have

also not been officially briefed about the release of their loved ones. All rely on the media.



**T**HE escalation of political conflict in South Africa has led to a greater degree of polarisation within society.

The two main players on the stage are still the oppressor – represented by the government – and the oppressed, represented by the various mass democratic organisations.

The demands of the oppressed are no less than the demands of freedom-loving people all over the world.

They demand the right to vote, the right to live where one chooses, equality before the law, a non-racial society, a non-racial education system and adequate housing with security of tenure.

We look at any one of the above-mentioned demands and see how ordinary human beings become criminals because of their beliefs.

Look at the right to vote. The majority in this country do not have the vote. They have expressed their dissatisfaction about it through protests, rallies and mass defiance, which they see as legitimate political activity.

To counter this, the State passed harsher laws which have become more stringent in recent years.

During the fifties the State passed the Suppression of Communism Act, which was used to ban the SACP, ANC and PAC before these organisations adopted violence to oppose the government.

This Act is today known as the Internal Security Act, with its infamous Section 29. Through this section, the State is empowered to detain people for lengthy periods

# Draconian

## Laws of a

## frightened

## Government

*11A City Press 15/10/86*  
The government uses

various tactics to criminalise legitimate political activity in South Africa, said TAYOB KAMDAR of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers at an International Political Prisoners' Day rally at Wits University this week. This is an edited version of his speech.

and then release them without charging them.

Detained persons do not have access to lawyers or their families and no court can order their release.

Detainees face persistent police interrogation, solitary confinement and sometimes physical and mental torture – a most brutal and inhuman form of cruelty.

We also have the Public Safety Act, which makes provision for the

declaration of a state of emergency. During the height of the second state of emergency, between June 1985 and June 1986, over 30 000 persons were detained.

Some spent more than two years in jail and were subjected to harsh restrictions on their release.

Many successful applications for the release of detainees brought a certain amount of euphoria to human rights lawyers.

The government, however, closed the loopholes through legislation.

When reasons were sought from the Minister of Law and Order why people were detained, the reply invariably said the person was a threat to the safety of the State – yet the majority were never charged.

If one looks at any of the other demands made by the oppressed, one sees the same pattern emerging. Legitimate political demands are seen as part of a total terrorist onslaught against the State, with those who make the demands seen as terrorists.

The irony is that apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity and those who have taken up arms against the State are seen to be waging a just war by most countries.

It is no wonder the call has been made for those captured by the State to be given prisoner of war status.

Something must be said on capital punishment when one sees that almost a quarter of those on Death Row are there because of political crimes.

All unjust laws must be abolished for us to reach our ideal of a non-racial democratic South Africa, he said.

# OUT! But will they be FREE

BY ZB MOLEFE

STATE President FW de Klerk is keeping his fingers crossed

He is hoping the government will not have to impose restrictions on ANC leader Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners when they are released. "I really hope it is not necessary to re-impose restrictions on those released," De Klerk told a Press conference on Wednesday.

## Hope from De Klerk

He was asked if Walter Sisulu, six other high-placed ANC members and PAC member Jafta Masemola, would suffer the same fate as ANC member Govan Mbeki, who was released from Robben Island in 1987.

Mbeki is restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

When Mbeki's restrictions were announced, Po-

lice Commissioner General Hennie de Witt said the action had come about "because it became necessary to prevent promotion of the revolutionary climate."

De Klerk made his statement of hope after a three-hour meeting with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, World Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, and

World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Boesak.

De Klerk said his release of the eight was above all else a gesture of goodwill.

He also told reporters he stood by his "open door" policy.

"We believe in democracy and free speech. Those who don't agree with us are free to do so

The right to disagree with us will be maintained," he said.

In an overview of the meeting, De Klerk said the churchmen had made seven demands.

He was careful to point out that the churchmen were not negotiating with the government, but had acted as facilitators.

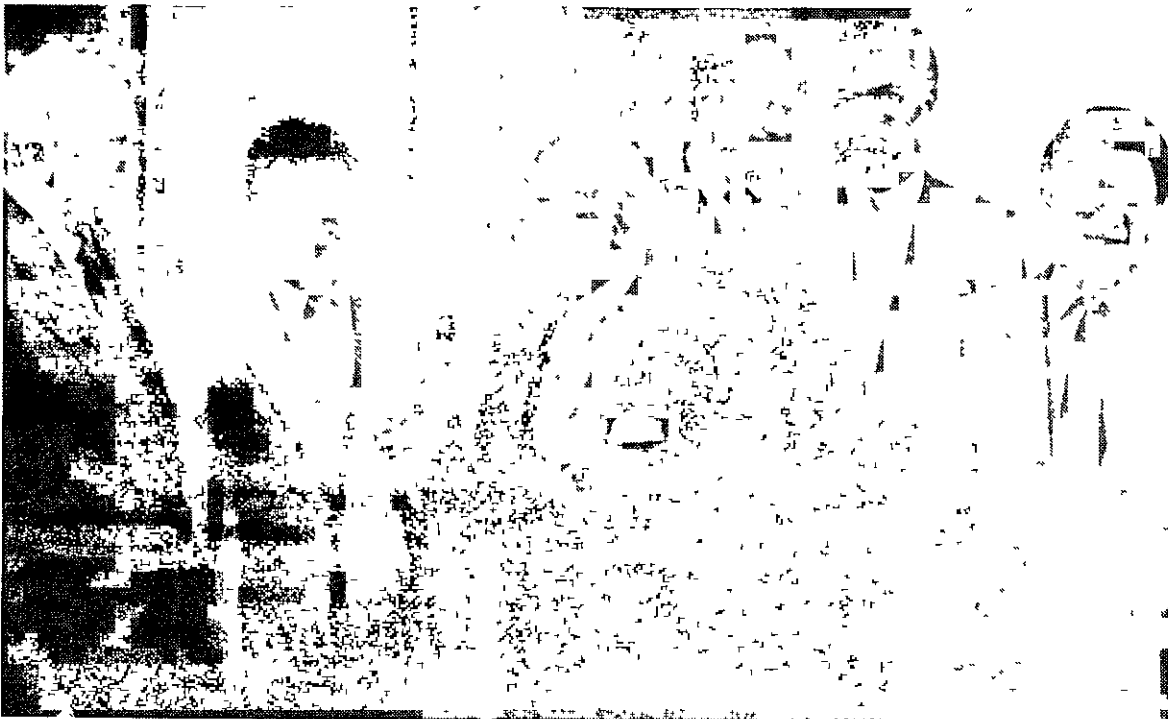
"It was talks about talks," he said.

Asked about the escalation of anti-apartheid marches countrywide, De Klerk said "It is not necessary to protest, to break down an open door. What is necessary now is to decide what the new South Africa will look like."

The three church leaders later outlined the seven-point memorandum which formed the basis of their talks with De Klerk.

The demands they brought for discussion were:

- Allow exiles to return home,
- Repeal legislation enabling government to inhibit free political activity
- Repeal the Population Registration Act,
- Repeal the Separate Amenities Act,
- Repeal the Group Areas Act,
- Repeal the Land Act and
- Embark on negotiations with liberation movements



Desmond Tutu shares a joke with FW De Klerk before talks this week. Frank Chikane and Allan Boesak look on.

# 'SAA Treason' to talk

16/10/89

## to ANCO

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The Argus Foreign Service

**LONDON.** — The South African government is ready to negotiate with the ANC without preconditions, South Africa's Ambassador to London, Mr Rae Killen, revealed today.

Asked on an early-morning BBC news programme whether Pretoria was prepared to meet the ANC, he said "Not only with the ANC but with leaders of all communities in South Africa."

He said that after the historic "tea party" with Mr P W Botha, Mr Nelson Mandela had pronounced himself committed to peaceful change.

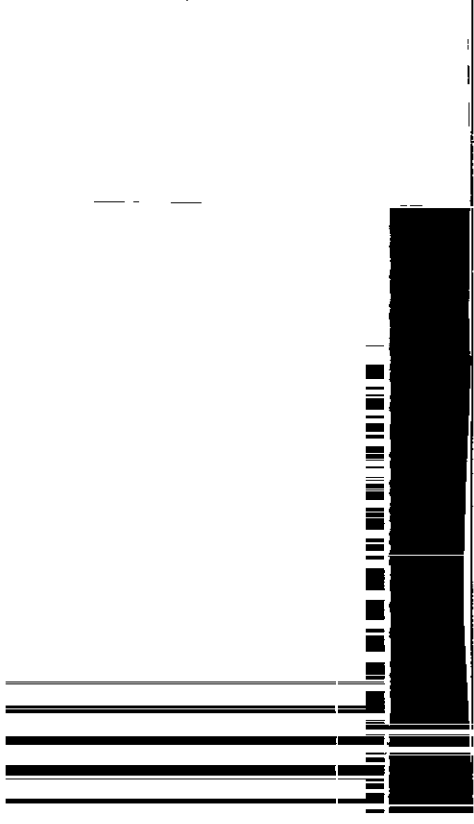
Would the proposed, wide-ranging talks with black leaders include the ANC?

"Yes, indeed," Mr Killen replied "If they are able to come to the conference table, if they are prepared to negotiate with South Africa."

Pressed on whether there were any preconditions to the talks, Mr Killen said "Not at the moment, no."

Asked whether the release of the eight political dissidents yesterday was not "rather carefully and cynically timed" to disarm the Commonwealth meeting this week, Mr Killen replied "I think it's part of the process (of change), another step. Mr De Klerk had to move quickly after

P.T.O.



**WELCOME HOME: African National Congress leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela's closest comrade, is greeted by well-wishers and friends in Soweto after his release from prison.**

his inauguration. He's met three churchmen, he's announced a different treatment of peaceful protest marchers, and this is continuation of what he said he would do to make it possible for the leaders to get together to negotiate."

There was, he said, "a wish to get away from the confrontations of the past."

According to The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria, the freed ANC seven could spearhead a new united anti-apartheid front inside South Africa.

The seven, led by the former ANC secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, have pledged their continued support for the ANC and said they would throw their weight behind the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

The MDM has rallied behind the men and has also appointed a national reception committee to take care of the seven's release after more than 26 years in prison.

● **Homecoming jubilation:**

**Reports and pictures, page 13.**

Hours after their release, the men — Mr Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Oscar Mpetha — addressed the first ANC press conference since the movement was banned in 1960, at the Holy Cross Church next to Mr Sisulu's Orlando West home.

The eighth freed man, Mr Jafra Masemola, is a founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

The seven pledged to continue the banned organisation's struggle for freedom "in an orderly and disciplined manner".

But they said the ANC did not have any alternative but to continue with its present methods, including the armed struggle and a call for sanctions, as long as the government refused to meet the banned organisation's demands.

The ANC men's solidarity with the MDM against the government has further narrowed differences in the anti-apartheid movement.

The released men may represent the ANC's internal leadership but the outlawed organisation remains banned in the country.

Although the men have been released unconditionally, they cannot continue the ANC's activities internally as it is illegal to further the aims of a banned organisation.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said shortly after their release was announced, that their release would be unconditional but they would be subjected, as are all citizens, to the laws of the country.

The Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, said last night the men's release could not be interpreted as the unbanning of the ANC or as the formation of an internal wing of the liberation movement.

He pointed out that an informal internal wing of

## Crowds sing

# Jubilation as ANC leaders come home

By Stan Hlophe

Soweto streets were alive with the black, green and yellow colours of the ANC yesterday when hundreds of jubilant supporters of the organisation celebrated the early-morning release of eight long-term political leaders

Four of them — former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni — arrived at their homes after 26 years in prison at 5.30 am and were met by their families and well-wishers who had camped outside the leaders' homes.

Youths, clad in ANC colours, danced the "toyitoyi" and sang freedom songs for hours

There were shouts of "Amandla" and "Victory is certain".

An ANC flag was hoisted and banners were displayed calling for the unbanning of the movement and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, now the only Rivonia accused still in jail

Marshals wearing Umkhonto we Sizwe uniforms formed a human chain to control the crowd and eager members of the local and foreign press

At the Sisulu home in Orlando West, hundreds of people of all colours, ages and races flocked to the area for a glimpse of the ANC stalwart. The marshals had a busy time controlling the crowd

Mr Sisulu came out on three occasions and greeted well-wishers overjoyed to see him.

Wearing a grey suit, the bespectacled 77-year-old looked in good health.

## Eight 'will be watched closely'

Police will be closely watching the eight high-profile security prisoners released unconditionally at the weekend, security sources have said

It is understood the SAP will watch the eight, their supporters and anti-apartheid organisations

"Their release is a testing of the waters. We will have to wait and see what will happen and we will monitor the situation closely. Whether the eight will behave or start mobilising the people still remains to be seen. We will be watching them closely," said a high-level security source

After a brief salute Mr Sisulu went back inside and the crowd continued dancing the "toyitoyi" and singing

Visitors streamed to see him, including three former Robben Island prisoners — Mr Strini Moodley, Mr Lombard Mbatha, Mr Thami Mkhwanazi — and Black Consciousness leaders Mr Lybon Mabasa, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Mr Nkosi Mola

At Mr Mlangeni's home an ANC flag was at the gate and a banner which said "Welcome home, Comrade Mlangeni, Viva ANC," greeted the former political prisoner. Mr Mkwazi was also welcomed by a huge crowd at Mr Mandela's home in Orlando West

Late in the afternoon the crowd waited for more than an hour to have the opportunity to listen to the political leaders, including Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Oscar Mpetha, who were flown from Cape Town for the press conference at the Holy Cross Anglican Church.

## Chanted

Hundreds of people chanted freedom songs and shouts of "ANC, ANC" echoed through the small church hall. A flag was displayed and tables were wrapped in a green, black and yellow tablecloths

At 6.15 pm the seven, all wearing grey suits, were ushered in to ululation and dancing

It took Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who was the master of ceremonies, 15 minutes to calm down the jubilant hundreds. Those who could not secure a place opted to perch on the balcony to have a glimpse of the "magnificent seven", as they were dubbed.

All seven looked in good spirits except Mr Mpetha, who was brought in in a wheelchair

Mr Sisulu assumed a leadership role and was given the right to deliver a press statement printed on the organisation's letterhead

The ANC leaders' wives sat behind them and Mrs Winnie Mandela, dressed in an Umkhonto we Sizwe uniform, was among them. Mrs Priscilla Jana, a Johannesburg lawyer, was among those in the audience.

The seven leaders were formally introduced to the crowd, most of whom were in their teens or not born when the men were sentenced to life imprisonment.

# Freedom after 26 years brings no elation

Pretoria Correspondent



Mr Jaftha Masemola . . . he always felt that he was unlawfully incarcerated and that his sentence was inordinately long.

Released founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress and former school teacher, Mr Jaftha Masemola of Atteridgeville, is not elated about leaving jail after 26 years.

Mr Masemola (60), the second longest-serving political prisoner after jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was released with seven other political prisoners yesterday.

He arrived at his sister's home in Atteridgeville at about 5.45 am to a jubilant welcome from friends, neighbours, family members and former pupils.

The crowd was later joined by PAC leader, Mr Zephania Mthopeng and his wife, Urbana. Commenting on his release, Mr Masemola said, "After spending more than 26 years in prison I do not feel any elation at being released. I feel indifferent about it."

Mr Masemola said he always felt he was unlawfully incarcerated and that an "inordinate sentence" loses its effect and causes bitterness. "I cannot express happiness about my release."

Mr Masemola said he believed his release — and that of seven other political prisoners — was intended primarily for the South African Government to regain world acceptance.

He added that President de Klerk had moved from the traditional Nationalist trend of trying to dictate to the African people and was using the strategy of negotiations.

"But these negotiations are supposed to be with African leaders — who happen to be locked behind bars."

**Logical conclusion**  
He continued "If the State President was referring to the puppets, who will accept everything he says, when he said he was in favour of negotiations with African leaders, then the talks will be useless."

"Speaking for myself, I would say the main issue in Azania (South Africa) centres on the re-possession of our land, because if we follow Mr de Klerk's stand to its logical conclusion, it means that the Government will be taken over by Africans through the ballot. This is one thing the Government will not allow."

Mr Masemola said it was clear that he had been given a punishment which was disproportionate to the gravity of the alleged crime.

A former teacher at Banareng Higher Primary School, Mr Masemola said he was arrested with 15 other men in Atteridgeville on May 22 1963. Among the group were Mr Dikgang Moseneneke,

Mr John Nkosi, Mr Klaas Mashishu and Mr Simon Brander, who later died in prison. "I was kept at the Erasmus police station for three months while evidence was being collected by the police."

The group was sentenced by Mr Justice Cilliers, on July 2 1963. Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi were sentenced to life imprisonment while Mr Moseneneke was sentenced to 10 years' jail. Mr Mashishu to 12 years and Mr Brander to 15 years.

The group had no legal representation and had to conduct their own defence. "After our sentence, we tried several times to have our case reviewed but everytime we did that, we were told that the court records could not be found."

**Gave up hope**  
He said he believed that the court records were not lost but had been hidden as they did not possess anything to warrant the imposition of a life sentence. "After this we gave up hope and decided to serve our sentences."

He served 23 years on Robben Island. Mr Masemola said that in 1985 former President Botha offered him a conditional release but he had declined the offer.

He went on a hunger strike in 1986 in protest against prison conditions. He was later transferred from Pollsmoor prison to Diepkloof prison. His grievances included the fact that prison authorities showed a lack of interest in problems encountered by prisoners.

"I wrote numerous letters to the Commissioner of Prisons outlining a number of grievances which included complaints about visits, letters, ill-treatment by warders and the classification of prisoners, which in my opinion was tardy."

He stopped the hunger strike after he was told that the Commissioner of Prisons wanted him to present his grievances to him personally.

Mr Masemola said he started his hunger strike again after realising that nothing was going to happen.

"I stopped the hunger strike again after I received an invitation from Nelson Mandela to visit him at Victor Verster prison early this month."

He was told about his release after his meeting with Mr Mandela.

Asked whether he had any plans for the future, Mr Masemola said he had no set plans. "I still need time to think about my future, but one thing I know is that I'm not going back to teaching."

● See Page 11.

# Longest Jail Sentence

**SOUTH** Africa's longest political life prisoner, Mr Jeff Kgalabi Masemola, slipped quietly into Atteridgeville, Pretoria, yesterday and declared his unswerving aim of wresting power from the "racist regime."

Unlike the Rivonia trialists, Masemola was sentenced to life imprisonment a year earlier than Nelson Mandela and his colleagues for sabotaged engineering by the Pan Africanist Congress.

## By MONK NKOMO

He said. "Our release from prison after such a long period is intended to soften world pressure on this racist regime."

## Teacher

Masemola, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963, was released at 2.15 am yesterday after spending 27 years in jail.

At the time of his arrest he was a teacher at Banareng Primary School.

In an interview with

*Sowetan*, Masemola (58), who looked healthy and young, said he was not happy to be released because the crime he allegedly committed did not warrant a life sentence.

Masemola was arrested together with 15 others on March 21 1963. and he was sentenced to life imprisonment by Mr Justice Cellie sitting with two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court on July 2 1963 for conspiring to commit acts of sabotage and overthrowing the government by violent means. Asked to comment on his release,

Masemola, dressed in a grey-three piece suit, said "I believe that our release is intended to soften world pressure

"We are being used as chips to buy world favour. Our release is not so much out of humanitarian consideration."

Masemola said he was unjustly sentenced to life imprisonment because he did not have legal representation "Our lawyers, who included, Mr Sydney Kentridge and Mr Jack Unterhalter, were refused access to interview us. The sentence was too harsh because no act of sabotage was committed," said Masemola

Asked to comment on the Government's widely publicised policy of negotiation with black leaders, Masemola said, "Speaking for myself the issue at the moment is not whether there should be negotiations or not. We cannot negotiate with usurpers of our land. Our primary task, as stated over and over again, is to repossess our country - Azania."

Masemola stressed, however, that he was not going to stand in the way of those who consider negotiation as a solution to this country's problems

He said he had not yet planned his future



Jeff Masemola

# Back home

## ● From page 1

Mineworkers, and Mr Murphy Morobe, an executive member of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Looking fit and in good spirits, Sisulu, raising a clenched fist, told the crowd he was excited to be back home.

"There was a time when I thought I would die in prison I was prepared to die in prison but I never despaired because the spirit of the people outside was inspiring. But I'm very excited to be back," Sisulu said.

He said the township still looked the same and some of the houses still looked the way they did before he was imprisoned.

At a Press conference held at the jam-packed Holy Cross Anglican Church last night, Sisulu said the ANC would not enter into negotiations with the Government unless certain conditions had been met and the right climate had been created.

He said the conditions included the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and unbanning of banned people.

"We demand that the laws that hinder the free-

dom of the people be removed. We demand the return of all exiles.

"State President (F W) De Klerk must make efforts, visible efforts to create the right climate for negotiations," he said.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni told a battery of international and local journalists that the "ball was in the Government's court."

"The ANC will continue with the struggle. We are saying the Government must meet our demands. If the Government does not meet our demands, we'll continue to fight for our freedom," he said.

Sisulu said it would have been better if Mandela had also been released, saying the release of the seven ANC men was a half measure.

He said the ANC would continue with the pressure for freedom in an orderly and disciplined way.

In a prepared statement, Sisulu said the political future of the released men would be determined by the leadership of the movement, both locally and abroad.

"Our dedication and determination has not been weakened by the long years of our imprisonment, he said.

Sowetan  
16/10/89



# Armed men prevent meeting in school

*Cape Times 16/10/89*

Staff Reporter

MEN with guns yesterday prevented Old Crossroads residents from holding a meeting in a local school — despite residents having the written permission for a gathering from a Wynberg magistrate.

According to chief headman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, residents had arranged to meet near the Noxolo Primary School to discuss housing problems in the sprawling shantytown.

In a letter dated October 13, a Wynberg magistrate had authorised Mr Nongwe to hold an open-air meeting near Noxolo School, Old Crossroads, to discuss the building of houses.

"It looked as though it was going to rain, so we decided to hold the meeting in the school, which the caretaker agreed to," Mr Nongwe said.

However, about 13 men armed with

pistols arrived soon after 9am and told the residents and Mr Nongwe that they could not hold the meeting in the school, Mr Nongwe said.

The group of armed men was led by Cape Provincial Administration local government official Mr Ricky Schelhase, who carried a holstered pistol, Mr Nongwe said.

Despite his protests that the meeting had been authorised and the school belonged to the community, Mr Schelhase locked the school gate, Mr Nongwe said.

The meeting was eventually held outside the school while monitored by some of the armed men — identified by Mr Nongwe as supporters of Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Nxobongwana.

Neither Mr Schelhase nor Mr Nxobongwana was available for comment last night.



**WAR GAMES . . .**  
Two young Israeli boys wear tank commander helmets yesterday as they play atop an Israeli army tank at a military exhibition in Tel Aviv  
Picture REUTER

# govt on peace



**HE COMES HOME . . .** Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu surrounded by well-wishers the return to his Soweto home yesterday Picture REUTERS

**JOHANNESBURG.** — At the first press conference addressed by ANC leadership in South Africa since the banning of the organisation in 1960, its former secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, last night set out preconditions the government had to meet before negotiations were possible.

Mr Sisulu and the other six ANC leaders who were released at dawn yesterday answered questions from the local and international media, before addressing a crowd of more than 1 000 people at the Holy Cross Anglican church in Orlando West.

Also released yesterday was PAC member, Mr Jafa Masemola, 58. At a separate press conference he said the PAC was still active and that he would work towards establishing a just society, with equality.

Mr Sisulu also vowed yesterday that he and his six comrades would carry on the fight for equal rights for the black majority of South Africans.

"Ultimately, in our lifetime, there will be a government that includes the blacks," said the white-haired, 77 year old Mr Sisulu.

## Determination still strong

"Our dedication and determination has not been weakened by the long years of our imprisonment. On the contrary, we have been strengthened by the developments in the country and by our own clear vision and confidence in the future of South Africa," he said.

"We are happy to be with you, with our families, our friends and our comrades," said Mr Sisulu.

"But we must add that there can be no real joy about our release when we think of the comrades we have left behind, especially Comrade Nelson Mandela."

Answering a question as to whether the press conference was the de facto unbanning of the ANC, Mr Sisulu said "If you want a true answer — yes, this is the first press conference of the ANC since it was banned in 1960."

As to their future role, another Rivonia treason trialist, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, said it was up to the ANC to decide.

"We're not individuals, we are a part of a whole. If the ANC decides that we should apply for passports to visit Lusaka, we will go," he said to rapturous applause.

The seven ANC leaders also rejected suggestions that they had renounced violence. Mr Andrew Mlangeni described the methods of the ANC as "well known".

"The ball is in the government's court. If the government does not reach our demands, we have no alternative but to fight for freedom."

"There are no other methods, we will continue with the present methods of struggle of the ANC."

Asked if the ANC would be pressurised by the superpowers into negotiating with the government before all their conditions were met, Mr Raymond Hlaba said the organisation would not be dictated to by external forces.

## Conditions for negotiation

"We do respect the views of people overseas, but at the same time they do not dictate to us," he said.

He reiterated that all seven leaders were members of organisations involved in the struggle for freedom and did not take decisions as individuals.

Mr Sisulu set out the conditions the government would have to meet before the ANC would sit at the negotiating table.

- These were
- Unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations
  - Lifting of the state of emergency
  - Unbanning of all individuals
  - Removal of the laws that hindered their freedom
  - Return of all exiles to their homes

Commenting on what he believed was the significance of their releases, Mr Sisulu said that granting the seven freedom while Mr Mandela remained in jail was one of the "half measures" which the ANC felt was harming the country.

The political significance of the releases, he said, was that the government was beginning to be sensitive to issues affecting South Africans.

● PAC 'still active' — Page 3

To page 3

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# FREE

## Sisulu's challenge to govt on peace

291 1-54 16/10/89 (114) *ESB*

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Mr Sisulu and the other six ANC leaders who were released at dawn yesterday answered questions from the local and international media before addressing a crowd of more than 1,000 people at the Holy Cross Anglican church in Orlando West. Mr Jaha Masemola, 58, at a separate press conference he said the PAC was still active and that he would work towards establishing "a just society with social equality".

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"Our dedication and determination has not been weakened by the long years of our imprisonment. On the contrary, we have been strengthened by the development in the country and by our own clear vision and confidence in the future of South Africa."

He was happy to be with you, with our families, our friends and our comrades," said Mr Sisulu.

"But we must add that there can be no real joy about our release when we think of the comrades we have left behind, especially Comrade Nelson Mandela."

the press



**GOING HOME** . Mr Oscar Mpetsha goes home yesterday morning from imprisonment at Groote Schuur Hospital accompanied by friends and relatives



Walter Sisulu gives the clenched fist salute at his home in Orlando West, Soweto, yesterday. His wife, Albertina, is on the extreme right. More pics on Page 6.

# HOME

## Tumultuous welcome for released leaders

**THE African National Congress stalwarts who were released from prison early yesterday morning came home to a tumultuous and emotion-charged welcome.**

It was one of the biggest home-coming ceremonies ever held in Soweto

Traffic came to a virtual stand-

By **SY MAKARINGE**

still in most parts of Soweto as hundreds of youths singing freedom songs and chanting slogans as well as elderly people marched from one home to another to welcome their leaders

There were ululations and hundreds of people lined the

streets Many others stood on rooftops to get a glimpse of the

*Soweto 16/10/89*  
released men who have been in jail for more than 25 years

The Orlando West home of Mr Walter Sisulu, former general secretary of the outlawed African National Congress, was a beehive of activity as scores of people waited outside to see him

He emerged a few minutes later with his wife, Albertina, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of

• To page 3

CMT 7/1/5 16/10/89 (11A) 307

# PAC still very active, says Masemola

PRETORIA — The banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was still "very active", Mr Jafta Masemola, 58, the only PAC figure among the eight released prisoners, said here yesterday.

Looking relaxed and fit, PAC founder member Mr Masemola said in an interview at the home of his sister, Mrs Japhtalina Moyo, in Atteridgeville "We are not paper tigers. We are real blood tigers"

Mr Masemola, a former teacher, was jailed by the Supreme Court, Pretoria, more than 26 years ago for launching the PAC's military operations in the country.

Asked about the new De Klerk government, he said Mr De Klerk had so far backed up his position with action, but "unfortunately this comes at a time when people have lost their patience".

He added, however, that Mr De Klerk's reform plans could succeed "if he does not make PW's mistake of looking over his shoulder at conservative whites all the time".

Mr Masemola said he would work towards establishing "a just society, with total equality. Blacks should also have the vote"

Mr Masemola's long jail term had made

him a "very bitter man", which muffled his happiness over his release

His imprisonment had also "wrecked" his marriage to Mrs Praises Masemola, 47, he said

"But the time behind bars has not broken my spirit The fire burns more fiercely than before"

Mr Masemola was the second-longest-serving political prisoner after Mr Nelson Mandela, and has the stature among PAC sympathisers that his ANC colleague has in his organisation

Born on December 12, 1931, Mr Masemola

qualified as a teacher and then entered the hurly-burly of politics when he joined the ANC Youth League in the early 1950s He established various structures of the organisation in Atteridgeville near Pretoria

A few blocks away, reporters found his wife, Mrs Praises Masemola, waiting alone at her home for a visit from her husband

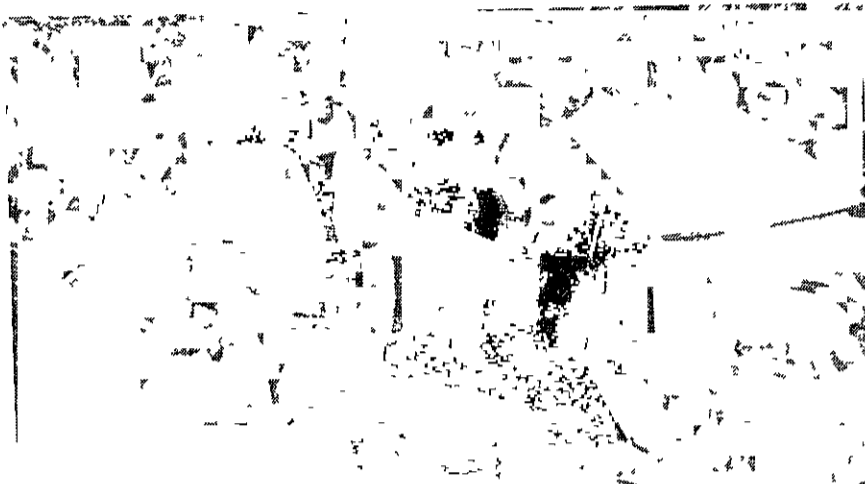
She was at first "happy" when she heard he had been released, but she later said she had become "tense" as she waited at her home

She said her life had been marked by hardship since the incarceration of her husband

"It was so hard to raise our child alone"



REUNITED . . . Mrs Albertina Sisulu rests her head on the shoulder of her husband, Mr Walter Sisulu, 77, after he returned yesterday to their Soweto home after 25 years in prison. Picture REUTERS



HOME AT LAST . . . Hundreds of supporters welcome trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha, 80, home in Nyanga yesterday after his release from his guarded Groote Schuur Hospital ward. Picture OBED ZILWA

From page 1

"I can only repeat what the movement has been asking the State President and his colleagues, namely that he must make efforts, visible efforts, to create a climate for negotiation"

The former prisoners were also questioned about the current role of the SA Communist Party and working-class issues in the struggle

Veteran trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha said "It has all along been my belief that liberty will never come without the working-class movement participating in the struggle"

"I am even more convinced now that they are more important, and in fact that we will gain our freedom through the working class and the masses"

Mr Sisulu was asked whether recent events had made him more optimistic that he and the other leaders would see a black president in their lifetime

"We do not think of people in terms of colour We are talking in terms of a democratic method whereby a black man could be president, a white man could be president"

"There is no question of assessing on the basis of colour," Mr Sisulu said

Asked whether the released leaders planned to hold mass rallies or give the government a deadline to respond to demands, he replied "It is the duty of the leadership to continue the pressure for freedom and to pressure government in every possible way in an orderly and disciplined manner"

A statement read out at the conference said the seven ANC stalwarts constantly thought of their colleagues who had been left inside, especially Mr Nelson Mandela

"We, his comrades, the people of South Africa and the people of the whole world demand his release," said the statement

It also expressed solidarity with the people of Namibia and in particular, with Swapo. — Sapa, UPI and Own Correspondent

CMT 7/1/5 16/10/89 (11A) 307

## Hearty welcome for Mpetha

WELL-WISHERS jammed the tiny Nyanga home of trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha after he arrived there following his release yesterday morning, while others queued in the mud outside for a glimpse of the ANC stalwart

The 80-year-old Mr Mpetha, wearing a yellow rose in the lapel of a new check suit, appeared to be in surprisingly good condition for a man who spent much of his jail term in hospital

He was released directly from Groote Schuur Hospital about 7.30am

Women broke into song as he entered the room

Many of those present wore yellow and green "Release Oscar Mpetha" T-shirts, while others wore scarves or other garments bearing ANC colours.

At 10am, a group of 100 youths and small children "toy-toyed" down the road to his house, ignoring a police van that passed them. — Sapa

# Govt will now 'wait and see'

By BARRY STREEK

THE government will now adopt a cautious "wait-and-see" approach to future developments in the wake of yesterday's release of eight political prisoners.

It will not make any firm commitments at this stage on issues like the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the lifting of the emergency till it has assessed the reaction to the release of the eight.

If there is an outburst of violence and disruption in the townships following the release of the eight prisoners, the government could retreat into its shell and pro-

ceed far more cautiously than would have been the case if there had been relative calm.

The government has repeatedly emphasised that there must be law and order in South Africa during any period of reform — and if this is not the case, the pace of reform would have to be slowed down.

There is little doubt that the cabinet ministers who have been meeting Mr Mandela at Victor Verster Prison recently will have impressed the ANC leadership with their views on the need for security, and this could result in a determined effort to cool the situation down.

This could pave the way for the next phase — the lifting of the emergency and/or the release of Mr Mandela.

At the same time, the international response could help facilitate or retard genuine negotiations.

What it all boils down to is that relative calm in the townships and relatively positive responses internationally to these developments will speed up the move to the next phase.

The exact opposite will have precisely the opposite effect on President FW de Klerk's government, which could well become as recalcitrant as ever.

# 5 000 crowd give Sisulu big welcome

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu was welcomed by more than 5 000 people early yesterday morning when he arrived at his Soweto home after spending more than 25 years in jail.

Mr Sisulu, 77, was one of eight leading security prisoners unconditionally released yesterday.

Accompanied by his wife Albertina, herself a UDF president, Mr Sisulu walked through the gates of his home to tumultuous cries of "Viva Sisulu, Viva, Viva"

Mr Sisulu, who would answer only questions of a personal nature, said he felt excellent and was happy to see his people.

"I feel very well, very fit," he said. Mr Sisulu was also reunited at his Soweto home with his son Zwelakhe.

He spoke by telephone with another son, Max, who is in exile with the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, his daughters-in-law, and his daughter in London.

Asked whether he had expected to die in prison, Mr Sisulu replied that he had been "quite ready for it"

"On the whole however I knew the pressure was building and sooner or later they would have to give in.

"It was not possible to despair because the spirit of the people outside was too great

"They gave me confidence I am happy to be with the people and to receive a civilised welcome"

Mr Sisulu said he and the others to be released with him were woken by

prison authorities about 4am

Family members confirmed that all eight were in good health

People of all races including well-known anti-apartheid activists formed a long queue at the gate in an attempt to get inside and see Mr Sisulu

They included NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe and Numsa's Mr Moses Mayekiso and Mr Samson Ndou

Leaders of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) were also at the home to welcome Mr Sisulu.

Meanwhile, fellow Rivonia trialist Mr Ahmed Kathrada, 60, was escorted to his brother's Lenasia home by a group of policemen.

"It's nice to be free," he said. "Now I want a cup of tea"

A group of activists who had been camping out all night to welcome him, unfurled ANC banners as he arrived. Police asked them to remove the banners but they refused and the police then left.

Friends, family and journalists thronging the house made it impossible for Mr Kathrada to relax and as news of his release spread excited people began gathering at his brother's house. Soon the crowd outside had swelled to several hundred people

Mr Sisulu and Mr Kathrada were released from prisons near their homes about 6am along with Mr Elias Motsaedi, 65, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, 63, Mr Jafta Masemola, 60, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, 69, Mr Wilton Mkwazi, 67, and Mr Oscar Mpetha, 80



EUPHORIA . . . Released Rivonia trialist Mr Raymond Mhlaba, 69, gets a hero's welcome at D F Malan Airport while en route to Johannesburg to meet his fellow ex-prisoners yesterday.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

## Mhlaba back home after 26-year absence

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Raymond Mhlaba, 69, arrived in New Brighton at 5 30am yesterday — for the first time in 26 years

He was greeted by his daughter Nikiwe and wife Dideka.

Said an overjoyed Mrs Mhlaba: "I do not know how to show my appreciation to God."

Mr Mhlaba told them that after his arrival on Friday, he was kept at North End Prison — a far cry from Robben Island or Pollsmoor Prison in terms of conditions.

"My husband said he was not going to sleep in such a dirty place without a radio and television to keep him aware of current events," Mrs Mhlaba said.

Bur Mr Mhlaba could at least read about Port Elizabeth's successful march at the weekend where Mr Bongani Gxilishe and other speakers from the Mass Democratic Movement said they had hoped he could have been at the march to address the crowds

Yesterday scores of people gathered at the Mhlaba home as news of his release spread

However, he did not have much time at home. After his arrival he met his old comrade Mr Govan Mbeki and other community leaders before leaving the city for Cape Town to meet Mr Oscar Mpetha, and then on to Johannesburg

He is expected back in Port Elizabeth today

Sisulu says he is raring to go

# Freed ANC leaders hailed by thousands

B/Day 16/10/89

SIPHO NGCOBO

VETERAN ANC leader Walter Sisulu received a hero's welcome from thousands of people early yesterday morning when he arrived at his Soweto home after 26 years in jail.

Sisulu, 77, was one of eight political prisoners released yesterday.

Accompanied by his wife Albertina, who is a UDF president, Sisulu walked through the gates of his home to tumultuous cries of "Viva Sisulu, Viva, Viva"

The national reception committee said a Press conference, which would be attended by the seven ANC leaders, would be held later in the day.

Sisulu did not make any political speeches at his home. He said he was happy to be back and was fit, healthy and raring to go. He said he had never worried about being in prison because he knew people were

carrying on with the struggle for liberation

As the veteran ANC leader spoke, a huge ANC banner was unfurled behind him.

He said he felt excellent and was happy to see his people, Sapa reported.

Asked whether he had expected to die in prison, Sisulu replied he had been "quite ready for it"

"On the whole however I knew the pressure was building and sooner or later they would have to give in.

"It was not possible to despair because the spirit of the people outside was too great. They gave me confidence I am happy to be with the people and to receive a civilised welcome. I have found the people as I knew them. I had several phone calls and have spoken to my son in Lusaka and daughter in London."

The veteran leader and fellow prisoners Ahmed Kathrada, 60; Elias Motsoaledi, 65; Andrew Mlangeni, 63; Jafta Masemola, 60; Raymond Mhlaba, 69; Wilton Mkwayi, 67; and Oscar Mpetha, 80, were released from prisons near their homes at about 6 am.

Sisulu said they were woken by prison authorities at about 4 am.

A wide area in front of the Sisulu home was cordoned off by mass democratic movement (MDM) activists.

Among those who arrived at the house to welcome Sisulu were NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso and leaders of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo)

Young activists clad in ANC colours carried placards and banners reading, "Con-



Walter Sisulu outside the family home in Soweto yesterday. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

□ To Page 2

## ANC leaders

gress welcomes you. Victory is certain"

At about 10 20am the large crowd went wild when Sisulu walked out of the house. Flanked by MDM activists, he waved and shouted "Amandla"

Chants of "ANC! ANC! ANC!" echoed throughout the area as people jostled trying to touch Sisulu

In Nyanga, Cape Town, well-wishers crowded into Mpetha's tiny home

Mpetha, wearing a yellow rose in the lapel of a new check suit, was released directly from Groote Schuur Hospital at about 7 30am, Sapa reported.

Grey-haired Mpetha, whose leg was amputated while he was in jail, had an artificial leg and walked with a stick.

Meanwhile, police escorted Kathrada to his brother's Lenasia home, Sapa reported

"Its nice to be free. Now I want a cup of tea," he said.

The only PAC member among the eight, Jafta Masemola, told well-wishers at his sister's home in Pretoria politics would be his occupation until he died or the political situation in SA changed, Sapa reported.

"We are not paper tigers. We are real blood tigers," said Masemola, who was jailed more than 26 years ago for launching the PAC's military operations in SA

Mhlaba and Mkwayi were taken to their Port Elizabeth homes after being released.

● Comment: Page 12

□ From Page 1



Raymond Mhlaba who came up from Port Elizabeth



Soweto  
16/10/89

Andrew Mlangeni (63) was the ANC's Johannesburg branch secretary



Elias Motsoaledi (65) was banned for his involvement in the ANC's defiance campaign in the 1950s

# Welcome home



Wilton Mkwayi (67) grew up in Port Elizabeth. His father signed him up for membership of the ANC in 1940 when Mkwayi was 17 years old. He was active in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and participated in rent and bus boycotts. In 1953 he was chosen as the defiance campaign's volunteer-in-chief for the Eastern Cape



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Oscar Mpatha who came up from Cape Town  
All pics MBUZENI ZULU

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Khaaste and Joe Thlotse. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. 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



Ahmed Kathrada



**T**HINGS are happening in this troubled land that I did not expect to see in my lifetime. Already the more nimble-minded political animals — people like Harry Schwarz and Professor Fatima Meer — are adjusting to a new climate. For the slow-witted, a cold wind blows.

Private conversations with old friends in the higher echelons of the National Party have convinced me that President de Klerk is in earnest. His vision may be flawed, and his methods dubious, but he plans to bring the people of South Africa to the conference table. He will work to that end.

The ANC, which can draw on the resources of the Western intelligence agencies for information that is denied to other South Africans, came to that conclusion some time ago. It has staked out a negotiating position which, it confesses, is intended to capture the high ground before negotiations begin.

**O**ther strange and exciting things are happening. Little more than a week ago I sat in a hall in Lenasia listening to the most extraordinary speech by Fatima Meer, in which she warned a predominantly left-wing audience that the "liberatory struggle" had drifted from its democratic roots.

She accused it of a "vulgar Trotskyism" which preached irreconcilable conflict, branding some people as collaborators. I took this to be a reference to Chief Mangosuthu Buthe and Inkatha, and indeed, within moments she was warning of both deeply felt resentment of both Buthelezi and his followers at being defined out of the freedom struggle.

She spoke of the secrecy of the liberation movements, the manipulation spawned by that secrecy, the pernicious effect of foreign funding, and the deep divisions between generations. Pointing to Mozambique and Angola, she warned of the danger of similar warfare between rival black groups after liberation.

Her speech, interestingly, fol-

# Democracy begins to sprout in the strangest places

8 | Dum 16 | 10 | 89

KEN OWEN

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throw up surprises — sometimes very nasty surprises — for everybody who has given his life, in one way or another, to the fight against apartheid.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example, calls himself and his clerical side-kicks, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Allan Boesak, "facilitators", not negotiators (and if a sustained display of sibilant menace can be called facilitative, he is right). Their role ends when the negotiations begin.

**T**he Rev Boesak has ample precedent in the Dutch Reformed Church for a switch to a political career, but for an archbishop to descend from the opulent heights of Bishops court to the back benches of the commons would be most unusual. If negotiations occur, Archbishop Tutu may well find himself exiled to spiritual fields.

The same dilemma (if indeed it is a dilemma) confronts Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa, the protesting mums of the Black Sash, Wynand Malan, and perhaps most of the Democratic Party. Some of South Africa's finest, and most-repeated,

speeches about freedom, and some of the best posters, are dating very quickly as the government tries to meet the legitimate preconditions for talks.

Harry Schwarz, displaying as usual the quickest analytical mind in South African politics, has already observed, in effect, that it would be wicked to put obstacles in President de Klerk's way if, indeed, he is trying to get negotiations started. But the prospect is threatening.

The first precondition for sensible negotiations, surely, is permit-free political activity in order to identify the legitimate representatives of the various factions of a divided society. A negotiated settlement reached without the participation of the Conservative Party would plainly sow the seeds of an Ulster-type civil war, a settlement that excluded Inkatha, or Chief Sebe, or Bantu Holomisa, or the communists, would hardly be better.

In fact, behind Mrs Meer's plea for a new conciliation with blacks, I detect the evil smell of the necklace. As the political system is freed up, so the pressures for conformity from status-threatened leaders will rise. The ANC wants to be the sole negotiator for liberation and it is ready —

as it has often said — to kill people in order to achieve its ends.

Anyway, as Mrs Meer says, the democratic traditions of "liberatory" politics have been undermined by the years of banishment and conspiracy. In the place of openness, there is secrecy, manipulation and hidden foreign money. In the place of debate, there is a dreadful Trotskyite demand for conformity (best seen on the campuses), and in the place of a healthy diversity, there is a witch-hunting search for "collaborators" and "sell-outs".

The real spirit of liberation politics, briefly displayed when government control of the townships broke down in 1985-86, is a ferocious uniformity, enforced by terror. Mrs Meer, living in Natal where a pitiless war rages between Inkatha and the UDF, understands the danger.

The white opponents of apartheid, a drowsy bunch in the main, show little awareness of the important — and very courageous — endeavour on which Mrs Meer has now embarked to prepare the wider community for a new society. Unless they wake up, and soon, they will find themselves left behind, the new South Africa will be formed without them.

**A**s matters stand, the Democratic Party is still mouthing platitudes about freedom, but half its members don't believe that liberal stuff anyway, and half its leaders want to be virtuous facilitators like Archbishop Tutu.

This is a pity, because the only useful role open to the DP in the next (critical) five years is intellectual. To offer liberal solutions to the many dilemmas that will arise as the representatives of two failed ideologies, apartheid and socialism, grope their way towards each other.

Only liberalism can secure both liberty and progress, while accommodating the diversity of South Africa. But the liberals have had the stuffing knocked out of them by the badly-boys, Nationalists on one side and socialists on the other, for 40 years. They don't have much courage or conviction left.

## 'SA ready to talk to ANC' <sup>110</sup>

(Cont from page 1) <sup>110</sup> Mr Sisulu said they demanded from the government the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of "all people who are banned", the scrapping of laws that "hinder the freedom of the people" and the return of all exiles to their homes

The men's release could lead to more relaxed circumstances and a more flexible attitude by the government, he said

Commenting on the short-term effects of their release, Professor Hough said it could mobilise the masses

Discussing their political future, the men said in a joint statement it would be determined by the "leadership of the movement, both internally and externally"

"Our dedication and determination have not been weakened by the long years of our imprisonment. On the contrary, we have been strengthened by the developments in the country and by our clear vision and confidence in the future of South Africa"

Mr Kathrada told journalists that the men belonged to organisations and were not individuals

"Whatever the organisations has decided we will carry out," he said

The men's solidarity with the MDM was also evident in their views on negotiations

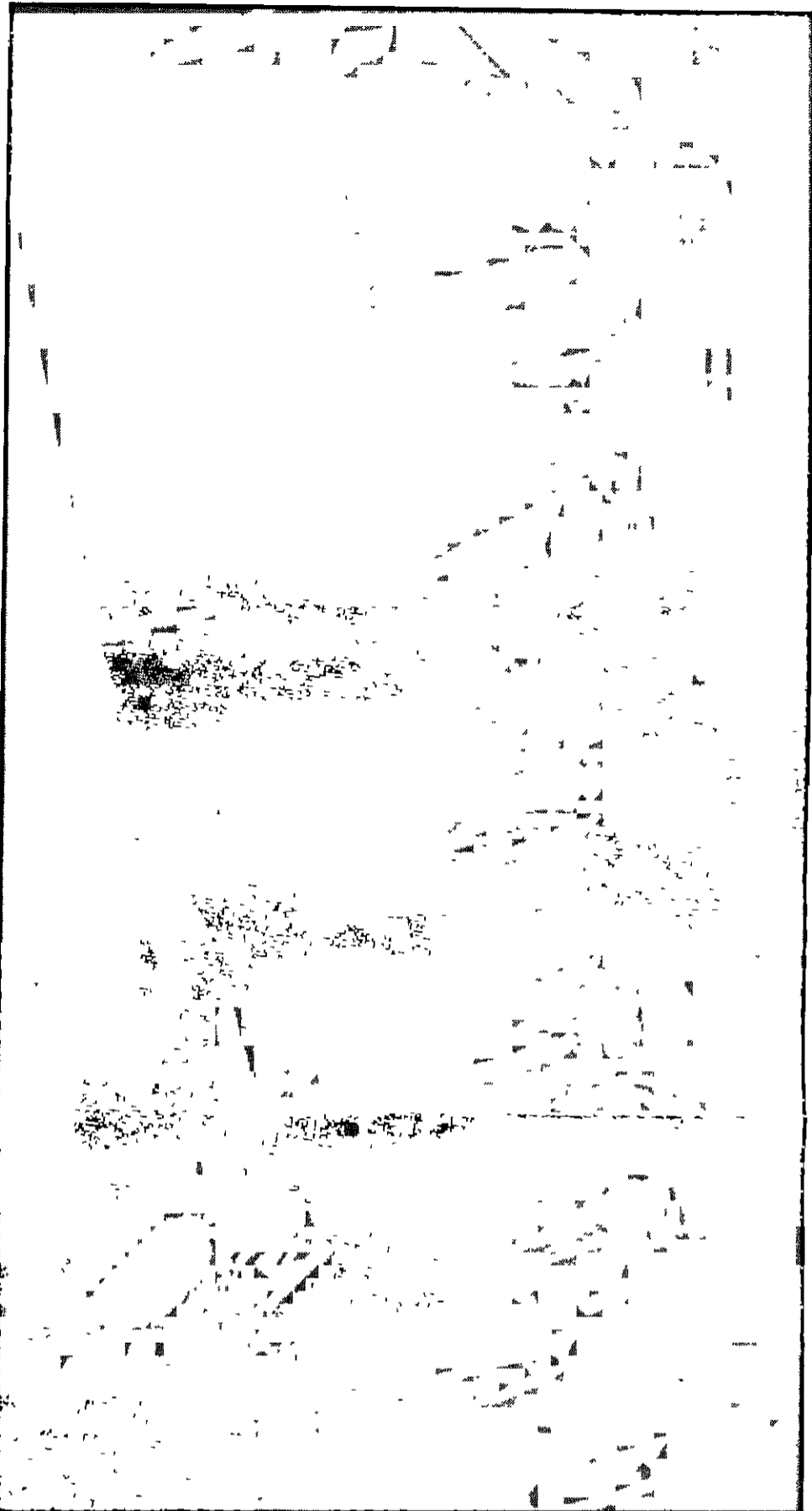
Turning to the issue of negotiations, Mr Sisulu said the men remained "fully supported and committed" to the current position of the ANC, the UDF and the MDM

Concerning preconditions for negotiations, the men made similar demands to those that three church leaders presented to President De Klerk last week.

He added that the government was "beginning to be sensitive to the issues that affect the people of South Africa" He called upon State President F W de Klerk to meet the anti-apartheid movement's demands, adding that the government had to "make a visible effort to create a climate for negotiations"

# Jubilant homecomings

By STAN HLOPHE of The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg



**FREED:** The seven African National Congress members freed yesterday singing Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika at their first press conference. They are, from left, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Oscar Mpehlo, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Eisa Motsosedi and Mr Wilton Mkwayi.

## Releases given wide coverage in UK media

The Argus Foreign Service in London

**T**HE release of eight South African anti-apartheid leaders continues to receive extensive media coverage in the British media today.

And the development is being linked to whether or not economic pressure on Pretoria should be increased at the forthcoming Commonwealth conference in Malay-



**S**OWETO streets were painted black, green and yellow yesterday when hundreds of jubilant ANC supporters and followers marched in celebration of the release of eight longterm political leaders in the early hours of the morning.

Four of them, secretary general Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Mokoaleli and Mr Andrew Mlangeni, arrived at their homes for the first time after 26 years in prison at 5.30am and were met by their families and well-wishers who had camped outside their homes.

The youths, clad in ANC colours, toy-toyed and sang freedom songs for more than 12 hours.

ANC flags were hoisted into the air and banners calling for the unbanning of the liberation movement and release of Mr Nelson Mandela, now the only Rivonia trialist left behind, were displayed.

Shouts of "Amandla" and "Victory is certain" echoed through the corridors of Soweto.

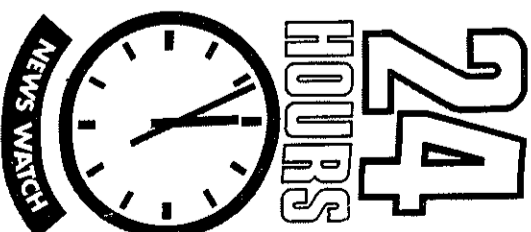
Marshals wearing Umkhonto We Sizwe uniform formed a human chain to control the crowd and eager local and foreign press entourage.

At Mr Sisulu's home in Orlando West, hundreds of people of all colours and races flocked the area to have a glimpse of the ANC stalwart and marshals had a busy day containing the crowd who were anxious to have a word with him.

They were unlucky because only a few VIPs were allowed into the Sisulu house.

The crowds were patient enough and their perseverance paid off when Mr Sisulu came out on three occasions.

Wearing a grey suit the bespectacled 77-year-old former ANC secretary general looked healthy and in good shape despite the visible grey hair and loss of weight.



was also welcomed by a huge crowd at Mr Mandela's home in Orlando West.

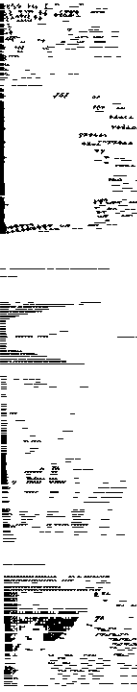
Late in the afternoon the crowd waited for more than an hour to have the opportunity to listen to the seven political leaders, including Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Oscar Mpehlo, who were flown from Cape Town for the press conference held at the Holy Cross Anglican Church.

While waiting hundreds of people chanted freedom songs and shouts of "ANC, ANC" echoed through the small church hall. A flag was displayed and tables were wrapped in a green, black and yellow table cloth.

It was exactly 6.15pm when the seven, all wearing grey suits, were ushered in to litigation and dancing.

It took master of ceremonies Mr Cyril Ramaphosa 15 minutes to calm the jubilant crowd who had waited for hours to hear their leaders. Those who could not secure a place perched on the balcony to have a glimpse of the seven.

All seven looked in good spirits except Mr Mpehlo who was brought in a wheelchair.



Picture WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

**WELCOME HUG:** Oscar Mpehtha greeted by Mass Democratic Front leader Ms Cheryl Carolus at his Nyanga home

# Fatigue turned to happiness

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

**F**ATIGUE turned to happiness, followed by tears, when Miss Ester Mpehtha realised that her early morning caller was not a prankster but her father, Mr Oscar Mpehtha, 80

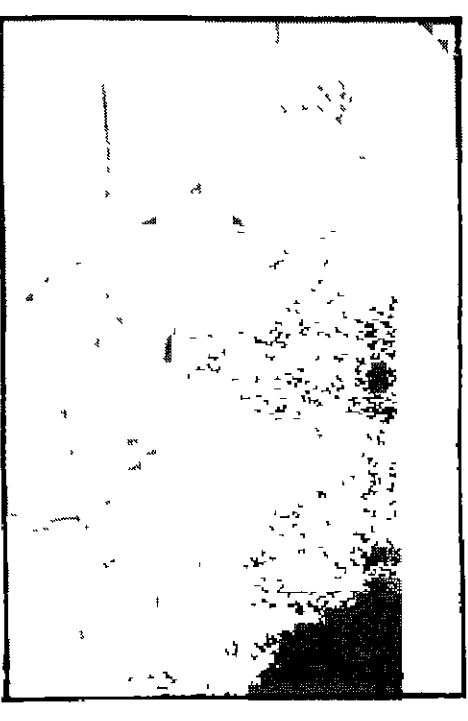
She said her phone rang at 5am yesterday. "It was my father. He said 'I'm released', she said in her family's crowded Nyanga home yesterday.

At first she thought it was a sick joke.

However, when she realised that the voice on the other side was really that of her father, veteran African National Congress leader Oscar Mpehtha, she burst into tears.

He "calmly" told her "I'm now released. Don't cry. I'm a free man".

A convoy of eight vehicles left Nyanga shortly after 5.30am yesterday, returning two hours later with Mr Mpehtha who was given a emotional welcome by activists who had gathered at his home. Wearing a yellow rose in



Picture WILLIE DE KLERK, the Argus

**CHANGE MEETING:** Raymond Mhlaba stopped over in Cape Town on his way to Johannesburg from Port Elizabeth and several people, including this lucky group, had a chance to say 'Welcome home' to him

leaves, the Daily Mail welcomed the development, but took the British government line that the freeing of the anti-apartheid leaders was yet another indication that 'President de Klerk needs steady support. Not an economic kick in the teeth', in apparent reference to Commonwealth members seeking to increase pressure to end apartheid.

The paper saw the release of former ANC secretary general Mr Walter Sisulu as a means by Mr de Klerk of "taking the lid off South Africa to see whether the so long suppressed forces of black nationalism can be harnessed to produce peaceful and productive dialogue with the ruling white regime".

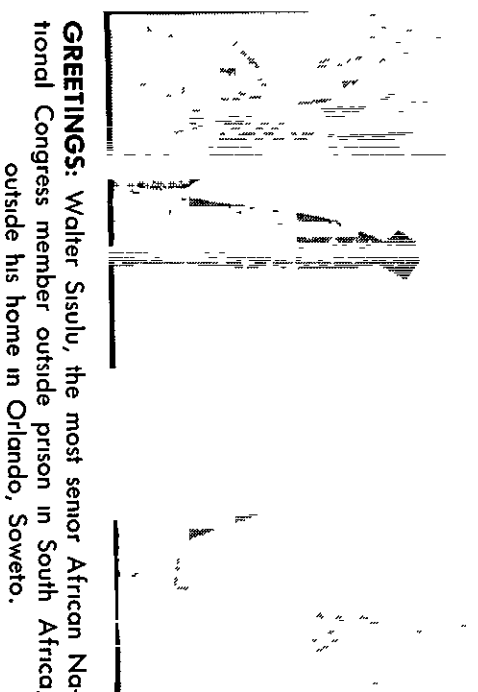
In a story headlined "Give South Africa one last chance", the Mail reports that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher will tell her Commonwealth colleagues that Mr de Klerk "is ready to make an historic leap forward towards black and white dialogue", and that he needs "a little more time and encouragement".

Australia and Canada are known to favour increased pressure on Pretoria to end apartheid.

Taking the same pro-Tory line, The Times says "to tighten the screws at a moment of some delicacy would be thoroughly inappropriate. Mr de Klerk deserves more than this".

Both ITN and the BBC showed extensive footage of the events in South Africa in their early news bulletins today.

Britain's major Sunday newspapers yesterday reported extensively on political events in South Africa, following the government's deci-



**GREETINGS:** Walter Sisulu, the most senior African National Congress member outside prison in South Africa, outside his home in Orlando, Soweto.

sion to free the eight men

In a front-page report, the Observer said Saturday's pro-ANC marches throughout the country had effectively unbanned the organisation.

The paper also ran a lengthy background article on the inside implications of the release of the ANC leaders, including former secretary general Mr Walter Sisulu.

Both the Sunday Telegraph and the Sunday Express said Mrs Thatcher would use the South African government's promises of reform and actions such as the permission of street demonstrations and the release of political prisoners to block further external economic and political pressure on Pretoria.



Picture ERIC MILLER

**WELCOME HOME:** Former Umkhonto we Sizwe high command member Mr Ahmed Kathrada carried high after his release

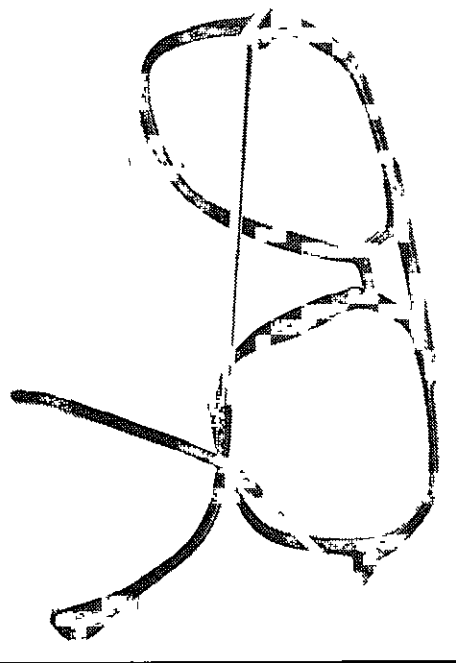
sulu went back inside and the crowd continued toy-toying and sang praises about him. Visitors were coming every minute and among those who came to see him were three former Robben Island prisoners, Mr Strini Moodley, Mr Lombard Mbatia and Mr Thami Mkhwanazi, and Black Consciousness Movement leaders Mr Lybon Mabasa, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela and Mr Nkosi Moliata.

At Mr Mangeni's home an ANC flag was at the gate and words saying "Welcome home comrade Mangeni, Viva ANC," greeted the former political prisoner. Mr Mkwazi's

ership role and was given the right to deliver a press statement printed in the organisation's letterheads.

The ANC leaders' wives sat behind them and Mrs Winnie Mandela, dressed in an Umkhonto Wesizwe uniform, was among them. Mrs Priscilla Jana, a Johannesburg political lawyer, was among the audience who listened to the seven delivering the message of hope to the people.

The seven leaders were formally introduced to the crowd, most of whom were in their teens when they were given life imprisonment.



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## Asvat murder = two charged

By Louise Burgers

One of the men accused of killing political activist Dr Abu-Baker Asvat at his Soweto surgery earlier this year was seen near the doctor's rooms minutes before the shooting occurred, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Ms Veronica Hlatshwayo said in evidence that she saw Mr Thulam Shelela Dlamini (20) sitting on a pavement in the same street, six houses away from the Rockville house Dr Asvat used for his practice.

Mr Dlamini and Mr Zakhele Nhlekisana Mbatha (21) have both pleaded not guilty to murdering Dr Asvat, to two counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances, two counts of illegal possession of a firearm and two counts of unlawful possession of ammunition.

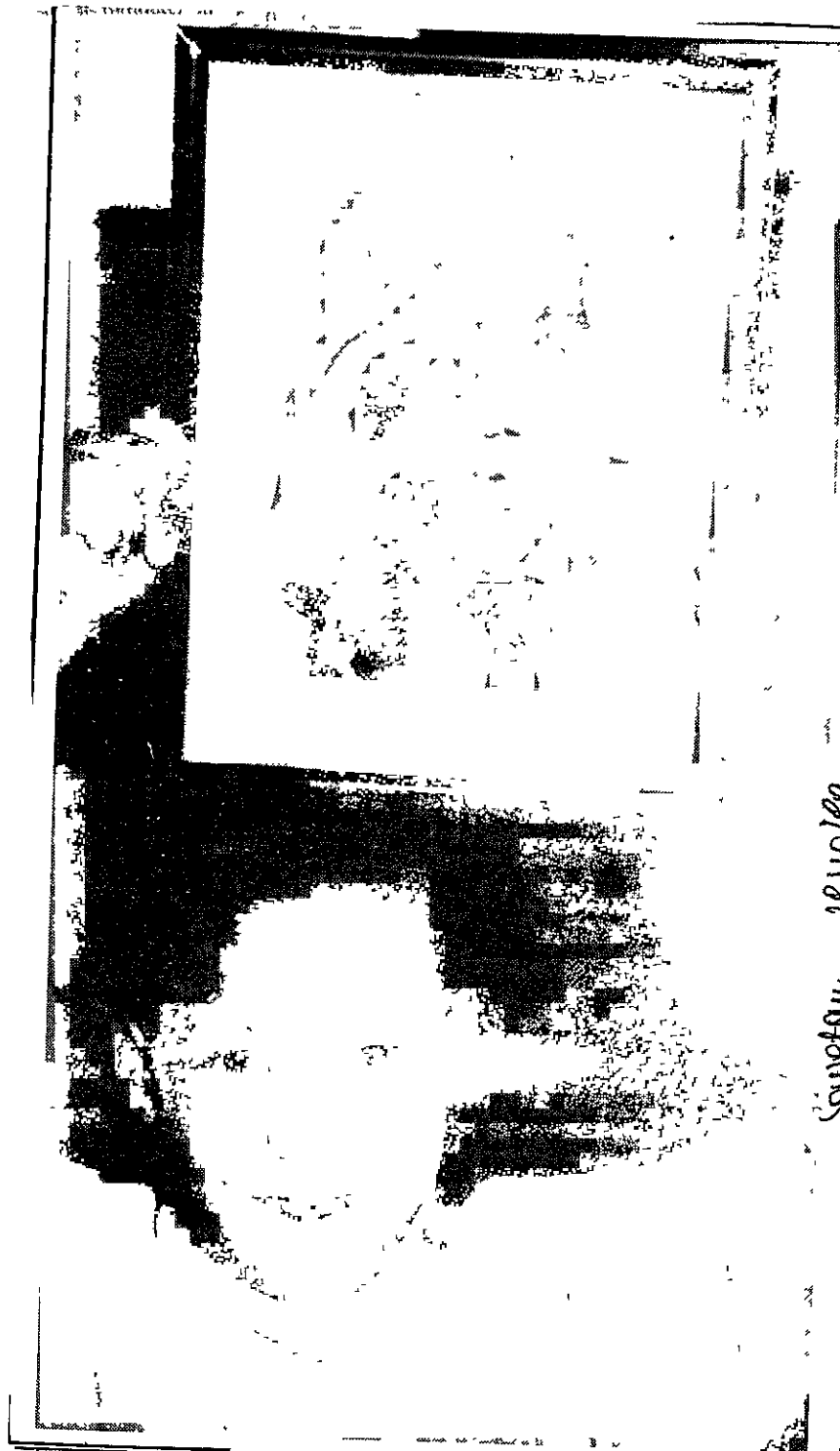
### ROBBERY

The State alleges that the two accused entered Dr Asvat's surgery on January 27 this year, shot him and stole R135. The State also alleges they were involved in an armed robbery involving R550 in the Nongoma district in Natal on June 28 last year.

Ms Hlatshwayo, who said she knew Mr Dlamini socially as he was a friend of her boyfriend, walked past him and another man she could not identify at about 4 pm on the 27th.

On her way back from visiting a friend, Mr Dlamini tossed her a pair of glasses and told her to keep them for him. A while later, she went to post a letter. The two men were gone. On her return, she heard Dr Asvat had been shot.

The State will call Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Mr Walter Sisulu, to give evidence. She was Dr Asvat's nurse.



## I'm not bitter, says <sup>NA</sup>Sisulu

BITTERNESS is not an issue in negotiations with the South African Government which has been pressured nationally and internationally, especially by the Commonwealth, into releasing Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other long-term political prisoners.

Sisulu told the South African Press Association yesterday that he did not agree with the Rev Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, that further sanctions should be suspended and that South Africa should be given six months' grace to implement its programme of reform.

*Soweto* 12/10/89  
"The pressure must be sustained there must be no chance for the Government to retreat and reorganise its strategy of delay," Sisulu said.

Asked if he felt any bitterness about his imprisonment, and if he did, whether this would affect his negotiations with the government, Sisulu said "No, I feel no bitterness. After all, the only thing bitterness generates is a waste of energy but I do get agitated at times when I think of the way we have been treated."

Asked how soon he expected Mandela to be released, Mr Sisulu stated very strongly he did not expect this to occur this year.

# Award for Mandela

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was awarded the freedom of the town of Tongaat during a peace march by 4 000 people on Saturday morning.

The award was received by Ms Ndelega Mandela, the granddaughter of Nelson Mandela who flew from Johannesburg to attend the march.

Mr Logie Naidoo, chairman of the Tongaat branch of the Natal Indian Congress read a scroll addressed to Mandela.

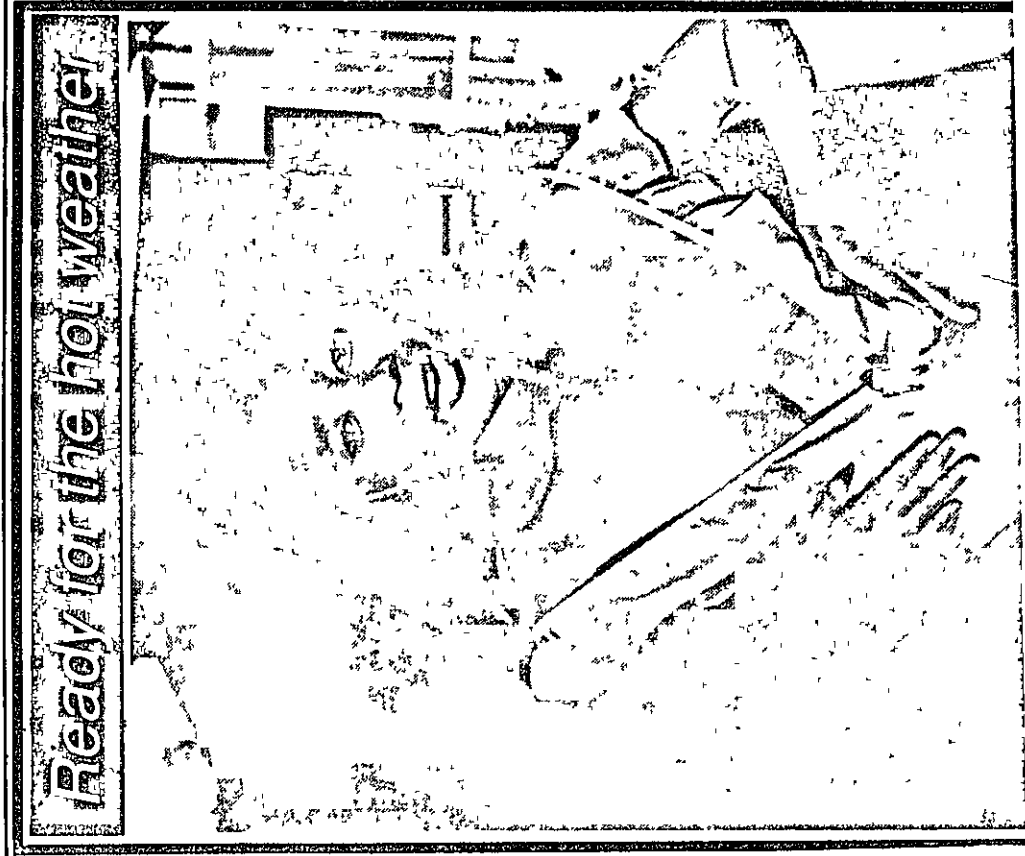
It read: "This symbolic gesture is a tribute to your dedication and commitment to the liberation of the people of South Africa".

Shopowners heeded a call by 35 participating organisations to close shops during the three-kilometre march from a playground to the town board offices.

There were no violent incidents.

*Sowetan*  
*18/10/89*

# Viljoen in Negotiation



Ready for the hot weather

**THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has stressed the urgency of getting negotiations going.**

He confirmed he was prepared to discuss, among other things, pre-conditions for such negotiations with ANC leaders.

Viljoen said yesterday the Government wanted people around a negotiating table as soon as possible and would prefer pre-conditions to be ironed out there.

"If we want to get going the fewer pre-conditions the better," he said.

## Ismael Lagardien and Sapa

Although as President F.W. de Klerk had made clear the ANC was only one of a number of possible and would prefer pre-conditions, some ANC leaders had made tentative "sounds" indicating the organisation might be prepared to move to a negotiation stance.

Viljoen, who is De Klerk's key negotiation man, said there would obviously be a variety of opinions at the negotiation table. Whether the ANC was a party to negotiation depended on its prepared-

ness to commit itself to a process of peaceful change.

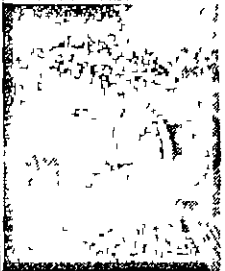
Viljoen said he was encouraged by the attitude taken so far by Walter Sisulu and the others released from prison on Sunday.

He was willing to discuss with Sisulu and other ANC leaders pre-conditions for negotiation.

Viljoen indicated that he was encouraged by the initial remarks made by Sisulu and said that the government had released the eight "to test the waters" before considering other steps to normalise the security and political situation.

He said that while Sisulu had reaffirmed his commitment to the armed struggle he had also stated that he wanted to promote an orderly re-integration into society.

"And while he committed himself to protest politics he made the point that he wanted to do this in an orderly and disciplined way," Viljoen said.



Barry Napo is the brother to popular Naledi high school teacher Barry Napo of Mapeta.

## Napo

MR Joey Napo (48) of 1277 Molapo, Soweto, will be buried on Saturday at Avalon cemetery.

A funeral service will be held at Molapo Catholic Church at noon. He died on Sunday at home after a short illness and is survived by three brothers, two sisters and a



# 5 000 crowd give Sisulu big welcome

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG** — Veteran ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu was welcomed by more than 5 000 people early yesterday morning when he arrived at his Soweto home after spending more than 25 years in jail.

Mr Sisulu, 77 was one of eight leading security prisoners unconditionally released yesterday. Accompanied by his wife Albertina herself, UDF president, Mr Sisulu walked through the gates of his home to tumultuous cries of "Viva Sisulu, Viva Viva".

Mr Sisulu, who would answer only questions of a personal nature, said he felt excellent and was happy to see "I feel very well, very fit," he said. Soweto home with his son Zwelakhe. He spoke by telephone with another son, Max, who is in exile with the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia, his daughters-in-law, and his daughter in London.

Asked whether he had expected to die in prison, Mr Sisulu replied that he had been "quite ready for it". "On the whole however I knew the pressure was building and sooner or later they would have to give in. It was not possible to give in because the spirit of the people outside was too great."

"They gave me confidence I am happy to be with the people and to receive a civilised welcome and to receive Mr Sisulu said he and the others to be released with him were woken by

# PAC still very active, says Masemola

**PRETORIA** — The banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was still "very active" among the eight released prisoners, said here yesterday. Looking relaxed and fit, PAC founder member Mr Masemola said in an interview at the home of his sister Mrs Japhatima Moyo in Atheridgeville. "We are not paper tigers. We are real blood tigers."

Mr Masemola, a former teacher, was jailed by the Supreme Court, Pretoria, more than 26 years ago for launching the PAC's military operations in the country. Asked about the new De Klerk government, he said Mr De Klerk had so far backed up his position with action, but was fortunate by this comes at a time when people have lost their patience.

He added, however, that Mr De Klerk's reforms might succeed "if he does not make a P W's mistake of looking over his shoulder at conservative whites all the time". Mr Masemola said he would work towards establishing "a just society, with total equality. Blacks should also have the vote."

Mr Masemola's long jail term had made him a "very bitter man", which muffled his happiness over his release. His imprisonment had also "wrecked" his marriage to Mrs Praises Masemola, 47, he said.

"But the time behind bars has not broken my spirit. The fire burns more fiercely than before". Mr Masemola was the second-longest-serving political prisoner, after Mr Nelson Mandela, and has the stature among PAC sympathisers that his ANC colleague has in his organisation.

Born on December 12, 1931, Mr Masemola was also questioned about the current role of the SA Communist Party and Veteran trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetsha said "It has all along been my belief that liberty will never come without the working-class movement participating in the struggle."

"I am even more convinced now that they are more important, and in fact that they are freedom through the working class and the masses". Mr Sisulu was asked whether recent events had made him more optimistic that the other leaders would see a black president in their lifetime.

"We do not think of people in terms of colour. We are talking in terms of a democratic method where a black man could be president, a white man could be president."

"There is no question of assessing our role".



**HOME AT LAST** — Hundreds of supporters welcome trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetsha, 80, home in Nyanga yesterday after his release from his guards. Grootes Schuur Hospital ward.

**Hearty welcome for Mpetsha**

**WELL WISHERS**

Jammed the tiny Nyanga home of trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetsha after he arrived there following his release yesterday morning, while others queued in the mad outside for a glimpse of the ANC stalwart.

The 80-year-old Mr Mpetsha, wearing a yellow rose in the lapel of a new check suit, appeared to be in surprisingly good condition for a man who spent much of his jail term in the 1960s.

"I can only repeat what the movement has been asking the State President and his colleagues create a climate for negotiation."

"The former prisoners were also questioned about the working-class issues in the struggle."

Cape Times 16/10/89

Cape Times 16/10/89

...to give the government a deadline to respond to demands, he replied. "It is the duty of the leadership to continue the pressure for freedom and to pressure government in every possible way in an orderly and disciplined manner."

A statement read out at the conference said the seven ANC stalwarts constantly thought of their colleagues who had been left inside, especially Mr Nelson Mandela.

"We, his comrades, the people of South Africa and the people of the whole world demand his release," said the statement.

It also expressed solidarity with the people of Namibia and in particular, with Swapo — Sapa, UPI and Own Correspondent

...7.30am.

Women broke into song as he entered the room.

Many of those present wore yellow and green "Release Oscar Mpetha" T-shirts, while others wore scarves or other garments bearing ANC colours.

At 10am, a group of 100 youths and small children "joy-joyed" down the road to his house, ignoring a police van that passed them — Sapa



REUNITED... Mrs Albertina Sisulu rests her head on the shoulder of her husband, Mr Walter Sisulu, 77, after he returned yesterday to their Soweto home after 25 years in prison. Picture: HEUER

# Govt will now 'wait and see'

This could pave the way for the next phase — the lifting of the emergency and/or the release of Mr Mandela.

At the same time, the international response could help facilitate or retard genuine negotiations. What if all boils down to is that relative calm in the townships and relatively positive responses internationally to these developments will speed up the move to the next phase.

The exact opposite will have precisely the opposite effect on President F W de Klerk's government, which could well become as recalcitrant as ever.



By BARRY STREEK... The government has repeatedly emphasised that there must be law and order in South Africa during any period of reform and if this is not the case, the pace of reform would have to be slowed down.

# Mhlaba back home after 26-year absence

Released Rivonia trialist Mr Raymond Mhlaba, 69, gets a hero's welcome at D F Malan Airport while en route to Johannesburg to meet his fellow ex-prisoners yesterday.

There is little doubt that the cabinet ministers who have been meeting Mr Mandela at Victor Verster Prison recently will have impressed the ANC leadership with their views on the need for security, and this could result in a determined effort to cool the situation down.

Mr Mhlaba said that after his arrival on Friday, he was kept at North End Prison — a far cry from Robben Island or Pollsmoor Prison in terms of conditions.

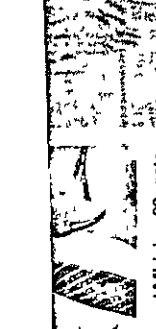
"My husband said he was not going to sleep in such a dirty place without a radio and television to keep him aware of current events," Mrs Mhlaba said.

But Mr Mhlaba could at least read about Port Elizabeth's successful march at the weekend where Mr Bongani Gxilishe and other speakers from the Mass Democratic Movement said they had hoped he could have been at the march to address the crowds.

Yesterday scores of people gathered at the Mhlaba home as news of his release spread.

However, he did not have much time at home. After his arrival he met his old comrade Mr Govan Mbeki and other community leaders before leaving the city for Cape Town to meet Mr Oscar Mpetha, and then on to Johannesburg.

He is expected back in Port Elizabeth today.



By BARRY STREEK... The government will now adopt a cautious "wait and-see" approach to future developments in the wake of yesterday's release of eight political prisoners.

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# Fighting at KTC leads to public violence charges

Staff Reporter *PLC* 17/1/84

NINE members of the Cape Youth Congress, arrested after property belonging to residents' committee members was destroyed during fighting at KTC squatter camp, have pleaded not guilty to a charge of public violence.

The nine, who appeared in the Wynberg Regional Court yesterday, are Mr Elliot Mtwana, 21, Mr Vusumzi Futshana, 21, Mr Simon Seneli, 19, and Mr Makhosonke Matoto, 19, all of Guguletu; Mr Mzwandile Buka, 23, and Mr Mzwandile Xesha, 23, both of KTC; Mr Paulos Mokoena, 18, of New Crossroads; Mr Thembinkosi Mbanjwa, 18, of Nyanga; and Mr Ntsikelelo Khambi, 25, of Khayelitsha.

The State alleges that they destroyed property belonging to Masincedane Committee members Mr Gladstone Ntamo, Mr Lucas Nunu, Mr James Gawulateta, Ms Gertrude Nokila and a Mr Madikane on January 28 last year.

The damaged property in-

cluded shacks, crockery and the windscreen of Mr Ntamo's car.

They were originally charged with murdering two Masincedane committee members, Mr Storemont Madubane and Mr Delekile Siqaba, who were stoned and stabbed to death on January 28 last year in KTC.

However, the Attorney-General dropped the murder charges because of lack of evidence.

The nine are on bail of R150 each.

## (Proceeding)

Mr S Knox was on the Bench and the prosecutor was Mrs L Crouse. Mr David Kawalsky, instructed by E Mohammed of E Moosa and Associates, appeared for the men.



**FLASHBACK** ... The seven freed ANC members sing Nkosi Sikelel' i'Afrika at end of the first press conference after their release at the weekend. From left Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Wilton Mkwayi.

# Govt keeping 'close tabs' on released 8

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE security establishment is keeping "very close tabs" on the eight security prisoners released at the weekend — as well as on groups that may be "upset" at their newfound freedom, a government source disclosed yesterday.

This follows warnings from the AWB that it might try to prevent protest marches organised by the Mass Democratic Movement, as well as Conservative Party complaints that the government's handling of the security situation could land the country in "chaos and conflict".

Security sources said yesterday that the situation was being closely monitored, but that the police would at the same time be keeping "a low profile".

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said at the weekend that he wanted to discuss with President F W de Klerk his organisation's dissatisfaction at the protest marches which the government was now allowing countrywide.

He reportedly warned that if they were allowed to continue, his organisation might act to try to prevent such marches in future.

Yesterday CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told Sapa that the release of the eight security prisoners was "completely irreconcilable" with the banning of the ANC.

Dr Treurnicht said South Africa faced a clear choice.

• Either the government "dispossesses us of our country and own political control by giving in to the ANC ultimatum"

• Or the government disallowed further demonstrations and "rejected all

## PAC leader pays visit to ANC's Sisulu

JOHANNESBURG. — The leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, visited ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday.

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959 and have been rivals ever since Mr Mothopeng was released in November last year.

The only PAC member to be released among the eight political prisoners at the weekend was Mr Jafta Masemola, who is from Atteridgeville, Pretoria.

Yesterday Mr Sisulu said of his first night of freedom in 25 years: "I had a very good night's rest." He emerged from his home wearing a bathrobe to speak to reporters.

Several hundred schoolchildren in uniform later gathered outside the Sisulu home to celebrate his release — UPI

radical claims which will disturb the peace, destroy freedom and land the country in a situation of chaos and conflict"

National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday told the Cape Times Johannesburg correspondent that security measures would be taken to protect the released ANC leaders.

Speaking from Mr Walter Sisulu's home in Soweto he said details of security steps to protect the leaders could not be disclosed.

Mr Ramaphosa said the former ANC prisoners were not taking calls from the press for the next three days to allow them a chance to rest.

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE release yesterday of 61-year-old Japhta Masemola, the forgotten political prisoner who had been in jail for 26 years, ended one of the toughest and most uncompromising acts of defiance against the Government.

Mr Masemola and four associates were given life sentences in 1963 after being found guilty of conspiracy to commit acts of sabotage.

"Please note that we did not commit any act of sabotage, we did not kill or injure anybody," Mr Masemola and a fellow accused, Mr John Nkosi, wrote in a letter to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in 1984 in one of many futile attempts to have their case, and particularly their sentences, reviewed.

Not only did Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi feel that their sentences were "quite inordinate to the alleged crime", but they also simply refused to sign any pledge to renounce violence and their court-determined crime.

In 1985, three of their co-accused did renounce violence and were freed.

When it was incorrectly reported that Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi may have been among those Robben Islanders who had renounced violence, they instructed their Cape Town lawyer, Mr Rameesh Vassen, to protest formally that "at no stage did they petition the State President for clemency as claimed in the article

"They regard the article as being damaging to their integrity and character. They point out that at no stage have they begged for mercy or their freedom."

Indeed, after Mr Nkosi was released towards the end of 1986, Mr Masemola went on a 28-day hunger strike in protest against his continued incarceration.

He was then hospitalised and after recovering was transferred to the Johannesburg Medium Prison, better known as Diepkloof, where he continued to conflict with his warders and even his fellow prisoners.

His position, from which he never deviated, was emphasised in the 1985 statement by their lawyer: "They see no reason why they should be called on to re-

# Forgotten political prisoner out at last

...nounce violence, since they never participated in violence, nor was there any evidence that they advocated violence.

"They persist in their demand that they should be freed unconditionally."

Now in 1989, Mr Masemola is to win that fight, as Mr Nkosi did three years earlier.

Their bitterness and resentment are understandable.

In the first place, they were not represented by lawyers in their trial.

Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi said in their letter to the Minister of Justice: "The court refused our lawyer any time to interview us, as a result of which he withdrew from the case. We entertain no doubt that had we been legally represented, we should not have received such harsh sentences."

They were, and remain, convinced that the Government was bent on setting an example with us, as ours was among the very first of political trials. Otherwise, we should not have received such inordinate sentences."

Then they found they could not have their cases reviewed or appealed because the court record of their trial was lost. In 1968 and 1975 attempts to have their cases reviewed were prevented because of this.)

"We believe that the record was deliberately misplaced because there was nothing in it that could have resulted in the imposition of such heavy sentences," they told Mr Coetsee in 1984.

But nothing came of their appeals to the Government or the attempts to appeal against their sentences.

They had become the forgotten political prisoners, other than to

their warders and fellow prisoners.

Their trial was not even reported in 1963. There is no reference to it in any of the books about that period, not even in the Race Relations Survey or the Karis and Carter biographies on political leaders at the time. The judgment was not even reported in the South African Law Reports.

Yet they received the same heavy sentences as Mr Nelson Mandela and his associates, who were given life sentences after they admitted being members of the high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's guerrilla wing, and who admitted they had committed acts of sabotage.

In their memorandum to Mr Coetsee in 1985, Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi pointed out: "A study of recent political trials reveals that people who were caught in combat and have committed acts of violence, armed with weapons of war, and whose actions resulted in death or injury to persons and destruction of property, received lighter sentences compared to us, when our only alleged crime was conspiracy."

In some cases, people who were sentenced to death because of the enormity and seriousness of their crime had their death sentences commuted to either life or 20 years of imprisonment. This is our 21st year in prison — for a lesser crime of conspiracy."

But they consistently refused to compromise in any way; they said they would not back down and apologise for something they did not do.

In 1963, Mr Masemola was a recently married teacher with one child in Atteridgeville near Pretoria. His four co-accused were his pupils.

Now, Jeff Masemola is to return to Atteridgeville and to normal life.

Bitter about both his trial and his sentence, he will go back knowing that he never compromised throughout those long years on Robben Island and in Diepkloof. Those 26 years in jail were a long time for anyone, and his determined stand of defiance against the authorities may have prolonged his stay, but he stood his ground.

# ANC: SA insists on peace

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

A "COMMITMENT to peace" by the ANC remained an essential prerequisite to any talks between the banned organisation and the government, a spokesman for the South African embassy in London said last night.

This point had been made in a BBC interview with the South African ambassador in London, Mr Rae Killen, but was not included in the extract of the interview broadcast later in an early morning news programme

The spokesman, Mr Justice De Goede, was responding to news reports which quoted Mr Killen as

*CAPL Times 17/10/87 11A*  
saying that the South African government was ready to negotiate with the ANC without preconditions.

Mr Justice De Goede said Mr Killen's remarks, which were given prominence in the media both in South Africa and abroad yesterday, were quoted "selectively and out of context"

A detailed discussion had preceded Mr Killen's quoted remarks about the absence of preconditions to talks in which the ambassador had made it clear that a "commitment to peace" was "an essential prerequisite" to dialogue with the ANC.

Mr Justice De Goede said Mr Killen had also stressed that "a

desire to negotiate in good faith was equally a prerequisite.

"Mr Killen was quoted in isolation and in a manner which did not reflect the detailed exposition on the issue."

He said the BBC had accepted that there had been a "contextual omission"

In the segments of the interview that were broadcast, Mr Killen said Pretoria was prepared to meet not only the ANC but leaders of all communities in South Africa.

Mr Killen said that after the historic tea party with Mr P W Botha, Mr Nelson Mandela had pronounced himself committed to peaceful change.

# UDF man is attacked

*Sowetan 17/10/89*

*TIA* *SEA*

A BOMB exploded early yesterday at the home of UDF and Transvaal Indian Congress executive member Dr Ram Bulbulia causing damage estimated at R20 000.

No one was injured in the 4 15am blast

Bulbulia said the blast shattered about 19 windows and damaged a door frame and his air conditioning system.

Bulbulia, his wife and three children were at home at the time.

"It was a tremendous shock but fortunately no one was injured. The blast was very big," he said.

Bulbulia said the family had heard voices outside their house before the blast.

The language spoken was English

"I feel this attack may have been politically-motivated," Bulbulia said

He added that no-one saw the bombers. "It was too dark to see, although they did apparently use cars to get away," he said

## Invitation to pupils

THE Kristo Nkosi Education Centre in KwaThema has invited Standard 10 pupils to a revision aid learning programme at 6pm tonight. Volunteer teachers have also been invited.

Those wishing to obtain more information could contact Lefa or Father Dominic at 736-4402.

# SA ready to talk to ANC

IIA  
SOWETO

*Soweto* *17/10/89*  
LONDON - The South African Government is ready to negotiate with the ANC without preconditions, South Africa's Ambassador to London, Mr Rae Killen, said yesterday.

Asked on an early-morning BBC news programme whether Pretoria was prepared to meet the ANC, he said "Not only with the ANC, but with leaders of all communities in South Africa."

Killen said that after the historic "tea party" with Mr P W Botha, Nelson Mandela had pronounced himself committed to peaceful change.

Would the proposed, wide-ranging talks with black leaders include the ANC?

"Yes, indeed," Killen replied.

"If they are able to come to the conference

table, if they are prepared to negotiate with South Africa."

Pressed on whether there were any preconditions to the talks, Killen said: "Not at the moment, no."

Asked whether the release of the eight political dissidents on Sunday was not "rather carefully and cynically timed" to disarm the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting this week, Killen replied "I think

it's part of the process (of change), another step. De Klerk had to move quickly after his inauguration."

"He's met with three churchmen, he's announced a different treatment of peaceful protest marchers. This is a continuation of what he said he would do to make it possible for the leaders to get together to negotiate."

There was, he said, "a wish to get away from the confrontations of the past."



# 'Govt hampered by Right'

Negotiations with the Government under the present circumstances are useless, according to founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Jafta Masemola.

Addressing a press conference in Atteridgeville yesterday after his release, Mr Masemola said it was useless talking about negotiations because the climate was not yet right.

Mr Masemola said the Government could set the tone for negotiations by allowing people

in exile to return home, unbanning political organisations, releasing all security detainees and dismantling apartheid.

The Government was aware that agreeing to these conditions would lead to the ballot box.

"This they cannot allow because they are aware that a possibility exists that the next government will be black."

He said Mr F W de Klerk was an honest man. "But he faces the same problem as his predecessor — right-wing backlash."

# The Star

## ANC: back at last where it belongs

SUDDENLY, almost airily, the laws that banned the African National Congress and prohibited any display of encouragement for it have been waved aside. No sooner were the released political prisoners proclaiming their loyalty to the ANC at the weekend than Government spokesmen were implying a form of *de facto* recognition.

South Africa's ambassador in London, Mr Rae Killen, said the Government was prepared to negotiate without preconditions. (Later he emphasised that normal conditions like "good faith" obviously applied.) And the National Party's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, said — ingenuously — that there were no laws to prevent people showing their support for the ideals of the ANC. Despite some understandable ducking and diving, what is apparent, of course, is that laws and regulations relating to the ANC can't be enforced any more.

Compare this with the situation in 1983 when a man was sentenced to three years merely for engraving ANC slogans on a tea mug. Even today it remains an offence (on paper anyway) for a newspaper to publish anything that might

have the effect of enhancing the ANC's image. This silly rule, too, has been made unenforceable by the Government's decision not to gag the released prisoners.

With any luck now, the ANC will lose its aura of glamorous mystery and be seen for what it is: an organisation fighting for political rights. Then, at last, South Africans will be able to gauge its real strength, as opposed to guessing at its illegal support.

The process we are witnessing is both logical and inexorable. With some political prisoners released, others will have to go free too. Mr Mandela's release is a formality. Detainees and restricted people will have to be allowed to enter the debate. No organisation speaking for any group can be kept silent. The state of emergency, hampering all progress, will have to go.

In short, Pretoria will find itself coming closer and closer to meeting the conditions for negotiation laid down by black leaders. If President de Klerk plays his cards quickly and correctly, he will be in a moral position to demand that other protagonists demonstrate their readiness to bend too. Then the great debate can really begin.

down



Mr Walter Sisulu is welcomed home under the banner of the ANC. He later declared the organisation 'unbanned'.

# Govt 'still complying with clamps'

17A  
1970/89

By Helen Grange

Six years ago a man was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for engraving pro-ANC slogans on a mug. Today, under the four-year-old emergency regulations, displays of support for the banned ANC are taking place almost daily.

ANC and SA Communist Party banners are carried openly, organisations declare themselves "unbanned."

On Sunday, the ANC's former secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu told reporters they were attending the first ANC press conference in South Africa in 26 years.

Today reports of tens of thousands of people shouting and dancing their support for the ANC join newspaper library cuttings on the case of Mr Matthews Ntshiwa.

On December 8, 1983, he was found guilty, in terms of the Internal Security Act, in the Krugersdorp Regional Court of engraving ANC slogans on a mug. Half of his sentence was conditionally suspended for five years.

Asked to comment, Mr Peter Reynolds, The Star's legal expert, said yesterday "The Government appears to have turned a blind eye to recent 'illegal' marches

wearing of T-shirts and waving of ANC or Soviet flags are not clearly illegal, the State could construe these actions to have contravened the emergency by furthering the aims and objectives of an unlawful organisation."

Statements by political leaders, including those released on Sunday, could be in contravention of the emergency regulations if they were construed as being subversive, said Mr Reynolds.

"Yet there have been no warnings against these individuals to my knowledge," he said.

Mr Reynolds sounded a note of caution. "Although the Government has slackened the grip of its security regulations, there is no indication the regulations won't be implemented in future."

"Generally, the State is still complying with the emergency rules, and the media can bear testimony to this," he said.

A number of journalists and editors have been taken to court recently, and many other journalists have had their material confiscated by police at scenes of unrest.

According to Mr Reynolds, the State has more threats of prosecution against the press in the past six weeks than in the past 12 months.

# 'Encouraged' by Sisulu remarks

## Political Staff

The Government was studying remarks by former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and other released political prisoners to see if they contributed towards a climate for negotiation, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said today

Indicating he was encouraged by the initial remarks of Mr Sisulu since his release, Dr Viljoen said the Government had released the eight to "test the waters" before considering other steps to normalise the security and political situation

Asked if the Government was prepared to talk to the ANC without preconditions, as had been suggested, Dr Viljoen said the Government's approach all along was that it was willing to talk to anyone provided they committed themselves to a peaceful negotiation process

"This implies logically that they will be distancing themselves from violence"

Asked if this meant the ANC would have to renounce violence formally, Dr Viljoen said he "did not want to define the requirements

too specifically. It is also important that there should be a climate conducive to meaningful negotiations

"This can only come about if in practice people distance themselves from violence and destabilising activities"

## RECOGNITION

Asked if remarks by NP chief information officer Mr Con Botha that organisations promoting the ANC would be allowed to form inside South Africa meant that the Government was moving towards de facto recognition of an internal ANC, Dr Viljoen said the Government had made no decision on that matter

● The South African embassy in London has issued a statement claiming ambassador Mr Rae Killen had been "quoted in isolation", giving the wrong impression, following a BBC news interview. He was quoted yesterday as saying the Government was not setting any preconditions for negotiations with the ANC

The statement said that if "the thrust of the interview had been accurately conveyed to viewers, the

point made by Mr Killen .. would have emerged clearly".

The point he was making, according to the embassy, was "that commitment to peaceful change and a desire to negotiate in good faith were essential prerequisites for all parties to begin talks on a new dispensation in South Africa"

● The National Party's chief information officer and Natal Administrator-elect, Mr Con Botha, also clarified today comments he made yesterday that there were no legal reasons why "an informal support group" for the ANC could not be established internally and that there had never been a ban on support for the ANC or its goals

He said today his words could be misinterpreted

Although the Government realised that many people inside South Africa supported the goals of the ANC, that in itself did not imply de facto recognition of the organisation

Mr Botha said there was a difference between furthering the aims of an illegal organisation, as prohibited by law, and academic support of the ideals of such an organisation

## Masemola rules out talks

NEGOTIATIONS with the South African Government under the present circumstances are useless, according to released founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Jafta Masemola.

Addressing a Press conference at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Atteridgeville yesterday, Mr Masemola, who was released from prison on Sunday, said it was "useless" talking about negotiations because the climate was not yet right.

"Negotiations in South Africa cannot take place while we have people living in exile, others locked in prison, political organisations banned and the four pillars of apartheid still existing."

Masemola said the government could set up the tone for negotiations by allowing people in exile to return home, unbanning political organisations, releasing all security detainees and dismantling apartheid.

Masemola said new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was an honest man "But he faces the same problem as his predecessor, Mr P W Botha - a right wing backlash."



*Handwritten signature* 17/10/89

# Involve ANC, says Assocom

# SA emergency eroded by peaceful protests - Relly

By Kaizer Nyatumba

If any meaningful negotiations were to take place in South Africa, the African National Congress would have to be involved in talks, Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry president Mr Sidney Matus said in Port Elizabeth yesterday

Delivering his presidential address at Assocom's 87th annual congress, Mr Matus said Mr P W Botha's proposed "great indaba" did not take off because he had chosen the people he wanted to talk to and excluded the ANC

Mr Matus said Mr de Klerk had promised to speed up the process of reform even before he assumed office and had subsequently displayed a tolerance towards organised protest marches

He said the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other political leaders would be applauded abroad - Staff Reporter

The recent spate of peaceful protests staged by the Mass Democratic Movement had substantially eroded the state of emergency, Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Gavin Relly said yesterday

Addressing the 87th annual conference of the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Port Elizabeth, Mr Relly said that if the Government made more progress in the area of detention without trial, "then one can see opportunities for broadening areas in which the state of emergency no longer applies until its final abolition"

Progress in this area, however, depended on both the Government and those who opposed it

"If each act of Government is simply taken as a sign of weakness, encouraging further absolutist demands and actions de-

signed to provoke repressive steps by government or its security arms, then we will never make progress," Mr Relly said

There was a difference between exercising one's legitimate right to express opposition to the Government and "engaging in a mindless round of protest politics which express power without responsibility"

For South Africa to "move forward with the ritual mantra" of releasing political prisoners, unbanning exiled organisations and abolishing the state of emergency, these actions should not be seen as "a once-off package of immediate change"

Mr Relly said progress had already been made in the contentious and emotional area of the death sentence, where signs of an informal moratorium on the execution of people convicted for political crimes was already evident.

Staff Reporter

Staff 12/10/89



# Progress? Feels like turning the clock back

Stew 12/10/89



So it  
goes...

ARNOLD  
BENJAMIN

117

What exciting times we live in. With the ANC effectively unbanned and some of its leaders sprung, South Africa is almost back to where it was in 1960.

Release Mandela and a couple of hundred more people, lift a few laws and a few hundred banning orders, and we'll be closer still.

If change continues at its present heady pace, then my goodness, quite soon we'll be back to 1948, which is where the Nats came in and when Hendrik Verwoerd was just a mad gleam in the NP's eye. Think of that.

I'm the first to admit, of course, that there are some differences between the situations of the early 1960s and today (apart from all the leaders being 25 years older). But we'll have to wait and see what the ANC makes of them.

One thing that must have reminded the eight leaders of old times is that they've walked straight into the midst of a stock exchange crash, which has even upstaged them from the main headlines. Jo'burg always was like that.

If there are still any hard-core, un-perestroikaed Marxists among the eight, they might see the JSE goings-on as a typical example of the capitalist system destroying itself through its own inner contradictions.

The pragmatic activist, on the other hand, might see this as a good opportunity to put together whatever bucks he can find and pick up some bargain-rate stock.

If the Government could somehow persuade them to get into the Iscor scramble it would be an undoubted PR coup — not to mention a helpful safeguard against future re-nationalisation

□ □ □

And now (also as in 1960) it seems suddenly kosher to quote the ANC and PAC again. Let's make the most of that opportunity in case the Government changes its mind again.

Note, for instance, this significant statement from the released Mr Ahmed Kathrada over the weekend. "It's nice to be free. Now I want a cup of tea."

Or this, from the PAC's Mr Jaffa Masemola: "We are not paper tigers. We are real blood tigers."

There. Only last week Mr Tyson, who runs this paper, and maybe even I, perish the thought, might have risked jail for publishing that A few editors around the country still have the odd criminal charge dangling over them over matters hardly less trivial.

Oh well. We shall just have to wait and see whether the climate for negotiation warms up, or gets hit by a cold front, or whatever.

## No parking

Certain things haven't changed a lot since the 1960s. In search of Jo'burg's new municipal glasnost, *City Press* columnist Obed Musi took a stroll among the hobo sub-culture of Joubert Park.

First, he writes, a white hobo sidled up and asked in a whining tone for a rand "laat die baas 'n stukkie brood kan koop". Musi gave it to him and the chap made a beeline for the nearest bottle store.

"Half-a-jack of wine later he returned with his pals — all white — and proceeded to give me a long lecture on why black hoboes must keep out of Joubert Park.

"This park is for white battlers only," he declared wiping toothless wine-stained gums. "We whites drink wine which is more expensive than your sorghum beer. Your empties make the park dirty."

Wow. A "battler" who's environmentally conscious as well as racist — now that's really a change for you.

## Turnabout

There's been lots of talk about Malawi being one of Africa's starting points for Aids, but the Malawians seem to have turned the thing rather neatly around. At Lilongwe Airport, my Africa-watching colleague John Ryan reports, this sign confronts departing travellers:

"Malawi bids you a fond farewell — Don't come back with Aids!"

# MDM warns of takeover at beaches



Political Staff

DURBAN — The Mass Democratic Movement warned yesterday it would extend its defiance campaign and again take over exclusively white beaches in Durban, as it did in a protest on South Beach last month.

This followed the National Party's decision to keep Durban beaches closed to blacks.

Although Durban City Council voted 16-14 in favour of opening the beaches, the required two-thirds majority to overturn the previous vote was not achieved, and the whites-only decision stood

In addition to warnings by the MDM leaders that it would defy beach race laws, Mr Ismail Omar, chairman of Solidarity and newly appointed MEC, threatened yesterday to swim on an exclusively white beach.

NP Natal leader Mr George Bartlett appealed for patience and indicated that the Government could announce a decision on the future of the Separate Amenities Act within two weeks

According to another NP source, this was the main reason NP councillors voted against opening the beaches

*Star 18/10/89*





● SISULU no bitterness

# Sisulu urges no let-up in sanctions pressure against SA

FURTHER sanctions against SA should not be suspended, ANC leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

He told Sapa he disagreed with the Rev Allan Boesak's view that SA should be given at least six months' grace to implement its programme of reform.

"The pressure must be sustained there must be no chance for the government to retreat and reorganise its strategy of delay," Sisulu said, adding that Boesak's request to the Commonwealth was not surprising. "One must remember he is a church man and they look at things differently."

Sisulu said the issue of one man one vote was "fundamental to the demands of the people, and we would not be willing to accept anything less than that." He added "We have to stop

thinking in terms of race and to start thinking in terms of people."

Sisulu said he felt no bitterness after his imprisonment, and for his part, bitterness would play no part in negotiations with government.

ADELE BALEJA reports that in Sisulu's first interview with an SA daily newspaper yesterday, he said the question of negotiations with government would be decided by the ANC leadership in Lusaka.

Sisulu, 77, was joined by fellow Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada, 60.

Both men looked fit and healthy as they sat side by side in the modest lounge of Sisulu's home in Orlando West.

They reiterated a climate for negotiations could be created only after ANC demands had been met. The same applied to the lifting of

sanctions against SA.

After the interview, the two men left the house with members of the mass democratic movement and Elias Mtofoane, and Wilton Mkwayi — among the seven released ANC leaders — for a nearby hall where they held discussions.

● Business Day's interview with Sisulu: Page 14  
● Comment Page 14

Riot police, who arrived in five vehicles, watched as a large group of school pupils gathered outside the Sisulu house and sang freedom songs.

Police left when the leaders emerged from the hall after their meeting.

Earlier, German embassy representative Klaus Borthman and his wife met Sisulu. Borthman said he had

neman said he had come to congratulate Sisulu on his release and to wish him all the best in his future work.

A postman delivered a batch of telegrams from all over the world addressed to Sisulu. IAN HOBBS reports from London that the ANC policy on negotiation with SA, which was given unanimous approval by the OAU in Harare in August, was drafted in consultation with the external and internal leaders.

The ANC's exiled leadership, which also expects unanimous support from the Commonwealth for its policy on negotiation with Pretoria, is emphatic that it makes no key policy decisions without close consultation with the internal movement. The leaders claim consultation over the years has gone into the prison cells of leaders like Sisulu and Nelson Mandela

B 10 11A

# JAIL sentences imposed on five members of the Pan Africanist Congress and two members of Qibla, a Muslim organisation, in a Pretoria Regional Court last year were severe and induced a sense of shock, the Pretoria Supreme Court was told yesterday.

18/10/89 Sowetan

The seven who have filed an appeal against both their convictions and sentences before Mr Justice Daniels with Mr Justice Swart concurring, are Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga, Vincent Mathunjwa, Setsiba Paul Mohohlo, Daniel Nkopodi, Achmad Cassiem and Yusuf Patel. They were jailed by

### By MONK NKOMO

Mr J H Bekker on October 28 last year for acts of terrorism. Zulu was sentenced to 16 years, Gcanga (12 years), Mathunjwa (seven years), Mohohlo (10 years), Nkopodi (16 years), Cassiem (six years) and Patel (five years).

Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, instructed by Seriti, Mavundia and Partners, who appeared for the first four appel-

lants, submitted yesterday that the magistrate failed to give due weight to the fact that no actual acts of violence were committed by the four.

Moseneke also submitted that most of the charges against the four had been split and resulted in a duplication of their convictions.

"The magistrate failed to give due weight to the cumulative effect of the sentences imposed," said Moseneke.

He added: "Whereas

ample evidence was placed before the magistrate in regard to the socio-political factors which probably motivated the appellants to act they did, the magistrate did not regard such evidence as mitigatory."

Mr J J Gauntlett, SC, assisted by Mr Denis Delahunt, who appeared for Cassiem and Patel, both members of Qibla, submitted that the State had failed to prove that both men were involved in an act of conspiracy

and said their jail sentences were "disturbingly inappropriate".

A substantial portion of the sentence should have been suspended, Gauntlett submitted yesterday.

Mr Nigel Willis, who is appearing for Nkopodi, is due to present his submissions today.

Mr A Pretorius, who is appearing for the State, is expected to reply tomorrow (Proceeding).

# Mpetha to stay in Cape Town

CPK 7-24 18/10/89  
Staff Reporter

MR Oscar Mpetha will not be going to Johannesburg again this weekend, but instead he will attend a "welcome home" celebration on Sunday in Nyanga.

Earlier there had been speculation that he would attend a massive rally in a stadium near Johannesburg along with the Rivonia trialists, but now it seems this will not take place.

"I am going to rest now," Mr Mpetha said at his home yesterday "I am all right, but I am tired."

A press conference which journalists had thought would take place at Mr Mpetha's home at 2pm yesterday was cancelled.

Later in the afternoon, Mr Mpetha received a visit from Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Efforts are being made to assemble a national "reception committee" to co-ordinate media statements and public appearances by all the recently released prisoners, according to Mr Nyami Bool, who is on a local reception committee.

Mr Mpetha and the seven others released with him are all celebrities. Residents of "Mpetha Square", where he lives, said his house was easy to find as it always had so many cars in front of it.

## Zeph Mothopeng in hospital for tests

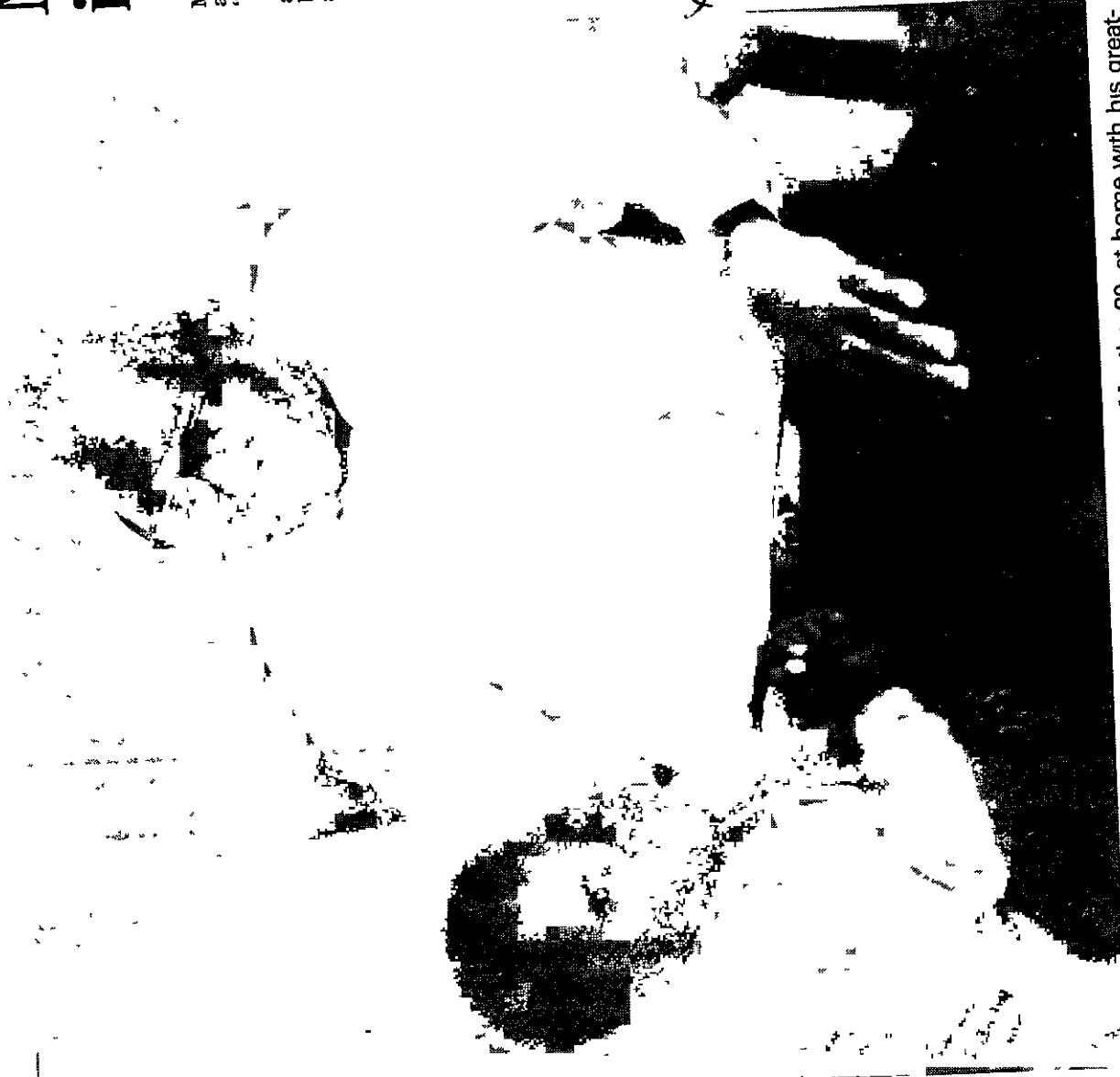
PRETORIA. — PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng has been hospitalised in Johannesburg following a "general weakening" in his condition.

The 76-year-old former political prisoner, who was released late last year, would undergo tests at Brenthurst Clinic, an aide, Mr Benny Alexander, said.

Mr Mothopeng was taken to the Florence Nightingale hospital on Monday after he became short of breath following a visit to recently released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

On Sunday, Mr Mothopeng travelled to Pretoria to visit Mr Jafta Masemola of the PAC, who had been released on Sunday morning.

Mr Mothopeng was in a stable condition yesterday, Mr Alexander said — Sapa



**RELAXING** . . . Recently released trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha, 80, at home with his great-grandchild Musa, aged two. Mr Mpetha met his great-grandchild for the first time when he was released at the weekend.

Picture ALAN TAYLOR

# Debate on SA to be 'less heated'?

**KUALA LUMPUR.** — Deepening tensions between the Commonwealth's poor and rich nations over a comprehensive programme for tackling environmental issues were exposed last night as heads of government gathered for today's opening of the Commonwealth conference here

The release of political prisoners by President F W de Klerk has taken some of the sting out of the argument over South African sanctions, which dominated the past three summits

Britain is certainly trying hard to shift the focus and hopes "green" politics are set to be the main feature of the six days of discussions in the Malaysian capital

Mrs Margaret Thatcher will open the first de-

## Games boycott threat recedes

**KUALA LUMPUR.** — The boycott threat to next year's Commonwealth Games in New Zealand in protest at sporting connections with South Africa was receding last night on the eve of this week's Commonwealth conference here

Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal said he saw "no justification" for a boycott and hoped the games in Auckland in January would be a success

The threat was posed by the international rugby tour to South Africa in August and the controversial tour planned by a rebel England cricket team which plays its first match on the day the games open.

The future of the games themselves would be in jeopardy if a boycott went ahead. — Daily Telegraph

bate of the conference later today with a sweeping review of recent world events Both she and the host nation are eager to place the environment at the top of the summit agenda

But already there are signs that it will be difficult to achieve a consensus on how best to tackle the problems of Third World deforestation and

pollution and its impact on global warming, with Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamed pointing the finger of blame for global pollution directly at the wealthier nations

But Britain is anxious to avoid a row on the environment at the first conference ever held between poor and rich nations on the problems

of climatic change

"We want to avoid a situation where countries are pointing fingers at each other," an official said "This should not be an issue of confrontation but of co-operation"

While the signs are auspicious for a less heated debate on South Africa, the issue always threatens to spill over into another quarrel

A report drawn up by eight Commonwealth foreign ministers which recommends pressure on banks not to give easy credit to Pretoria when 40% of South Africa's £20 billion (about R88bn) debt is rescheduled next year will be opposed by Britain

Mrs Thatcher believes the Commonwealth should be in the business of helping bring about change in South Africa and not hindering it — Daily Telegraph

From IAN HOBBS

**LONDON.** — The ANC policy on negotiation with South Africa, which was given unanimous approval by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in Harare in August, was drafted in consultation with the external and internal leaders

The ANC exiled leadership, which also expects unanimous support from the Commonwealth for its policy on negotiation with Pretoria, is emphatic that it makes no key policy decisions without close consultation with the internal movement They claim that consultation over the years has gone into the prison cells of leaders like Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu

Anti-apartheid leaders say a key Pretoria operation over many years had been to try to split the internal and external wings on

## Unity on ANC line claimed

policy lines and they expect this to intensify

But the ANC is emphatic that the physical division has had no serious influence on unity and that they are closer now than they have been in years

The National Medical and Dental Association will meet the African National Congress later this week

The association said in a statement released yesterday that the Namda delegation will comprise a group of about 40 doctors and dentists and will take the form of

a conference in Harare on October 21 and 22

"The Namda delegation will be led by the national president, Dr Diliza Mji, and consists of officials of the organisation, representatives from the various regions nationwide and representatives from the doctors' guilds," the statement said

Dr Stanley Levenstein, vice-national president of the South African Academy of Family Practice, will also be among the delegates

The statement said the objective of the conference was to discuss health care in a changing South Africa

The ANC delegation will consist of their health department and the National Executive Committee

The conference will also be addressed by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Health on health and structural and policy changes made in Zimbabwe since independence

# Relly says: Let ANC participate

PORT ELIZABETH. — "At the end of the day, the sooner the exiled movements are given the opportunity to participate in a normalising political process in South Africa, the better for all South Africans," Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the 87th annual congress of Assocom, Mr Relly said the ANC was unlikely to be willing to surrender what it saw as its major leverage — the armed struggle — unless it had some idea of the process which would be involved in returning it to a "legitimate" status in South Africa.

Considerable progress had been made on the release of political prisoners, Mr Relly said. When Mr Nelson Mandela was released, this would leave the related question of the unbanning of exiled movements.

Mr Relly said that for South Africa to move forward, the "ritual mantra" of releasing political prisoners, unbanning exiled movements and abolishing the state of emergency should not be taken as a one-off package of immediate change, but should rather be seen as part of a purposeful process of change not amenable to simple timetabling.

Mr Relly said the primary role of business would be to continue to produce wealth and to continue to engage in all activities.

"However, business will not be able to continue to produce wealth if it does not demonstrate that it is committed to a new South Africa," he said.

Getting its own house in order meant business meeting enormous challenges in the industrial relations and human resources areas. Sapa

668  
278  
.1  
.947

He said most foreclosures were on buyers who had taken out home loans when interest rates were low at 12,5%  
Rising interest rates and relatively

Hibbit said each case of bond repayments in arrears was looked at on its merits and discussed with the client.

## PAC leader admitted to clinic

PAC president Zephania Mothopeng was admitted to Hillbrow's Florence Nightingale Clinic yesterday because of a "general weakness", his chief aide Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Alexander said Mothopeng was admitted after a three-hour medical examination at Brenthurst Clinic. This followed problems with his breathing on Monday, after Mothopeng's return from a visit to released ANC leader Walter Sisulu. The day before, Mothopeng had trav-



● MOTHOPENG

### SIPHO NGCOBO

elled to Pretoria to visit Japhta Masemola, a PAC leader who was released with Sisulu and six others on Sunday morning.

"After the medical examination, Brenthurst doctors referred Mothopeng to the Florence Nightingale for admission.

"We do not think it is a serious illness at this stage. But that remains to be seen," said Alexander. *B/Day 18/10*

Mothopeng, 76, who was released last year after serving 12 years of an effective 15-year term on Robben Island and in Diepkloof Prison, recently returned from London where he received specialist treatment for throat cancer.

He was convicted in 1979 on charges relating to PAC activities. *(11A)*

## Coup trial: Mangope was 'courageous'

MMABATHO — The judge in the Boputhatswana treason trial, which features 143 former soldiers charged with attempting to depose the homeland administration in 1988, yesterday described President Lucas Mangope as courageous and dignified during his brief abduction.

Recounting events during the abortive coup on February 10 last year, Mr Justice Friedman said the accused burst into Mangope's premises, shot down the doors, pulled out all the occupants and treated them in "an unceremonious manner".

Their objective, he said, was to take the prisoners to W/O T Phiri who was waiting

outside with resignation forms. *(11A)*

"The president was dealt with most harshly and viciously. He was dragged out in his pyjamas, barefoot and pulled and pushed by soldiers and refused permission to get dressed. *B/Day 18/10/89*

"He was told by the soldiers 'There is no time (to change). We are tired of you,'" said the judge.

From the evidence of implicated soldiers, who had subsequently turned State witness, those involved in the abortive coup were not acting under duress nor were unhappy about the events of the day.

The trial continues today — Sapa

## Sappi donates R2,5m for conservation

SAPPI is to donate R2,5m to the South African Nature Foundation (SANF) today for the creation of a unique conservation area in Maputaland.

Sappi said the money was a gift to celebrate SANF's 21st anniversary, which coincided with the 25th anniversary of the World Wide Fund for Nature. *B/Day 18/10/89*

"The R2,5m donation, will go towards the creation of a unique conservation area in Maputaland. *(11A)*

"It will link up the Kosi Lake system, Lake Sibayi and the world famous Maputaland turtle nesting beaches and dunes south to Sodwana bay and inland

### DANIEL SIMON

along the Mozambique border, including the Nduma Game Reserve and Tembe Elephant Reserve," Sappi said.

Conservation of this area was of "international importance" because of the wide diversity of ecosystems and habitats which supported many animal and bird species.

Sappi said it had developed an innovative scheme to back the donation.

This entailed raising funds for conservation by selling a limited edition of 325 signed and numbered prints by wildlife artist Gail Darroll.

**F**ORMER ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu says the ANC in Lusaka will decide whether he and others released on Sunday will have "talks about talks" with government leaders.

Sisulu describes himself as a scientific socialist, while fellow Ruvonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada still believes in communism and remains a member of the Communist Party.

Both men believe the ANC's demands, including the unbanning of the organisation, must be met before negotiations can get under way and sanctions can be lifted.

The two ANC leaders spoke cautiously at Sisulu's modest home in Soweto yesterday in their first interview with a journalist from an SA daily newspaper.

The appointment was with Sisulu, but Kathrada arrived during the interview and joined in.

The two men embraced each other warmly and Sisulu explained as far as the interview was concerned, he was governed by the release committee.

"I know that they permitted me to have interviews today. They are very restrictive on the political issues because I have had no time for exchanging views with them.

"Our interviews are restricted at the present moment because we have had no real in-depth discussions."

**A**sksed if the ANC was prepared to talk to government about preconditions for negotiations before the ANC demands were met, Sisulu said the question was not as simple as it seemed.

"It is a highly politicised issue. It is a very vital question and it is better that it should be directed to the official leadership of the ANC that is handling the affairs.

"I don't think we can comment on that aspect.

"The official leadership of the ANC is in Lusaka and even with our presence here it continues to be in Lusaka on matters of policy, especially this one.

"Anything that creates a climate for negotiation would be welcome,

# Face-to-face with Socialist Sisulu and Communist Kathrada

11A B/Pay 15/10/89

## ADELE BALETA

but we have more or less implied what we mean by the creation of a climate for negotiation."

He said the demands were that the ANC and other organisations be unbanned, the state of emergency lifted, individuals unbanned, laws restricting freedom repealed and political exiles returned.

Sisulu said the reported demand for a return to true negotiations was not listed by the released ANC leaders.

Demands made by Cosatu were included, such as the removal of troops from the townships.

"Until they (government) do something related to this (the demands), our release is only a half-measure."

The time for sanctions to be lifted against SA would be ripe only once these demands had been met, he said.

"When there is the creation of a climate and people are beginning to talk, then people will be in a position to say government is doing something."

"They will only then be able to determine the situation when government has met the demands."

Asked to comment on the fact that ANC attacks in SA appeared to have diminished recently, Sisulu said "This may not be a question of strat-



□ Sisulu at home. PICTURE BY BRIAN HENDLER

egy but one of practicality."

He pointed out there had been bombings during the elections.

"I don't know if it is a question of strategy I don't think so. It could be that people are adjusting their positions," he said.

Conditions in Soweto had not changed since he was jailed in 1963,

in my trial in 1964 is still what I believe in. That is still essentially my political outlook."

Asked to comment on reports quoting PAC leader Japha Masemola — released at the same time as the ANC leaders — Kathrada said one report he had seen indicated Masemola was saying what Sisulu had said, that until demands were met the climate would not be right for negotiations.

"He (Masemola) has talked about a climate, and in fact he has gone further by saying that (President F W) De Klerk is an honest man."

Asked whether he felt De Klerk should be given a chance with his stated reform policy, Kathrada said "A chance to do what, really, when the Nationalists have been given a chance for 40 years?"

"By this five-year plan of his, he is really asking to perpetuate apartheid and he does not need our permission to help that change."

"Unless and until he comes out with something substantially different from what he has been saying, this question of chance does not arise."

"The question of struggle continues as it has over all these years," he said.

**C**ommenting on developments in Eastern bloc countries, Kathrada said "We have only relied on Western media."

"It is not a pleasant sight. It is a hiccup in a long period of development I am not in any way disillusioned by what I see in the German Democratic Republic. I have had phone calls from the GDR in the past two days."

"Capitalism has existed for hundreds of years. It has not solved any of the major problems."

"The socialist countries have only been in existence for less than a century. They have overcome serious problems and will do so in future."

Asked if 77-year-old Sisulu could still manage to *toyi toyi*, both men laughed and Kathrada said "I think he will. If I had not stopped him he would have gone ahead and exercised to an early morning television programme."

11A

(S)

6 P.M. 18/10/87

## ANC Koeberg protest barred

ROBERT GENTLE

PARIS — Power engineering firm GEC-Alsthom yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to completing repair work on a transformer belonging to the Koeberg power station after it quashed a protest campaign by the ANC.

A spokesman said "We have a contract to do the job within a specified time limit."

He confirmed that the ANC's chief Paris representative Solly Smith had been barred from entering the plant there on Thursday at the orders of senior management.

Smith had been invited to the plant by members of the CGT, a militant trade union which says it wants a total ban on economic cooperation with SA and SA companies like Koeberg.

He had been scheduled to address workers on the issue of the transformer in what was to have been the high point of almost two weeks of lectures and in-house briefings on the SA situation.

In the event, the ANC representative was forced to speak to a group of interested workers outside the factory gates.

The GEC-Alsthom spokesman denied suggestions by anti-apartheid sources that the company had come under legal pressure from Koeberg.

The CGT, for its part, slammed the management decision to keep Smith out. It also charged that management had deliberately scheduled workers with strong anti-apartheid views to carry out the repairs on the transformer.

GEC-Alsthom said the main criteria governing who worked on what were "suitability for the job, skills and effectiveness".



# Honour Chief Luthuli plea



18/10/89  
Soweto

THE Stanger Town Council is to consider a request for the name of its main street to be changed from Cooper Street to Chief Albert Luthuli Street and for the late Nobel Peace prize-winner to receive the posthumous freedom of Stanger.

It was announced over the weekend by the Mass Democratic Movement that a request is to be made to the town council for Cooper Street to be re-named after the former Nobel Peace Prize winner and leader of the African National Congress.

The town clerk of Stanger, Mr W T Bymes, said the request had not been formally made, yet, but he understood would be "made in due course."

Luthuli died 22 years ago when he was hit by a train and 29 years after being given the Nobel Peace Prize.

Luthuli lived in Groutville, just outside Stanger, where he spent most of his life.

He died a lonely man living under stringent restrictions imposed by the Government.

# Namibian police reject spy claims

Argus Africa News Service *Argus 19/10/87*  
WINDHOEK. — Namibian police today pooh-poohed claims that Susan Dobson had infiltrated the force as an African National Congress agent "for more than a year" and had gained "free access" to its bases.

Chief Inspector Kierie du Randt said Mrs Dobson had no contact with the police except on only one occasion when she was shown what was shown all other journalists.

"Frankly, she's not much of a spy," he said. "What we showed her we showed other people, and one of them was a Yugoslavian journalist.

"Her claims that she infiltrated us are ridiculous."

A diplomat said even if Mrs Dobson had successfully infiltrated South African operations here they could not publicly confirm it for the obvious embarrassment it would create.

## UNEXPECTED VISIT

The United Nations mission, the last place Mrs Dobson visited shortly before she slipped out of the country to Britain, was also silent on what she had discussed when she paid an unexpected visit to its headquarters at 2am on the last Sunday in September

According to the UN, Mrs Dobson arrived at its offices in Leutwein Street and asked to speak to security and military chiefs

She spent several hours with them, and afterwards asked to be taken to a city address which turned out to be a street corner.

A source close to the UN said, however, that it was most unlikely the military and security personnel with whom Mrs Dobson conferred took her seriously — "they would not touch her even with a 10-foot pole" — and most certainly believed the visit and her statements to be a "set-up".

# Dobson our agent — ANC

CAF's Times 19/10/89

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## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Former SA Bureau of Information officer Mrs Susan Dobson had been working for the ANC for several years and had been "withdrawn" to avoid her imminent arrest in Namibia, the ANC said last night.

Her husband Peter had also been an operative, the ANC said in a lengthy statement. The pair left the country in mysterious circumstances earlier this month.

"Susan Dobson's position at the SA Bureau of Information — and luckily with the administrator-general's office in Windhoek — provided us with invaluable information," the statement said.

"Susan had access to confidential briefings from senior members of the SADF staff in Pretoria, and her position in Namibia resulted in close association with officers of the security branch and NIS (National Intelligence Service)."

She had also obtained valuable information on Pretoria's "dirty tricks campaign" against Swapo, aimed at "subverting the democratic electoral process"

"Her disappearance is understandably causing confusion and distress in Pretoria," the statement concluded.

Mr David Steward, head of the Bureau for Information, said yesterday that Mrs Dobson had been a junior official who did not

have access to sensitive material.

"Although the ANC can be expected to fabricate as much propaganda as possible from Mrs Dobson's case, the fact remains that she was a junior official who did not have access to sensitive material," he said.

"She conducted interviews with a number of people involved in government, but the information she gained was available to anyone, including the ANC, in RSA Policy Review."

Mr Steward confirmed the ANC's claim that Mrs Dobson had been considered for a post in the office of the State President, but said she was "simply one candidate for a junior post as a translator".

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures

the value of quoted shares But <sup>United Airlines</sup> and employee buy-  
when Wall Street failed to go whose collapse trigge  
lower, British shares rallied day's plunge on Wall

# Viljoen willing to talk to Sisulu

*CAPE TIMES 17/10/89*

From MICHAEL ACOTT *11/10/89*

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior government minister yesterday said he was willing to discuss with Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders their preconditions for negotiation

In a telephone interview, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen also said he was encouraged by the attitude taken so far by Mr Sisulu and the others released from prison on Sunday.

While not reiterating government's previous demand that the ANC should renounce violence, Dr Viljoen said they should not back up negotiating positions with threats of violence.

Dr Viljoen said government wanted people to gather around a negotiating table as soon as possi-

To page 2

*R.T.O*

## Ties between ANC, SACP spotlighted

# 2 of the 8 confirm communist beliefs

By Patrick Laurence

The close relationship between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party was spotlighted yesterday in interviews by The Star with four of the newly released political prisoners.

Two of the four men — all of whom were jailed with Mr Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial in 1964 — affirmed their belief in communism.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Elias Msoo, past members of the SACP, acknowledged their belief that the party had a special role to play in the struggle against apartheid and minority rule.

Mr Kathrada said "I have not changed my philosophical outlook."

After recalling that he spoke his belief in communism when he gave evidence in his own defence in the Rivonia trial, Mr Kathrada said "I still stand by what I said then."

ance between the ANC and SACP. He said "(They) have many years of working together, which has been affirmed and reaffirmed."

On the role of the SACP, he said "As I understand it, the role of the SACP and the ANC coincide at this stage of the struggle. It is a national democratic struggle, towards which we have worked closely over the years and will continue to do so."

### Serious problems

Questioned about the present upheavals in communist countries, Mr Kathrada conceded that they had serious problems.

But he said the problems of the "young socialist countries" should be balanced against the deficiencies of capitalist countries, contending that in the United States, "the most advanced capitalist country", 20 million people are dependent on soup kitchens.

Mr Msoo said "I associate myself with the remarks made by my comrade. I was a member of the SACP before it was banned and, as a result, my name is on the consolidated list."

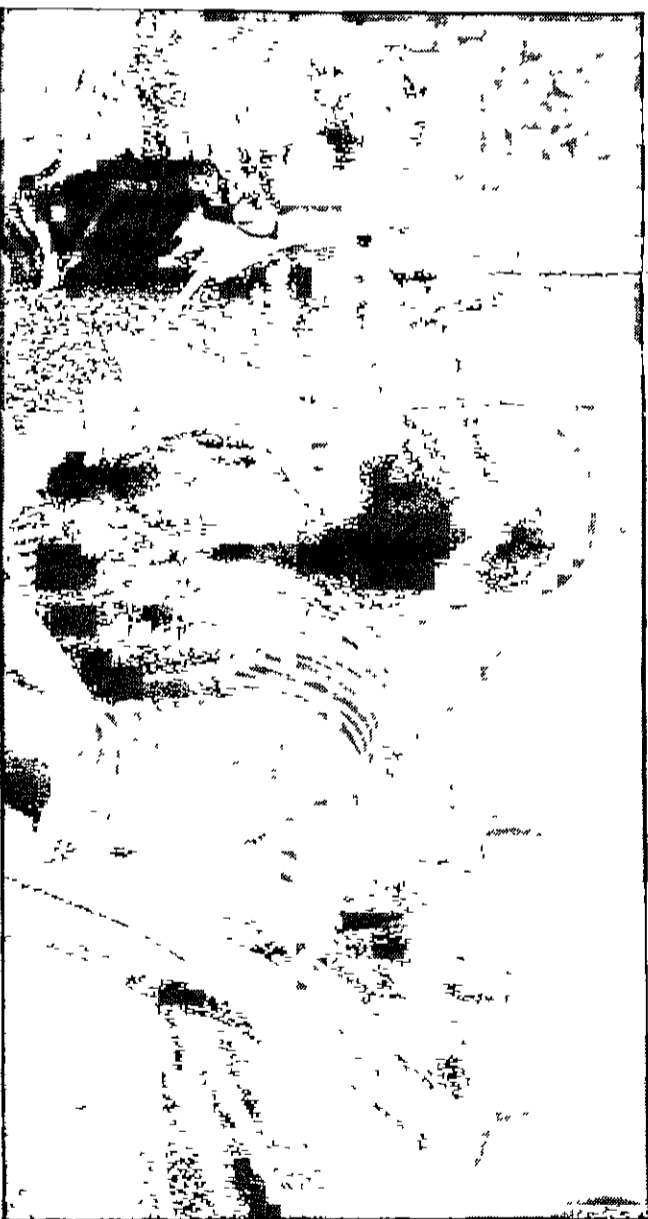
He added, "The opportunity was offered to those who wanted to change their views. But it was my conviction that I cannot be made to change my views."

Mr Andrew Mlangeni noted that he had not been accused of being a communist. He then said "I have been in prison for 26 years. I don't think I want to go back to prison by answering either yes or no. The party is banned and I don't think it is advisable for me to say anything on that matter."

Mr Walter Sisulu similarly refused to say whether or not he was a member of the SACP.

On the SACP-ANC alliance, he said "The relationship between the ANC and Communist Party is unique. I have not known any movement which has worked with the Communist Party in the way the ANC has done."

Recalling that it was the first of the parties founded by whites to open its ranks to people of all races, he added "The Communist Party worked with the ANC from the very beginning and that relationship is very firm."



Meeting a hero... after speaking to the press yesterday, Mr Walter Sisulu addressed a group of children who had gathered around. He praised them for their enthusiasm and told them to "arm themselves with education."

## Churches to thrash out red flag issue

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Church leaders are to meet to discuss the dilemma facing churchmen who take part in protest marches in which the communist flag is waved.

Several church leaders have already indicated they will pull out of any future march if the red flag is displayed — but this is not always known in advance.

A Methodist Church spokesman yesterday said the leaders of various major churches would meet at

a time still to be arranged to thrash out the issue.

Controversy flared up when the red flag was hoisted in the huge Durban protest march on September 22. Clergymen leading the march threatened to withdraw because of the flag's presence, and they insisted that it be removed.

The latest issue of the Methodist Church newspaper, *Dimensio*, says churchmen should not hesitate to pull out of a march if the red flag is raised and stays

up despite protests.

A spokesman for Desmond Tutu said the Anglican archbishop "had no problem" with the flag because in a free society the Communist Party would have a right to demonstrate.

"But Archbishop Tutu would understand that in current circumstances the display of red flags, particularly near the front of a march, could create unnecessary additional controversy for the church constituencies."

## Sisulu gets phone call from security police

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The head of the security police in Soweto telephoned Mr Walter Sisulu on Monday to complain about the displaying of the African National Congress flag in the township since the release of seven ANC stalwarts on Sunday.

This was said by the National Reception Committee (NRC) in a news update on developments since the release of the eight political prisoners. The eighth man was a member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Sisulu had referred the matter to the NRC, which assured him there was "nothing to worry about."

Commented the NRC "The problem for the police is that the ANC flag is not in itself illegal. However, when one displays it, it can be argued, legally, that one is 'furthering the aims of a banned organisation.' A sentence for such an offence carries, usually, three to five years in prison. The people are determined not to be intimidated by that possibility."

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that a telephone call had been made in connection with "a placard in the vicinity of Mr Sisulu's house."

"The police have decided to take a reasonable approach and point out to those concerned that certain activities may be in contravention of section 13 of the Internal Security Act, Act 74 of 1982."

Reacting to newspaper reports that the released ANC leaders would work towards unity with the PAC, the NRC said that a reply by Mr Wilton Mkwayi to a question at Sunday's press conference had been "misrepresented."

Mr Mkwayi said the ANC had worked for unity of the oppressed since 1912, but some newspapers had reported that the ANC would work towards unity with the PAC.

Although the newspapers had "saddled the released leaders with what is understood to be a desirable improbability at this stage", PAC leader Mr Zeph Mthopeng had visited Mr Sisulu on Sunday

# SA's adversaries inching nearer negotiating table

War, remarked the Prussian general and military theorist Karl von Clausewitz, is the continuation of politics by alternative means.

With one qualification, his dictum is pertinent to South Africa today. The direction is being reversed. Politics is emerging as a substitute for war.

The warring adversaries are moving, inch by inch, from the battlefield to the negotiating table. The conflict which is being slowly demilitarised is the long simmering struggle between South Africa's white rulers and their black nationalist foes.

The release last weekend of eight long-term political prisoners — seven of whom are leaders of the African National Congress and one a leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress — marks a first but important stage in the process of re-setting the scene for political bargaining.

## Real opportunity

For the first time since the ANC and the PAC were outlawed in April 1960 — and the subsequent formation of their underground military wings, the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Poqo and APLA — these organisations have been given an undeclared but real opportunity to function openly as political organisations rather than covertly as guerrilla forces.

The point was dramatically illustrated at the historic meeting at Soweto's Holy Cross Church on Sunday when the seven ANC men spoke under a huge ANC banner, and in the name of the ANC.

President de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, whom he has entrusted with the delicate task of negotiating a settlement, have understandably played their cards close to their chests.

But an advertisement, placed in the *International Herald Tribune* by the Department of Foreign Affairs, spells out their game plan in a little more detail. Significantly, it was inserted before President de



The point dramatically illustrated at the historic meeting at Soweto's Holy Cross Church on Sunday when seven ANC men spoke under an ANC banner, in the name of the ANC, was that banned organisations have been given an undeclared but real opportunity to function openly as political organisations.

"It is becoming increasingly apparent that negotiations with credible black leaders cannot take place until at least some of the following have been achieved: release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, elimination of remaining segregation laws, lifting the state of emergency and recognition by the Government that organisations such as the ANC have a role in the country's politics." — from an advertisement placed in the *International Herald Tribune* by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

Klerk's announcement on October 10 that the release of the eight political prisoners was imminent.

The advertisement described Mr de Klerk's earlier decision to allow peaceful protest marches as an essential first step. But, it said, far more was required.

"It is becoming increasingly apparent that negotiations with credible black leaders cannot take place until at least some of the following have been achieved: release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, elimination of remaining segregation laws, lifting the state of emergency and recognition by the Government that organisations such as the ANC have a role in the country's politics."

The freeing of the eight black nationalists must be seen in this context, the Department of Foreign Affairs was acting — it can be safely assumed — with the knowledge and approval of Mr de Klerk.

The President and his advisers must have anticipated the resumption by the eight men of their roles as leaders. It was, indeed, integral to their plan to move "step by step" — to use a phrase which both Mr de Klerk and Dr Viljoen are wont to quote — towards a negotiated settlement.

It seems, too, that Mr de Klerk has been prudent enough to enlist the help of the jailed Mr Mandela in

the process. The ANC leader was seen by Dr Viljoen and the Minister of Justice and Prisons, Mr Kobie Coetsee, only days before the release was announced.

Different interpretations can be offered. But, overall, the one which seems most cogent is that they wanted Mr Mandela to use his immense authority to persuade his co-prisoners to help keep popular emotions under control when they were released.

## Working together

Another development supports the scenario of Mr Mandela and the authorities working together to set the stage for negotiations. The meeting on October 10, only a few hours before Mr de Klerk announced the release of the eight, between Mr Mandela and a delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement gave Mr Mandela a chance to brief the delegates on the pending releases and the need for discipline.

It is against that background that the generally low key statements by the seven ANC men at Sunday's meeting in Soweto should be appraised.

The response of former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu to a question about whether the freed ANC leaders would hold mass ral-

lies, reflected their judicious approach.

He said: "It is the duty of the leadership to continue the pressure for freedom, to pressurise the Government in every possible manner, in an orderly and disciplined manner."

Armed struggle by Umkhonto we Sizwe was endorsed, not as a preferred course of action but as one which was forced on the ANC when it was outlawed and driven underground. As Mr Andrew Mlangeni said: "The ball is in the Government's court."

The release of the eight is part of the process of recognising that the ANC has a legitimate political role to play.

It is, however, a prelude to two vital corollaries: the release of Mr Mandela into a calmer situation where he will be welcomed joyously but not violently, and the start of, at the least, talks about talks.

The Government has made it clear that it does not see the pending talks as a one-on-one situation between itself and the ANC. In Dr Viljoen's phrase, the ANC is envisaged as "only one of a possible number of negotiating partners".

But, if the Government still cherishes hopes of deploying a divide-and-rule strategy at the negotiating table, Mr Mandela has placed black unity at the top of his agenda.

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group reported after several long discussions with Mr Mandela: "He repeatedly stressed the importance of the unity of the whole nationalist movement."

That was three years ago. Nothing has happened since to challenge the validity of that statement.

# 'Hard times on Robben Island'

NEW BRIGHTON (Port Elizabeth) — Raymond Mhlaba spent more than a quarter of a century behind bars because he ignored a warning and refused to put his own safety above the "cause".

Although best known as one of the accused in the Rivonia trial of 1963/64, Mhlaba had a long record of political involvement

Born the son of a policeman in the Fort Beaufort district of the Eastern Cape in 1920, he managed to complete about ten years of schooling — the last two at Healdtown — before dropping out for financial reasons

In 1942 he went to work in a Port Elizabeth dry cleaning factory and soon became an active trade unionist

In 1943 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa and from 1946 until the banning of the party he served as district secretary for Port Elizabeth

In 1944 he joined the ANC and was its Port Elizabeth branch chairperson from 1947 to 1953

In both his political and trade union activities he worked closely with Govan Mbeki, his Rivonia colleague who was released last year

## Led defiers

On June 26, 1952, Mhlaba led the first batch of volunteers (defiers) through the "Europeans Only" entrance of the New Brighton railway station and became the first ANC leader to be arrested in the Defiance Campaign

Though banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Mhlaba was elected to the Cape executive committee of the ANC in 1954 and continued his political activities

Between October 1961 and the time of his arrest at Rivonia, Mhlaba had left South Africa to enrich himself in some fields of military science in China and Soviet Union

In July 1963 he was caught in a swoop at Rivonia and charged with being in the high command of Umkhonto weSizwe. He denied the charge but was found guilty

Mhlaba said he would not have been caught if he had heeded the warnings from Botswana authorities who knew of the possible dangers facing trained guerillas returning to South Africa

He had been given a task by the movement to negotiate with the Algerian government on the possibility of establishing training bases in that country for ANC cadres

"I had gone there in January 1963 and returned in July that year via Botswana which had just attained independence from the British

"On reaching the Botswana/South African border I was advised by authorities not to proceed with my journey to South Africa

"It was at the time when the South African police were patrolling the Botswana border

"You see I had a lot of money with me and I begged the emigration officers to let me through. I had to give a report back by July 4 and just had to be back in time

"The information I had was vital to the movement. I begged them,

**IN an exclusive interview, ANC veteran Raymond Mhlaba this week recounted his arrest at Rivonia, the famous trial and his prison experiences.**

**Mhlaba, 69, the son of a policeman, became commander-in-chief of the ANC's armed wing. He was released this week after more than 26 years imprisonment on Robben Island and Pollsmoor prisons.**

**He spoke to MONO BADELA about the bad conditions on Robben Island in the early days:**

telling them that we were all Botswana citizens and that I had to fetch furniture in South Africa"

Mhlaba said his driver was "shivering" and refused to continue with the journey but they eventually entered South Africa

"My mission was of extreme importance because we were building the military wing of the ANC at the time," he said.

"But I was hardly 10 days at Rivonia when we were arrested. My comrades there told me they had tried to notify me not to return but unfortunately I did not get their messages"

Mhlaba said he does not regret his decision not to heed the warning

"I don't regret staying all those years in prison. In fact I feel very proud of myself. I'm dedicated to the cause of my people"

The first 10 years on Robben Island were "hard times"

"Clothes were that which the ordinary criminals wore during the old days. Shoes were hardly that, more like sandals.

"We were forced to do pick-and-shovel work in the quarry in all kinds of weather

"In fact we helped build Robben Island with the stones from that quarry."

"A drink we were served was called phuzu-phuzu. It was more like diluted dirty water"

Mhlaba said the prisoners protested against the conditions. Through visits by relatives, they had managed to smuggle a letter to the Red Cross



Raymond Mhlaba unexpectedly walks into enthusiastic supporters at DF Malan Airport this week while on his way to Johannesburg. PIC: BENNY GOOL

about conditions on the island

During the first 10 years on the island studying by correspondence was considered a "privilege"

"To study in prison was a privilege and not a right — a privilege that could be withdrawn at any time

"If withdrawn it took up to a year to get it reinstated. The slightest mistake was punished by the withdrawal of the privilege

"Eventually we were also given the right to smoke, to buy tobacco and a newspaper"

Conditions improved after they had been on Robben Island for 10 years

"There was a marked improvement in health facilities and even the attitude of the warders improved"

Later, work in the quarry became optional but there were heavy penalties if a prisoner was found doing nothing

Penalties included the denial of access to a lawyer or mail facilities.

"I remember one day we were standing in a queue at the prison hospital and I was very sick

"The doctor attending to us was busy ridiculing those who needed at-

attention. I got annoyed and attacked the attitude of the doctor

"I was punished by being refused access to my lawyer for six months"

Mhlaba said going from the island by boat to Cape Town to be attended by medical specialists was his "happiest times"

"We all looked forward to that trip. It was like an extended privilege"

The question of death on Robben Island while serving their sentences never occupied their minds, he said

"What was important to us was whether the food we were getting was good enough to keep us going. We were doing hard work on the quarries

"And the question of staying in jail forever also did not bother us. We always knew that at a certain time we would be released

"I made up my mind that I was going to resist and survive. I did physical training and studied or read books

"I also told myself that I was not going to be marooned, that I would be cheerful and talk to my colleagues. Unless you do that, jail will destroy you"

He said the treatment in Pollsmoor was slightly different

"Although jail will be jail. The treatment is more or less the same"

It was still a "big guess" why they had been removed to Pollsmoor prison from Robben Island in 1982

"Nobody seems to know but we think it was the question of leadership. I think they wanted us to be alone"

They were shocked when Nelson Mandela contracted tuberculosis

"We took advantage of that. When Walter Sisulu was transferred to the same wing in which Mandela had been held, we refused to allow them to hold him in the same cell"

The prison authorities said in March this year that Sisulu's transfer was a prelude to his release, Mhlaba said

Sisulu himself had been assured "long before the elections" that he would be released

"He was told he was not in isolation but in transit. We all wanted to see him released

"We asked for an hour-long meeting with Sisulu which we were given"

Mhlaba said they had met Mandela on Kruger's Day to discuss their release

"You see the government wanted us to give undertakings that we won't cause trouble or unrest and that we would be disciplined

"Our decision together with Mandela was that we refused to give an undertaking of that nature"

"We were then taken to another place at 5.30pm where we were made to wait

"We demanded food and later asked for a television set. It was on the 8 o'clock news that we heard about our impending release"

He said Mandela had not told them that a decision had been taken that they would be freed

## No internal/external ANC

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG — Two of the Rivonia trialists released unconditionally last Sunday say there is only one ANC and that the movement's headquarters is in Lusaka

In an interview in Soweto this week, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni emphasised that there was no question of

opening an office in South Africa

"The ANC is banned in South Africa and therefore it cannot have an office here"

Kathrada stressed that there was a tendency for the government sources to refer to an internal and external ANC

"There is only one ANC," he said

"We are a united organisation and our allegiance is to one ANC. We have no intention of establishing ourselves as an internal wing of the ANC. We're subject to the disci-

plines of Lusaka

"The official leadership of the ANC is in Lusaka and even with our presence here it continues to be in Lusaka on matters of policy"

"Once the basic demands of the ANC are met we'll go to the table," he said

The two said Lusaka would decide whether they would have "talks about talks" with government leaders

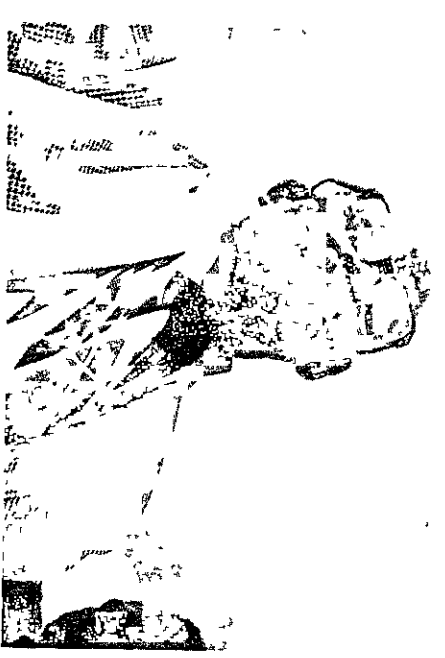
Mlangeni said they had no intention of establishing themselves outside the country unless "instructed to do so"



● Ahmed Kathrada



● Raymond Mhlaba



● Oscar Mpetha

# SOUTHERN

# PORTRAITS OF PEOPLES'S HEROES



● Andrew Mlangeni



● Elias Motsaledi



● Wilton Mkwayi





● Walter Sisulu welcomed by his wife Alberlina

# Mpetha: Still a union man

By REHANA ROSSOUW  
OSCAR Mpetha, "the father of South African trade unionism", is raring to go.

Scarcely days after his release, he began making plans to return to trade union work

The "old man" is vital, healthy and hardly disturbed by the fuss surrounding his release

His release was not unexpected, he said, he was told to expect it two months ago — by Nelson Mandela!

"I saw him once at Pollsmoor and again at his request two months ago when I was taken to Victor Verster," said Mpetha, who recently turned 80

"He told me I was going to be released. It was the first time anyone had told me about my release

"The fact is, he is the man who negotiated all our releases"

Mpetha said on the Tuesday before the government announced the releases, he met with Mandela again at Victor Verster. This time the Rivonia trialists were also present

"I was over-excited when we were all brought together. From that time on, I was waiting for the final word that I was going home"

Mpetha said he had suspected that the big day would be last Sunday, although there was speculation it would be Tuesday

## Free

He was awake and greeted prison officials when they came at 4.30am on Sunday morning to tell him he was free

"When they started taking papers out I thought they were coming to interview me, but when they finally started taking my fingerprints I was sure I was leaving. It was the end of my prison term"

He said he waited until the officials left at 5am before phoning his daughter Esther

"I shouted, I said 'Esther, I'm free'. Then I heard a noise and I knew that she was not alone there"

Mpetha served four years and five months of his prison sentence. He was due to be released on June 26 1990

He spent one year of his sentence at Pollsmoor and the rest at Groot Schuur hospital.

He began writing his life story at Pollsmoor, but lost his unfinished manuscript when he sent it to his daughter.

At Groot Schuur, he spent the mornings in physical training, doing pushups, weightlifting and using the exercise bicycle. He typed and knitted in the afternoons

"I finished a lot of jerseys after the nurses taught me to knit in occupational therapy"

"It is wonderful to be out, I'm so happy and greatly impressed by circumstances outside," he said

During his imprisonment, he was informed of developments outside by reading the newspapers and watching TV

He was "greatly pleased" by the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), believing that working class unity would take forward the struggle against apartheid

The recent defiance campaign brought back fond memories of the ANC's defiance in 1952

"When I met Walter Sisulu inside I



UDF leaders Hilda Ndude and Zollie Malindi welcome home Oscar Mpetha on his release from prison  
PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

made a remark about it. The first batch of volunteers in the defiance campaign went to Johannesburg

"Walter ran to the Johannesburg police station, pulled down the SA flag and raised the ANC flag"

Mpetha said he was "greatly impressed" with the latest defiance campaign

He said he still regarded himself as a "union man"

He had been involved in trade union organisation for most of his political life — only briefly suspended during a five-year banning order in 1959

He was willing to assist the Food and Allied Workers Union, formed during an amalgamation between two other unions and Mpetha's old union, the African Food and Canning Workers Union

"I could negotiate for them, but I will have to meet with the workers before negotiating with the bosses

"There are laws, but I feel that I am still a member of the Communist

Party. They can't take that out of my heart. I am also the last-elected president of the ANC in the Cape Province and still a member of the ANC."

Mpetha said he was "very excited" by political developments while he was in jail

"You can see in the defiance campaign of today that the people are in a stronger mood than in 1952. When I see the militancy of the people, I realise they are finished with oppression. No-one can stop them now, they have reached the point of no return

"Personally I feel that we have climbed a steep hill and that from now on we'll be rolling down"

A total of 10 people were convicted in Mpetha's trial. One has been released, after serving five years, one was released after "defecting" and the rest are on Robben Island

Mpetha had limited contact with them after he was transferred to Groot Schuur, only sending mes-

sages with their parents

His future includes "maybe" starting knitting classes, writing his life story and "if all went well", returning to trade union work

"If they take me back in the union and ask me to organise, I'll be pleased. I'd prefer not to organise, though, but to do their books

"I have a certificate in bookkeeping, so I'll do that for the union

"I have been following the developments in Fawu over the years. Organising is in my blood"

Mpetha says his diabetes is under control. His doctors were satisfied that he could return home after his release. He has a fulltime nurse, though

"When I got to Pollsmoor, the head of the prison took one look at me and said he thought I wasn't going to make it

"Even the judge who sentenced me. He made me quite cross, saying that I was not going to live long. Well, here I am"

## PAC man bitter over life term

From MONO BADELA  
PRETORIA. — Released founder of the Pan Africanist Congress and former school teacher, Mr Jeffrey Masemola of Atteridgeville, Pretoria, is not elated about leaving jail after 26 years.

Masemola, 58, the second longest-serving political prisoner after jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was released with seven other political prisoners on Sunday

He slipped quietly into Atteridgeville at about 5.45am to a jubilant welcome from friends, neighbours, family members and former pupils

The crowd was later joined by PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng and his wife, Urbana

Commenting on his release, Masemola said "After spending more than 26 years in prison I don't feel any elation at being released. I feel indifferent about it"

Masemola said he always felt he had been unlawfully incarcerated and that an "inordinate sentence" lost its effect and caused bitterness

"I cannot express happiness about my release"

He believed his release — and that of seven other political prisoners — was intended primarily for the South African government to regain world acceptance

At a press conference held in Saulsville, outside Pretoria, on Monday, Masemola rejected all forms of negotiations with the government

He said instead the PAC would exercise several options, which would not exclude the use of violence because the situation demanded answering violence with violence

He added that president FW de Klerk had moved from the traditional Nationalist trend of trying to dictate to the African people and was using the strategy of negotiations

"Speaking for myself, I would say the main issue in Azania centres on the repossession of our land because if we follow Mr de Klerk's stand to its logical conclusion, it means that the government will be taken over by Africans through the ballot. This is one thing the government will not allow"

Masemola was arrested with 15 other men in Atteridgeville on May 22 1963

Among the group were Mr Dikang Mosoneke, Mr John Nkosi and Mr Simon Brander who later died in prison

Masemola and Nkosi were sentenced to life imprisonment while Mosoneke was sentenced to 10 years in jail

The group had no legal representation and had to conduct their own defence

"After our sentence we tried several times to have our case reviewed but every time we were told that the court records could not be found"

"After this we gave up hope and decided to serve our sentences"

He served 23 years on Robben Island

Masemola said that in 1985 former President PW Botha offered him conditional release but he had declined the offer

Asked whether he had any plans for the future, he made it clear that he would not be returning to the classroom

# SA solution a long way off, says Sisulu

## Mandela's release a 'major issue' — Omar

BY saying that his release was "not an issue", Nelson Mandela was not calling for a suspension of campaigns and demands for his release, said Advocate Dullah Omar, who has consulted the ANC leader on numerous occasions

Omar said the Mass Democratic Movement would continue to demand Mandela's immediate release

"By saying his release is not an issue, he means that he has never asked the government to release him

"He does not intend to beg the government for his release, not now or ever"

### Sickening

The MDM regarded Mandela's release as a "major issue", Omar said

He was a prisoner and had no say in his release or continued imprisonment

"It is sickening that he is being used as a commodity for negotiations, that he will be released only when the government is ready to talk to our leaders

"He is a member of the ANC and as far as we are concerned, a leader. There is no other way he can act except as a leader. He will never accept restrictions on his freedom"

Omar said the release of Mandela would effectively signal the unbanning of the ANC

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN SOWETO. — There was a beginning to the peace process in South Africa but a constructive solution "is a long way off", said former ANC general-secretary Walter Sisulu.

He and seven other political prisoners released last Sunday arrived at their homes to a tumultuous welcome by large crowds.

Sisulu said he had first heard that his release was official as he watched a prison television set.

"I have not had much time to look around Soweto, but most of it has not changed since I first came to live

here in the 30s. With a few exceptions, the matchbox houses are very much the same

"A government who is not addressing the basic issue of decent housing, is not seriously committed towards political change," he said

The men were given a brief chance to rest the day after their release but for the rest of the week had a hectic round of meetings, press interviews and visits from dignitaries and friends

Despite the fact that he is 76-years-old and has spent a quarter century in jail, Sisulu looked fit and sprightly after a demanding series of appointments and press interviews

He reiterated the stand that the ANC leaders took at their post-release press conference, saying that pressure against the government should be intensified

Differing with the approach of Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, he said the ANC did not agree that the government should be given a six-month "breathing space"

After a meeting with President FW de Klerk recently, Boesak said he and other church leaders would not call for any new political or economic pressure on Pretoria for the next six months

However, according to Sisulu, this concession could only be made once the government showed that it was practically moving towards a negotiated settlement and away from all aspects of apartheid

"Intensifying the pressure of sanctions is part of the duty of the political movement

"However, as a leading church

man, Dr Boesak is entitled to his views," said Sisulu

Responding to government announcements that they would talk to the ANC if they renounced violence, Sisulu said "The ball is in the court of the government. We are ready to talk to them. We have stated our basic initial demands and it is up to them to respond to that"

These demands include the release of all political prisoners, unbanning the ANC, lifting the state of emergency and generally creating the climate for negotiations

"I believe our people will talk about talks. But we can't renounce the armed struggle. That would mean the ANC is giving up the armed struggle without any reasonable cause to do so

"The armed struggle must be part of the negotiations. It is necessary to intensify the struggle because it is never easy for the ruling class to abandon power

"They have to be forced into it"

Sisulu said he did not know whether De Klerk was seriously committed to negotiations

"I hear the words about being committed to changes and equal rights and I have heard a number of vague statements but I am not sure about the commitment towards implementing a programme of reform

"De Klerk still talks about group rights. We are a very long way from a constructive negotiated solution

"We have a beginning but the complete process will take a very long time

### No choice

"But I expect to see the end of apartheid and white minority rule in my lifetime. The government is compelled by pressures here and abroad — they have no choice," he said

Asked about De Klerk's five-year plan for political reform, Sisulu said "I don't know what he really means by this five-year plan. We are not waiting. We are carrying on the struggle as if nothing happened until there's a major move from the other side"

According to Sisulu, he did not believe that ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be released this year

He told SOUTH that he detected a confusion in government circles and initially they had wanted to release him on his own

"The government is lying when they say that Mandela does not consider it expedient to be released now.

"When he says his release is not on the agenda, it is because he is discussing the release of all his other compatriots at the moment

"The government has a great fear of the reactions of the masses," said Sisulu

Asked if his views were close to that of Mandela, he said "There's very much a greater identity between us. We were brought up together and we have been in the movement together and we share ideas to a great extent"

He said the main differences he had noticed in his short time at home was the "greater political consciousness, greater political awareness and greater unity" of the anti-government movement

He joked that he was finding it easy to sleep later than the 5am prison wake-up time

In his lounge there is a photograph of Nelson Mandela and a special charcoal portrait of Sisulu (as a young man) and his wife as she is now



Former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu, centre, flanked by Andrew Mhlangeni (on his right) and Ahmed Kathrada, at a press conference after their release

## ... and those left behind

By REHANA ROSSOUW

The release of the eight Rivonia trialists, freed after 27 years in prison has highlighted the plight of political prisoners left behind.

There are still 14 people serving life sentences for political offences in South African prisons, none whose release appears to be high on the government's agenda.

South Africa's longest serving political prisoner is Nelson Mandela, who has served a total of 27 years of his life sentence

Once he is released, pressure will mount for the release of the remaining 13 people serving life imprisonment

Anthony Mfene Xaba, 56, has been behind bars for 25 years. He was arrested in Zambia in February 1963 and deported to South Africa where he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island for terror-

ism

He was again detained three years after his release and sentenced with Harry Gwala and others to life imprisonment on July 25, 1977

Zakhele Elphas Mdalose, 65 was a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe

He was detained in 1963 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in 1964. He was released in February 1974 and sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1977

Msomti Mityiwa, 65, an ANC and Sactu member, has been in prison for 22 years. He was sentenced in 1964 to eight years imprisonment. He was released in 1972 but was re-detained and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Gwala trial in 1977

Vusumzi John Nene was also sentenced to life imprisonment in the Gwala trial. He has been behind bars for 15 years

Petrus Mashingo is also serving life imprisonment on Robben Island. He was sentenced in 1982, with Johnson Lubisi and Johannes Shabango

A prisoner, who the Human Rights

Commission knows only as D Mose, began serving his life imprisonment in 1963 on Robben Island

Sanna Twala, Linda Hlope and Daniel Mbokwane were sentenced to life imprisonment in the Duduza trial in June 1987

Lizo Ngqungwana, commander of the ANC's Western Cape military wing, was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Cape Town Supreme Court in August 1987

He left his family home in the Eastern Cape town of Alice during 1978 at the age of 18 to join the ANC. In his six years with the ANC he rose to the position of commander

His parents, who had not seen him for eight years, were reunited with him when he appeared in the Cape Town regional court charged with terrorism

Dieter Gerhardt, 53, former Soviet spy and South African naval commodore, was sentenced to life imprisonment for treason in December 1983

At least eight members of the ANC

and one Swapo member are on death row

Robert McBride has been on death row since April 1987. He was sentenced to death for his role in the Marine Parade bombing in Durban

Mthetheleli Mncube and Mzoneleli Nondula were sentenced to death in May last year for terrorism and the murder of Messina farming families

Mandla Mngomezulu was also sentenced to death in May last year for terrorism and the murder of a police informer

Jabu Obed Masina, Ting Ting Masango and Neo Potsane were all sentenced in April this year for the murders of a Mamelodi policeman, a Kangwane politician and his sister-in-law and a Soweto policeman

The Swapo member presently on death row is Leonard Sheehana who was sentenced in April this year for the bombing of a butcher shop, a post office and civic centre

Ndibulela Ndzamele and Phumzile Mayaphi were sentenced to death in May this year for deaths caused by a bomb blast at the Mzamba Wild Coast casino

PORT ELIZABETH. — As Mr William Masoka, 68, sang Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika at the end of last Saturday's protest march here, he recalled the city's last "defiance" march in 1952.

"There were many people — from Cradock, Graaff-Reinet and from here Thousands went to the horse memorial in Rink Street It was very similar to this march," said Masoka, of New Brighton township.

Saturday's march, organised by the Mass Democratic Movement, came four weeks after the march in Cape Town which led to a series of similar marches throughout the country

**Clampdown**

Organisers said the level of repression in Port Elizabeth had forced them to hold off until they could be

# Memories of '50s as 80 000 march in PE

sure there would not be a clamp-down on their leaders, many of whom were recently released from detention.

But the delayed response to the wave of defiance which has spread throughout the country did not deter about 80 000 people from joining the march against apartheid laws, the state of emergency and the Labour Relations Amendment Act

Masoka said he was deeply involved in the city's defiance campaign in 1952

"I proudly put on the full volunteer uniform complete with the badge of the African National Congress," he said

"There were 16 of us in a group under one leader Once, we came to town to defy in the whites-only post office and bought stamps The police

came and we were held for two weeks before we were released without being charged "

Masoka, who witnessed the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Klip-town in 1955, shook his head when asked if he had noticed any significant changes in the 37 years since the last march

"No, nothing's changed," he said But the past four decades have giv-

en rise to many younger comrades, including a 16-year-old from New Brighton, who stood at Embizweni Square holding a Soviet Union flag "I volunteered to carry the flag because I am serious about my involvement in the struggle," he said as he waited for a bus to take him to the march's starting point

**Grievances**

The youth, who asked not to be identified, said he had participated in several anti-apartheid services and rallies since 1986, and he was looking forward to his first march

"Through this march we can voice our grievances We can complain publicly about the system of education," he said

"I am happy to start the march from this ground I've heard from street-corner history that this is the place where our heroes gathered "

It was near this square, which takes its name from the Xhosa word meaning "gathering place", where Masoka and other members of the ANC held meetings before the organisation was banned 29 years ago

**Parents win say in school**

From VUYO BIKITSHA

GRAHAMSTOWN — A local high school principal, "expelled" by pupils for allegedly being "undemocratic", has agreed to run the school "collectively with parents, teachers and pupils"

This follows a two-week boycott by pupils at Nombulelo High School who demanded the removal of the principal, Ms Ntombenzintlanu Dwane

A community meeting heard at the weekend that Dwane had also agreed to allow the formation of an SRC and a parents, teachers and students association

The school was closed by the Department of Education and Training when pupils went on boycott earlier this month — ANA

**No bail for ANC helpers**

GRAHAMSTOWN — Two Port Elizabeth activists, sentenced to jail terms last month for helping ANC members, have been refused bail pending their appeal

Bulelwa "Pinkie" Menzezeleli and Mzohsi Goodman Dyasi were part of a group of Port Elizabeth residents sentenced to between two and 16 years in a recent "terrorism" trial

Magistrate CH Fouche turned down the bail application lodged by lawyers for the two after noting an appeal against the sentences — ANA



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Printing Co-operative Wilderdruck, Berne  
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Kein Geld für **APARTHEID**



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19/10/89  
Sweden

# PAC president Mothopeng ill

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, has been admitted to a Johannesburg private clinic

after he took ill on Monday

His aide, Mr Bernie Alexander, said Mothopeng was admitted

to the Florence Nightingale and had undergone chest and abdominal

# Witness saw killer

ONE of the alleged killers of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat was seen with a firearm in one hand and also holding the burglar-proofing of a window of Asvat's consulting room in an attempt to get out after the doctor had been shot, a Rand Supreme Court judge heard yesterday.

Mrs Thandi Tshabalala told the court that her house is at the back of Asvat's surgery in Rockville, Soweto.

She said she was cleaning meat at a tap in her backyard when she heard gunshots in the surgery.

When the first shot was fired, she looked up and saw one of the accused, Mr Thulani Dlamini (20), clutching at the burglar-proofing of a window.

She got the impression that Dlamini was trying to get out.

Tshabalala said she ran to the surgery and

By MANDLA NDLAZI

found Asvat lying on the floor. He was still alive, but could not talk.

She said he indicated where the telephone was and she called the police.

When the police arrived, she said, the doctor was dead.

Cross-examined by Dlamini's advocate, Mr J A de Villiers, Tshabalala said Dlamini had a firearm in one of his hands as he held on to the burglar-proofing.

She said she did not mention the weapon in her evidence in chief because she was not asked about it.

Tshabalala said she saw Dlamini clearly because he was facing her while she was in the backyard of her house.

She said she saw Mrs Albertinah Sisulu for the first time that day and she was weeping.

At an identification parade held in Lenasia, she said, she pointed out Dlamini.

In earlier evidence, Sisulu said she was employed as a nursing sister by Asvat.

She also handled reception duties.

On the day Asvat was murdered, a male patient had come in and asked to see the doctor.

It was about 4pm on January 27 this year.

She said the man gave his name as Mandla Nkwanana of J 11 Nancefield Hostel.

Sisulu said after she had taken the man's particulars he went into a waiting room.

She later heard the doctor call the patient. There was no reply and some of the patients said he had left.

Asvat continued seeing other patients, said Sisulu.

Proceeding

19/10/89.

earthquake experience of the area was not sufficient to withstand Tuesday's quake

Mr Bruce Cannon, administrator

destroyed the San Francisco Bay Bridge and two bridges in the Santa Cruz area 120 km to the south

The quake hit at 5 04 pm (about 5 am SA time) along a segment of the San Andreas Fault 13 km north-

# FW may spell out attitude to ANC

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

State President Mr F W de Klerk and other Cabinet Ministers are expected to spell out the Government's position in regard to talks with the ANC at the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria on Saturday and at the Free State congress next Tuesday

Since the release of former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and other security prisoners, comment and speculation on the Government's attitude to the ANC has been rife.

Some National Party leaders have made statements which suggest that the ANC has been given de

facto recognition by the Government

Mr de Klerk is keeping even his own party guessing about whether he intends to give up the Transvaal leadership of the National Party

Party insiders said they had not been informed of his plans

They added that the general feeling in the Transvaal party was that Mr de Klerk should hold on to the Transvaal leadership a while longer

The reason may be that the party wishes to avoid a leadership contest which could ensue as there is no obvious successor

Several powerful Cabinet figures are standing in the wings These in-

clude the three Transvaal deputy leaders — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan

Dr Viljoen's chances must have been boosted enormously since he took over the vital constitutional development portfolio in Mr de Klerk's post-election Cabinet shuffle

However, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis could well leapfrog all three in much the same way as he leap-frogged several senior colleagues to come a close second to Mr de Klerk in the election of a chief leader of the NP on February 2 this year

~~SECRET~~ (11A) Star 19/10/89



**RAPTURE:** Enthusiastic supporters carry ANC stalwart Ahmed Kathrada shoulder high in Lenasia last Sunday after his release from 26 year of imprisonment

PIC ERIC MILLER, AFRAPIX

MA South

19/10 - 25/10/89

# ANC summit

THE seven ANC leaders released last Sunday are to fly to Lusaka for key consultations with the African National Congress — possibly within the next week.

Mass Democratic Movement sources confirmed that the seven would "definitely" be travelling to Lusaka to meet with the exiled ANC leadership and that passport applications were presently being made on their behalf.

While no date for the Lusaka trip has been officially released, there is a strong chance that it might be as soon as next week

**Heroes' portraits**  
Full-colour poster  
— Page 12

This could be one of the reasons for the postponement of a national "heroes' rally" originally planned to take place this weekend

The Lusaka talks will probably centre on the political role the seven will play and the implications of what observers have termed a "de facto unbanning of the ANC"

High on the agenda will be the issue of negotiations

**Exclusive!**  
Raymond Mhlaba's prison story  
— Page 11

The seven were careful to emphasise in public statements since their release that they did not speak as individuals but as members of the ANC

They also quashed speculation that there would be "two ANC's" — an internal and external wing

At a press conference hours after their release former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu said the sev-

**ANC's policies**  
Interviews  
— Pages 10, 22

en were speaking as ANC leaders and that the conference was the first by the ANC inside South Africa since the organisation was banned.

Sisulu said whether the ANC was de facto unbanned was a question which would have to be discussed with the ANC leadership

While speculation has increased that the releases are a prelude to ne-

gotiations, the men have reiterated in interviews the preconditions set by the ANC

Sisulu endorsed the ANC's call for pressure on the South African government to be intensified

In a direct reference to reports that Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, had said that President de Klerk should be given a six-month breathing space, Sisulu said that this was not the position of the ANC

He said pressure could only be eased when the government met the preconditions set out by the ANC and showed real signs that it was willing to negotiate

Sisulu said it was not possible to renounce the armed struggle which was an important component of the ANC's strategy



# Mrs Sisulu tells of Asvat shooting

By Louise Burgers

The wife of Mr Walter Sisulu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday how she found murdered political activist Dr Abu-Baker Asvat lying in a pool of blood shortly after hearing gunshots

Mrs Sisulu, who was Dr Asvat's nurse and receptionist at his Rockville, Soweto, surgery on January 27 this year when he was shot dead, was giving evidence in the trial of Mr Zakhele Mbatha (21) and Mr Thulani Shelela Dlamini (20)

They have both pleaded not guilty to the murder of Dr Asvat, to two charges of robbery with aggravating circumstances, two charges of illegal possession of a firearm and two charges of unlawful possession of ammunition.

## HEARD SCREAM

Mrs Sisulu described how she heard Dr Asvat scream after a gunshot went off. Minutes before she had heard him speaking to a patient who she thought was Mr Mandla Nkwanana, who had allegedly disappeared earlier during the day after filling out an admissions card.

"I didn't see doctor and the man he addressed as Mandla because one cannot see into the consulting rooms

"Shortly after that I heard a gunshot followed by a scream. It was the doctor's voice. I shouted out calling him but he didn't answer

"I ran through the back door and I screamed for help. When I came back I saw two men running towards the gate

"While I was outside shouting for help, I

heard another gunshot"

Mrs Sisulu said she did not see the men's faces as they were running away from her, but remembered what they were wearing

"I then entered the consulting room. I found doctor lying in a pool of blood"

Mrs Sisulu said she had been very shocked by the murder. She pointed out Mr Mbatha as being the man who allegedly posed as Mr Nkwanana. "I made out a card for him and took his thumbprint because he was coming to the doctor for the first time"

Later in the afternoon, when all the patients had left, she heard Dr Asvat asking someone whether his name was Mandla. She heard a man say "yes" and she shouted out: "Where have you been, Mandla?" He replied he had gone to fetch money. Shortly after that she heard the first gunshot

Another witness, Mrs Thandi Tshabalala, who lived directly behind Dr Asvat's surgery, rushed into the surgery after hearing the second shot.

She saw a person at the window of the consulting room, trying to get out

She asked some women, who were crying, what had happened. She then found Dr Asvat on the floor behind his desk. He was still alive and she spoke to him, but he could not answer

"I saw his lips move. He pointed to the telephone," she said, visibly upset

Mrs Tshabalala telephoned Dr Asvat's family but he was already dead when they arrived

The case continues today before Mr Justice Solomon

'Don't ease the sanctions'

# Boesak plea for watch on SA

By Sue Leeman

KUALA LUMPUR — Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Reformed Churches, has asked the Commonwealth to establish a special monitoring mechanism to watch developments in South Africa over the coming six to eight months

He told journalists yesterday that he had received a positive response when he put the idea to the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Committee on South Africa during several meetings

He also asked for the committee's support for the timetable for reform which he and other anti-apartheid churchmen have presented to President de Klerk

And he urged the committee to push

for Commonwealth action to prevent the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt — something which it has already indicated it is prepared to do

The committee, formed four years ago from the ashes of the Eminent Persons' Group, will report to the conference later this week on future sanctions steps

It is expected to go for the wider enforcement of existing measures, rather than a new package, and strong action on the foreign debt front

Dr Boesak said he had made it clear that there should be no let-up in sanctions pressure

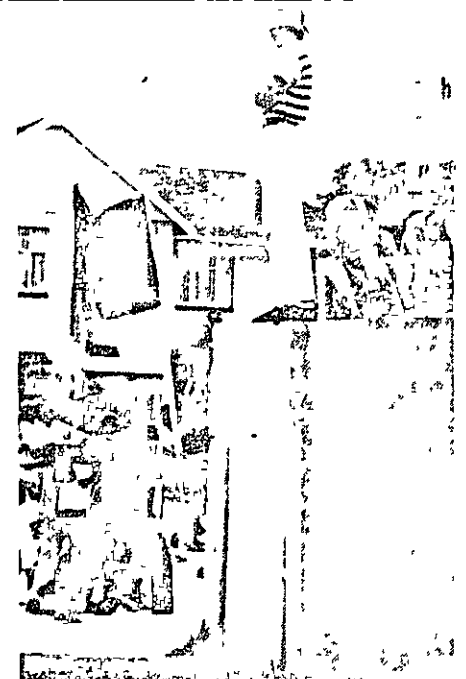
"The parliamentary session ends in June next year I am thinking in terms of April (when) it would be good if the Commonwealth could then, through the Foreign Ministers' Committee, make an assessment of what is happening, looking at what F W has promised, and what he has been able to do

"I am not calling for a moratorium on sanctions, but if there is any change that can be seen as fundamental and irreversible from the side of the South African Government, then I would say let us not have any more sanctions"

But he said he was not hopeful after his meeting with Mr de Klerk recently

"I came away very sceptical. He sounded a little peeved that we didn't express enough appreciation for releasing eight people from prison"

11A  
Stow 19/12/89



In Port Elizabeth, the clergy-led procession winds through white residential areas, watched by curious onlookers Pictures. AFRAPIX

## A Saturday of a kind Secunda hadn't seen

Throughout the country, workers protested against the labour laws last Saturday. CASSANDRA MOODLEY visited Secunda to see how a conservative town responded to the *toy! toy!*

THE Conservative Party stronghold of Secunda has been put on the political map — by 5 000 *toy! toy!* workers brandishing an "Unban the ANC" banner

The little Eastern Transvaal dorp, dominated by the Sasol II plant, has never attracted much opposition attention. However, last Saturday, almost 5 000 workers marched to the local police station and presented a petition protesting the "anti-union Labour Relations Act"

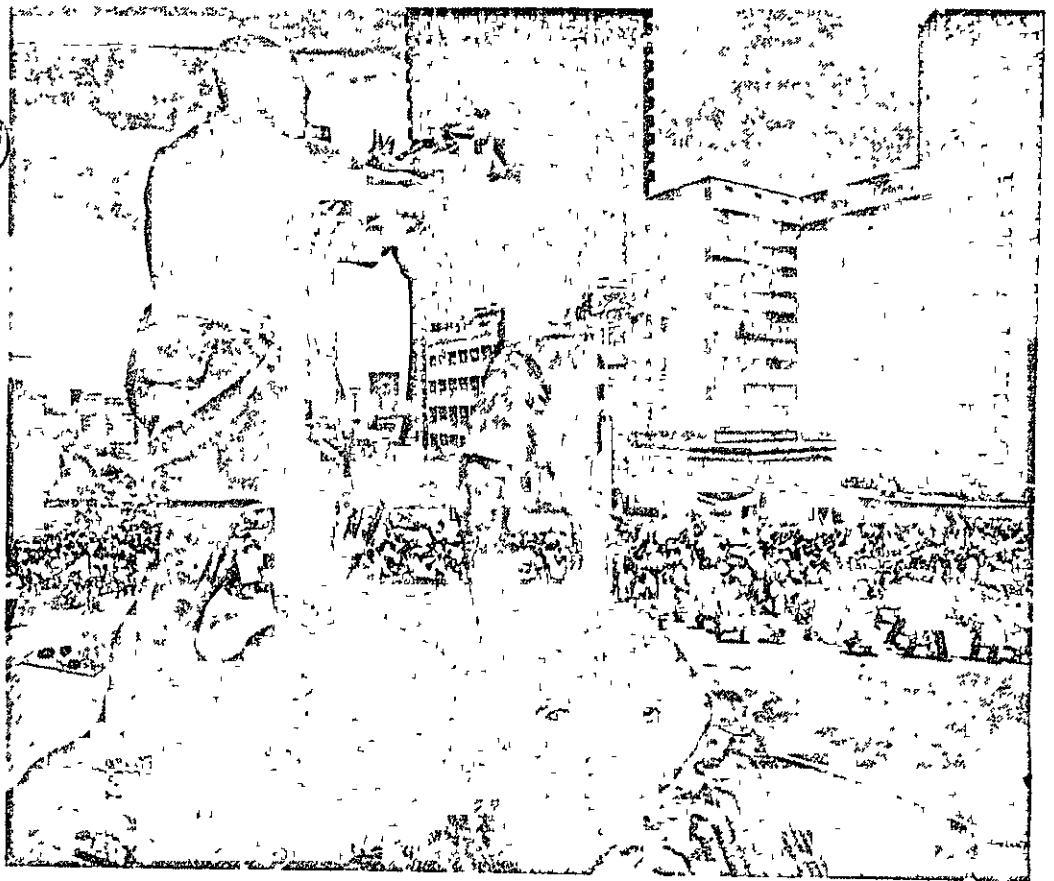
They were part of more than 100 000 workers around the country who marched against the labour legislation in response to a call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and National Council of Trade Unions

Moments before the start of the march police informed union officials "they did not have permission to march." But nothing could persuade the restive crowd they needed permission

As a compromise, union officials negotiated for the marchers to take a short route to the police station — rather than walking right around the town.

Chanting and singing workers, in colourful yellow T-shirts with slogans of, among others, the Chemical Workers Industrial Union and National Union of Mineworkers, marched in lines of 20

Martials instructed participants



In Johannesburg, two bronzed miners labour busily while their real-life counterparts march by Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

where to go. They used whistles to signal to the crowd whenever they approached a large contingent of police, or when police vehicles came too close for comfort and the *toy! toy!* would become frenzied

Songs praising Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, and worker songs about justice and freedom, rose from the 5 000

Stony-faced policemen stood with rifles along the route

Three workers handed the petition to a policeman sitting at the desk in the local police station. He told the workers he would "hand it to the brigadier." When he asked the workers for their names they refused to reply

and he did not push the issue

Then began the march back. The chanting of the workers reached a crescendo as a police helicopter droned overhead

As marchers neared the taxi rank they became agitated by the number of policemen flanking the column, shouting angrily at them. But organisers and marshalls were in control and the crowd swept by to the parked taxis and buses without incident.

Buses and taxis charged the marchers half the normal fare for the journey back to the Embalehleh township

And the day was not over

Weary marchers crowded the town-

ship community hall singing, dancing and chanting the name of Cosatu executive committee member Chris Dlamini who had come to address them

His simple message was greeted by more joyous, hopeful *toy! toy!*: "We have proved that you, the people of South Africa, can unite and fight the LRA and apartheid"

"Your march was a march for freedom and unity

"It is a means to an end, not an end in itself," he said

● It has been announced that the police are investigating charges against Cosatu because the CP town council had not granted permission for the Secunda march to take place.

WMAI 20-26/10/89.

*(Handwritten marks: a scribble, "IIA", and "F-Mail 20/10/89")*

# The temper of the time

■ De Klerk and Stals are setting the pace — and there is substance, too



Since F W de Klerk became president, changes — many of them breathtakingly dramatic — have been clustering into the forefront of public consciousness. Out of a genuine determination to reform, the new administration is laying out its bona fides. Thus, we have seen the release of major ANC and PAC prisoners, mass marches under flags including the hammer and sickle, and a deep questioning of the role of the police.

We have also seen a steely upward ratcheting of interest rates. This has more in common with the above-mentioned events than may be immediately apparent.

For to link monetary policy to political reform is vital — reform without a sound economic base, or movement towards it, is doomed to failure. This was argued in the past, not least by the late governor of the Reserve Bank, Gerhard de Kock. But, whereas in the P W-De Kock era, sensible economic policies were pushed aside for political expediency, the F W-Stals team has quickly shown itself to be made of sterner stuff.

Clearly, De Klerk's style is most evident in politics. Commentators expected him to adopt a more civilian mode of government — but the events around the release of political prisoners, amounting to the provisional unbanning of the ANC, illustrate the surprisingly rapid waning influence of Botha's securocrats who dominated the political scene for more than a decade.

Nor is it surprising that De Klerk should move first on the political front. Protest marches and the well-heralded release of political prisoners make far bigger headlines abroad (and have far greater impact on Margaret Thatcher and George Bush) than fiddling about with fiscal policy, and De Klerk, presumably advised by Pik Botha and Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden, has quickly shown an appreciation of the need to capitalise on a (perhaps temporary) more conciliatory international climate.

At the weekend, De Klerk met Magnus Malan and high-ranking SADF generals — the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The likelihood

is that he briefed them on why he is making his latest decisions and choices. In small ways as well as in big, militarism is being rejected — though no reformer can survive without the support of the armed forces.

De Klerk can be expected to spread his wings further as he gains confidence. Insiders believe, for example, that Van Heerden may assume duties as De Klerk's chief adviser in Tuynhuys. If so, he will replace the former high-ranking prisons official, Janie Roux. Symbolism again? Yes, but not only that.

As even his enemies and sceptics now seem willing to concede, De Klerk seems intent on getting the negotiation process off the ground. Negotiations about what? Black representation in central government and democratic institutions, including an effective bill of rights, in one form or another.

Here, most are familiar with a reciprocal problem of "non-negotiables" (though the point of negotiation is not to preclude anything). These are, on government's side, the insistence on group rights, on the ANC's, an unwillingness to forswear the armed struggle as a precondition to talks.

And yet, one by one, preconditions are being waived — or met. This week, Pretoria's head negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, said he was prepared to talk to Walter Sisulu and the other ex-prisoners, whose banning restrictions have been lifted. He adopted no significant pre-emptive negotiating stance. And the armed struggle has waned — perhaps as a result of a policy decision by the ANC (see *Current Affairs*).

Nonetheless, a senior Cabinet minister admits to the *FM* that the gap of mistrust between government and black leaders remains virtually unbridgeable — though just a little further down the line events could change that.

In recent discussions with the respected black

US Republican diplomat, Allan Keys, SA diplomats were told that Pretoria should pressure other negotiating parties by removing all restrictions on political association. The timing and manner of the release of the Rivonia trialists and a leading Pan Africanist — with Nelson Mandela almost certain to follow, most likely in the new year — suggests a trial run for precisely that.

But with the Right fuming — consider what the white miner in Witbank must think



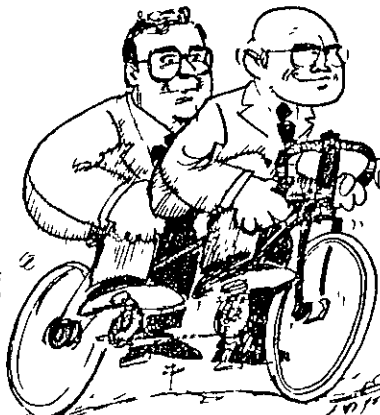
Stals ... tough stand enhances credibility

when he sees the Rivonia men on TV — can De Klerk deliver?

For the Left, that to some extent depends on a willingness to compromise, to abandon the fiercer manifestations of anti-apartheid shibboleths. Japhta Masemola, the only PAC figure released this week, said De Klerk had so far backed up his position with action. But, looking at the Right, he added that reform could succeed only "if he does not make P W Botha's mistake of looking over his shoulder at conservative whites all the time."

Fortunately, right now, the Conservatives (and, it has to be noted, the Democrats) hardly figure on the political agenda. It is still early in the day — but there appears to be a willingness to ignore the antiquated arguments coming from the CP's Andries Treurnicht, who has become a whinger. De Klerk has made the crucial choice which hampered his predecessor for too long.

In De Klerk's redefinition of the political centre, he is being spurred on by looming security problems. As the latest *Idasa* newsletter, *Democracy in Action*, warns, this urgency is highlighted by growing realisation on the Right that it cannot win electorally, and that "as this sinks in, it is more than likely that elements on the Right will resort to increased hostility and violence."



# The Star

## The great debate starts to open

11A

See  
20/10/89

WALTER SISULU and his fellow ex-prisoners are back in the world of day-to-day politics and the wisdom of releasing them is becoming apparent by the day. First, their return to society, despite considerable build-up, went off calmly. Even on the historic Sunday of Mr Sisulu's return to Soweto the crowds that gathered around his house were neither huge nor dangerous.

What Mr Sisulu has been saying is of considerable interest too. After a quarter century of silence it now becomes possible for the public to know the thinking of the former ANC secretary-general and his colleagues. The struggle continues of course — Mr Sisulu said in an interview — but “things are already happening. After all, we have been released ... and that is a step in the right direction, although perhaps for the wrong reasons on the part of the Government”. Never mind the reasons: the fact of the releases is undeniably a major step

forward, one that must inexorably lead to further liberalising steps, and it is encouraging to see this acknowledged.

Policy decisions must await consultations with the current leadership in Lusaka. However, Mr Sisulu did say there should be no let-up on economic sanctions — a point on which he differs somewhat with the Rev Allan Boesak. At Kuala Lumpur Dr Boesak, whom nobody could accuse of being overly moderate, suggested giving President de Klerk “a few months” to make good his promises. Not too much should be made of this, but it could suggest divergences of strategy with the Mass Democratic Movement, and indeed within the ANC.

It is only with free leaders and free debate that the political ideas on both sides can be aired, debated, tested against public opinion and forged into shape for the negotiations that must come. The first releases have served as a valuable trial run for the next steps.

Formal response to release of seven

# ANC says struggle must be intensified

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has reacted to the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and other members of the organisation by calling for the intensification of its politico-military offensive.

In its first measured and formal reaction to the release, which was widely seen as a move by the Government to promote dialogue, the ANC national executive committee said in a statement from Lusaka yesterday that the release was "a victory for the people".

### No favour

In releasing the detainees, Mr FW de Klerk "has done the struggling masses no favour", the statement said.

"This is the time for us to go on the offensive, to intensify the struggle in all its forms."

The statement went on to say: "As we welcome our leaders

and comrades and rejoice at their release, let us intensify the mass defiance campaign and escalate our politico-military offensive."

The ANC called on the international community to increase the Government's isolation and intensify sanctions

In a separate statement yesterday the ANC condemned the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt and said this was intended to influence the Commonwealth in favour of Pretoria.

The action confirmed that international capital regarded profit as more important than human rights, the second statement said.

"When the time comes the South African people will not be unmindful of the role of the banks in making profit out of the misery of our people," it said.

The statement called on the world community and the Commonwealth in particular to con-

demn the move and intensify sanctions. It called on banks that had not yet fallen in line with the decision not to follow it.

The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Kuala Lumpur that the PAC yesterday called for the identification and targeting of those banks which have helped South Africa reschedule a large slice of its foreign debt.

### Ban on gold

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ibrahim also called for a ban on the purchase of South African gold and gold products and an oil embargo.

But the PAC delegation, which also included administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkwana-zu, said it considered sanctions as a "complementary factor" in the struggle against apartheid

"The decisive factor is the internal factor. Our people are determined to continue all forms of struggle, including the workers' struggle."

Inf Star 20/10/89

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THE PRISONER RELEASE

# As we were saying . . .

The release of Walter Sisulu and six senior ANC figures — as well as the PAC's Jeff Masemola — last Sunday is a major step in the incremental unbanning of anti-apartheid political organisations in SA. As part of this process, the last couple of years have seen government turning a Nelson's eye to the propaganda of these organisations — even, ironically (given the emergency), acquiescing in the fact of their existence in spite of occasional *kragdadig* outbursts.

The importance of the releases is that they look as if they could be the beginning of a process of the "deregulation" of black politics so that they too may be "tested in the marketplace," as director of the SA Institute of Race Relations John Kane-Berman puts it. But, while the climate for negotiation is obviously improved by the releases, which must be welcomed, he doubts substantive talks are likely in the short term.

Indeed, at the first ANC press conference in SA since it was banned in 1964, Sisulu, a former secretary-general of the ANC, listed — in answer to a question — preconditions for entering into negotiations with government: "The unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the lifting of the ban on all those who are banned; the removal of laws that hinder freedom; and the return of all exiles."

Sisulu stated that their position on negoti-



Released ANC stalwarts singing their anthem

ations and sanctions was that they "remain committed to the position espoused by the ANC, UDF and Cosatu of the Mass Democratic Movement." He is for sanctions.

Asked whether this was the first ANC press conference since the Sixties, Sisulu answered in the affirmative. Why, then, had government decided to release them? "The government is beginning to be sensitive to issues that affect SA," replied Sisulu. Did he see the releases as part of the new SA? "The problem is that it falls short of even the elementary (Mandela's release) and is a half-measure doing great harm."

Sisulu's message to De Klerk was to "repeat what the movement has been asking for" and that he "make visible efforts to create a climate for negotiation."

Ahmed Kathrada answered the question about whether the group would be applying for passports to go to Lusaka, saying that they belonged to an organisation and, if it felt they should apply, they would. "If it's a question of going to Lusaka we'll go."

Andrew Mlangeni said that the ANC's "present methods of struggle will continue." He said the ball is in the government's court and if it did not meet their demands there'd be "no alternative but to continue the struggle."

Raymond Mhlaba was asked whether the superpowers could push the ANC to the negotiating table. "The movements are conducting the struggle and planning from day to day. We respect others' views — but don't dictate to us."

Asked whether he was optimistic that things were changing in SA, Sisulu said: "We believe in our lifetime there will be a government that includes blacks." But, he added, the ANC does not see things in terms of colour. "We are talking of a democratic method, there's no question of assessing it on the basis of colour."

After the press conference, the leaders addressed an ecstatic gathering which had packed the Holy Cross Anglican church in Orlando West. Nearly all of them emphasised the need to continue the struggle "in a peaceful and disciplined manner."

Not surprisingly, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen is reportedly "encouraged" by initial remarks made by Sisulu and his comrades.

In stark contrast, the freed PAC leader Jeff Masemola has adopted a hardline stance — as if nothing had changed to warrant even

### cautious optimism

Masemola warned the world against being fooled by "De Klerk's cheap tricks" — a reference to the releases, which he saw as a ruse to avert further sanctions at the Commonwealth meeting in Malaysia. He saw no point whatsoever in making demands of government or talking about negotiations and is convinced that government will never allow itself to be replaced by blacks through the ballot box. No method of struggle, including violence, was ruled out, he warned.

The Africanist view is elaborated by Nactu assistant general-secretary Cunningham Ngcukana. He says that before negotiations can be entered into, government must accept two principles: redistribution of the land and wealth and acceptance of one man, one vote in a single state.

He says any organisation is free to go to the negotiating table, at its own risk, "as happened with Muzorewa in Zimbabwe," and he quotes Mao Zedong's saying "You cannot win at the negotiating table what you have not won on the battlefield."

The PAC position strikes a deep historic chord in the black community and it should not be written off. But it would seem imperative that the internal ANC leaders' rather more moderate attitude should bring dividends. If not, who knows whether the PAC's standing will in time to come rise dramatically, seeming to vindicate its militancy? ■

# 'ANC hopes dashes'

20/10/89

Sowetan



BRIGADIER Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, told a security conference at Umhlanga yesterday that the African National Congress had hoped the "so-called peaceful protests" would lead the police into violent confrontations with the public and result in more overseas pressure on South Africa.

When the violent confrontation failed to materialise, "the bottom of the bucket dropped out for them," he said.

Mellet, addressing the annual conference of the Natal branch of the Security Association of South Africa, said the ANC was not ready for

## Protest marches peaceful, says cop

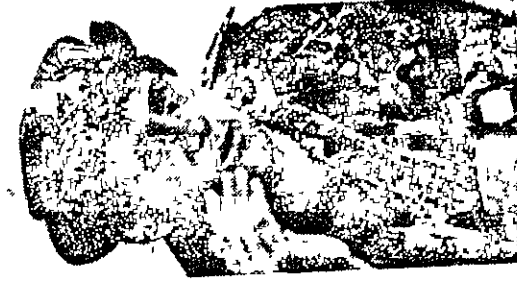
negotiations despite the State President's initiatives in inviting all people to take part in a peaceful negotiation process.

"The ANC has one goal and I don't think we should ever have any illusion about it - total power, the total seizure of power in South Africa."

marches or against marches for which permission had been granted but which turned illegal because the conditions laid down for the marches were not enforced

Marches could be "hijacked by criminal elements" and the security of the public, shop-keepers and others must be ensured.

Mellet spoke of a campaign to vilify the police and to create division between them and the public. He described this as one of the most serious threats to SA's security at present because, he said, without public support the



Brigadier Mellet

He said the police would continue to act against illegal protest

police could not carry out their function.

One of the goals of the police force was to have better channels of communication and to foster good relations with the public

"We would be totally foolhardy if we didn't take note of objective criticism - and we will do so - but sometimes we find a very great bias against the police"

He described protest marches as a "political problem" and said. "We told the politicians you must solve this problem. Don't always hand the baby to the police."



B/Pay 20/10/89

IIA

# Masemola's escape plan nearly worked

SIPHO NCOBO

PAC leader Japhta Masemola, who was released on Sunday after 27 years as a political prisoner, very nearly escaped from Robben Island's high-security prison about six years after starting his life sentence.

Masemola, who is talked of by former inmates as one of the most analytical thinkers ever imprisoned on the island, may have pulled off the sophisticated escape from the prison had his plan not been reported by a fellow prisoner.

His story sounds more like a movie plot than the real thing, but former island inmates confirmed it.

It happened towards the end of 1969. Masemola managed to make a master key and a raft, complete with paddles. An accomplice, who worked at the hospital, organised medical supplies in case of health problems at sea.

Towards the end of 1969, prison authorities found a prison master-key which Masemola was suspected of making by using prison tools and material.

## Doors

The key was hidden in his cell, and oil had been used to protect it from rust.

When the authorities tried it on cell doors and prison gates, it worked.

The search went on and the authorities found another surprise — a newly-built raft and paddles.

The amazing thing was that, for the two months, Masemola did not hide the raft. It was in full view of the prison authorities. But Masemola had disguised it. He folded it and used it as a gate for a section of the prison workshop. To the authorities it was just another gate.

And the paddles? He pretended they were instruments to clean the workshop chimneys.

The authorities also found geography books with bold marks on chapters on wind directions, from season to season.

A former Island inmate said the information in the book would have helped Ma-

semola and his comrade to choose the time of year when the prevalent winds would help them reach Blouberg Strand.

The geography student and expert on sea conditions was a Cape Town prisoner whom Masemola had included in the escape plot.

He planned to escape at night when Blouberg Strand lights would guide them.

After the prison authorities found out about the escape plan, they transferred Masemola to the "B-Section" of the prison where Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others were kept in single cells.

Asked to confirm the story this week, Masemola, now 60, just laughed.

"The head of the prison called me to the security office for interrogation about this, but I denied it," he said.

At B-Section, Masemola was not allowed to speak to prisoners from other general sections.

The PAC leader was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1963 by the Pretoria Supreme Court, along with five other members of his organisation.

He became the first modern political prisoner to be sent to Robben Island, where he spent nine years of his sentence in a single cell.

In 1986 he was transferred to Johannesburg Prison and last year he refused a release offer conditional on his renouncing violence.

While in prison, Masemola obtained a BA degree in anthropology. He is presently more than half-way through an honours degree.

Masemola said the only thing that made him bitter about his years in prison was that he was convicted by what he called "an illegal regime".

What are his impressions of the outside world? "I am still absorbing the social atmosphere, to form a balanced view of things," he said.

□ The Prisons Services yesterday declined to comment on the escape attempt.

# I was a successful ANC agent — Dobson

LONDON — Sue Dobson, the former Bureau for Information liaison official who disappeared from her post in the Namibian Administrator-General's office on September 23 said in a statement yesterday evening she and her husband, Peter, had been ANC activists for the past 10 years.

In the statement issued through the ANC's London office they said they had operated "undetected and with great success", gaining access to the plans and strategies of security organisations such as the National Intelligence Service and the SA Defence Force. They had left for London when it became clear they were in danger and had been told by the ANC to leave SA.

The ANC claimed in Lusaka on Wednesday that the couple had provided the organisation with invaluable information for

several years, but that it had ordered their hasty departure from SA when its intelligence sources indicated their arrest by security police was imminent.

Dobson, 26, and her husband, a former lieutenant in the SADF's Military Psychology Institute, have remained in hiding in London. It was understood they had been given refuge in the Soviet Embassy.

The ANC initially denied knowledge of the Dobsons, the Soviet Embassy has maintained a stony silence on the issue and the British Foreign Office has said it has no indication of the couple's whereabouts.

Beyond admitting that Dobson worked for the Bureau for Information, was seconded to Windhoek, and was considered for a junior translator's post in the President's office, the SA government has tried to play

the issue down. Officials have said that if she did have access to any confidential security information, it would not have been of any importance to the ANC.

It was however reliably understood that government was urgently investigating the Dobson affair.

The Dobsons strongly rejected attempts to portray them as mentally unstable, or KGB agents or Swapol informers.

"We both joined the ANC as responsible adults who were horrified by the repression of the 1976 uprisings, and by the continued repression of our fellow citizens."

"The ANC has consistently led the struggle for a just, democratic government in SA and we will continue to support the ANC in that struggle. We are proud of the

To Page 2

## Dobson talks

contribution we have been able to make. "We have both been ANC activists for the past decade. As such we carried out many tasks over that time, mainly concerned with gaining access to institutions of the Pretoria regime including security organisations (eg NIS, SADF)".

The Dobsons called on all SA whites to support the ANC and NDM.

Dobson said she worked as a journalist

on several daily newspapers, including the Citizen, and the SABC.

She said she had been involved in covering the Namibian elections and "was posted to Windhoek as a member of a covert team to undermine Swapo and promote the Administrator-General and the DTA. Some of the activities of this covert operation are in direct contravention of UN resolution 435" — Sapa.

From Page 2

# Intensify the struggle (11A) ANC

THE ANC has committed itself to an intensification of the struggle in SA and the imposition of sanctions

This was laid down in an ANC national executive committee policy statement released in London last night in response to the SA government's recently stated terms for negotiations with the ANC

The committee said there was no reason for the ANC to be diverted from the "road of struggle for the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic SA

"We call on the international community to intensify the struggle for the all-round isolation of the racist regime, including the imposition of all-round economic sanctions *8/Dec 20/10/89*.

While welcoming the recent release of ANC leaders in SA, the organisation called for the intensification of the mass defiance campaign and the escalation of the ANC's politico-military offensive.

The committee said SA anti-apartheid forces should give President F W de Klerk no respite "This is the time for us to go on

ADELE BALETA

the offensive, to intensify the struggle in all its forms

"We are at one with the assessment and guidance given by our leaders who we are certain will assume their rightful leadership role and promote the advancement of our liberation struggle"

It said their experience and maturity would lend a new quality to the "burgeoning revolt"

The committee said the ANC called on the people to rally around their leaders and unite in action for the

unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the hundreds of people imprisoned for taking part in the struggle,

unconditional release of all political detainees,

end of all political executions,

expulsion of the SADF from the townships,

ending of the state of emergency; and

unbanning of all people's organisations

# Asvat 2 'told me they killed the doctor'

A WITNESS yesterday described to a tense Rand Supreme Court how the two men accused of killing Dr Abu Baker Asvat had told him "they had killed a doctor in Rockville Soweto and they were looking for a hiding place because the police were looking for them".

Asvat, health secretary of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, was killed in his surgery in Rockville, Soweto in January this year.

Two men, Zakhele Nhlekisana Cyril Mbatha, 21, and Thulani Shelela Johannes Nicholas Dlamini, 20, are appearing on seven charges one count of murder, two of unlawful possession of firearms, two of robbery, and two of unlawful possession of ammunition.

They have pleaded not guilty. The charges relate to two separate

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

incidents the killing of Asvat early this year, and an incident in Nongoma in Natal where the state alleges Dlamini and Mbatha, with two others, robbed the Ekubuzeni store of R550 and cigarettes worth R600, in June last year.

The witness, whose name may not be disclosed, said Mbatha and Dlamini had come to his Soweto hostel room in February last year, and told him of their involvement in the killing.

"They told me they had appeared on TV and in the newspapers," the witness said.

The two wanted to stay at his place "temporarily because they wanted to look for a shack in the Vereeniging area

"They said they would not go home (to Nongoma, Natal) because they had robbed a shop".

The man said he had known the two from their childhood in Nongoma.

He reported the men to the Protea police station at dawn on a Friday in February and they were arrested later that morning.

The next day he found "Mbatha's reference book, wrapped in a plastic paper, in a dustbin outside my hostel".

He said when the men told him they had killed a "doctor in Soweto", Dlamini was doing the talking, though Mbatha did not deny anything, he said.

Counsel for Dlamini and Mbatha said the two would deny the witness's evidence because the men on trial "had no reason to discuss anyth-

ing with this man (the witness) because he hated Dlamini, who was from a different tribal faction".

It was also put to the witness that he "hated Dlamini" because he felt a relative of his had been killed by an uncle of Dlamini's.

Earlier yesterday Dr Aboobaker Ebrahim Seedat, a medical partner to Asvat's brother, told how on arrival at Asvat's Soweto surgery he saw him "lying on the floor with a lot of money spilled around him and the desk and draws in disarray".

Seedat was asked to gather Asvat's personal belongings and the money on the floor.

The state alleges the two stole R135 from Asvat's rooms.

However Seedat said the loose notes he found on Asvat's desk after the incident totalled R190 and he had not added the loose change.

The trial began on Monday this week.

On Wednesday a flood of painful memories were released as Albertina Sisulu recounted how she found Asvat lying in a pool of blood in his surgery.

Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front and wife of recently released African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, was a nursing sister at the surgery. In the emotion-charged courtroom, she recalled the events of the afternoon of January 27 this year.

"While a certain patient, Mandla Nkwanyana, was in the consulting room with Dr Asvat, I heard the grill door (a security door at the entrance of the consulting room) click—as if it was being opened—I thought Mandla was coming in with Dr Asvat after the examination," Sisulu said.

"Shortly after I heard a gunshot followed by a scream. To me it was the doctor's voice. I called on him and he did not answer. I ran through the back door and I screamed for help.

"While outside shouting for help I heard another gunshot and saw two young men running towards the gate outside."

She waved down an ambulance that had arrived to fetch a patient and asked the driver to chase the two men and returned to the consulting rooms to find Asvat "lying in a pool of blood".

She said the man in the surgery whose particulars she had taken and whom she heard Asvat talking to before the shot rang could have been Dlamini.

Another witness, Thandi Tshabalala, told the court how she ran towards the surgery after hearing two shots.

She found the doctor lying down, still alive, she said with tears rolling down her cheeks.

"I tried to talk to him but his lips were moving and he was showing me with his hands that the telephone was on the wall.

"He was already dead when the police arrived."

Tshabalala identified Dlamini as the person she saw at the window of the consultation room armed with a gun.

After leaving the courtroom Sisulu told the *Weekly Mail* that "standing in the witness box took me back to the day when Dr Asvat was shot—it was very hurtful.

"Dr Asvat was my child. Losing him was like losing my own child.

"But then he was also a father to me. He was also the person I went to when I was in trouble."

CAPE TOWN 20/10/89 (11A)

# Dobsons proud of long ANC link

LONDON — Mrs Sue Dobson, the former Bureau for Information official who disappeared from her post in the Namibian administrator-general's office in September, said here yesterday that she and her husband Peter had been ANC activists for the past 10 years

In a statement issued through the ANC's London office, they said they had operated "undetected and with great success", gaining access to the plans and strategies of institutions such as the National Intelligence Service and the defence force

Mrs Dobson, 26, and her husband, a former lieutenant in the SADF's Military Psychology Institute, rejected attempts to portray them as mentally unstable, or KGB agents or police informers

"We both joined the ANC as responsible adults who were horrified by the repression of the 1976 uprisings and by the continued repression of our fellow citizens

"The ANC has consistently led the struggle for a just, democratic government in South Africa and we will continue to support the ANC in that struggle

"We are proud of the contribution we have been able to make," they said. — Sapa

# Oppressed need protest and a sword, says Sisulu

Cape Times 20/10/89

JOHANNESBURG — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday that oppressed people could give up neither protests nor the sword

Pressure on both fronts was the key to victory.

"No Afrikaner in our position would ever renounce violence and consider that a solution. Oh, no! When they were struggling against the British that would have been tantamount to treason"

The ANC would never be prepared to suspend its armed struggle as a precondition to talks, he said

Nevertheless, he and his comrades agreed that the door was open for talks but that "the ball is in the government's court"

Mr Sisulu has said President F W de

Klerk's promises of reform have the familiar ring of his predecessor's delaying tactics, but that he and his colleagues nevertheless were optimistic about a "bright South Africa for all".

Mr Sisulu said he was impressed with the new attitudes prevailing among the white population, particularly Afrikaner youth

However, he expressed distress over the violence in Natal, saying he was disappointed the peace efforts initiated by Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha had not been sustained.

"It was a very good effort and we ought all to encourage further steps in that direction," he said. He said the ANC was "depressed" by the violence in Natal — Sapa

W. Mail 20-26/10/89

## UDF elections

**ALBERTINA SISULU** was re-elected Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front at the restricted organisation's regional annual meeting on Saturday.

Seven other executive members were also elected on Saturday.

The UDF publicity secretariat said in a statement that the election, the first in more than four years, was held at a secret venue in the Transvaal and attended by representatives from 10 area committees. Members of UDF youth, women, civic and student organisations were also present.

Sisulu also shares the position of UDF national president with Natal's Archie Gumede.

Earlier this year an interim Cape UDF executive was elected and it is expected that a formal regional executive committee will be elected later this year.

(11A)

8/Day 20/10/89

# MDM provides tight security for released ANC leaders

11A

**THE** mass democratic movement (MDM) has thrown a ring of tight security around the seven released ANC leaders

The MDM has so far refused to comment on security arrangements but a visit to the houses where the seven freed ANC men were staying showed that measures were being taken to safeguard them

No members of the MDM's National Reception Committee (NRC) could be reached for comment yesterday, but it is clear so far they are taking the welfare and security of the released men very seriously.

The home of Andrew Mlangeni, one of the seven, was closely guarded yesterday and strangers were questioned

**SIPHO NGCOBO**

The same security arrangements applied at the Orlando West home of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, where another of the seven released leaders, Wilton Mkwayi, is staying

At the Holy Cross Anglican Church where they were interviewed by the media yesterday, three men guarded the gate.

A woman who said she was a foreign journalist was denied access to the church's toilet by the men.

An MDM leader asked a Business Day reporter who interviewed Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada how she had managed to breach "our security network"

The MDM's security network was in full and effective operation almost

immediately after the men's release early last Sunday.

A wide area in front of Sisulu's house was quickly cordoned off with strong ropes and only the media was allowed in the space between the cordon and the home's gate as thousands of people pushed and stampeded in an attempt to catch a glimpse at the ANC leader.

Activists with two-way radios stood guard at the gate while others moved up and down the premises.

At 10.20am, Sisulu came out of the house to greet the masses. A group of MDM leaders like Cyril Ramaphosa, the movement's publicity man Murphy Morobe, and security men formed a protective human chain around him.

## Court order on taxi group over dance



## THE PRISON RELEASES

# I doubt you'll ever work for a white man, auntie warned young Sisulu

**ANTHONY SAMPSON,**

first editor of Drum, describes the development of Walter Sisulu's political credo during the fifties

**O**VER 30 years ago in 1957, I had the opportunity of a long interview with Walter Sisulu, when I was preparing a book about the treason trial in which he was one of the 156 accused.

I saw him in his small house in 7372 Orlando West, near the railway line, in his sitting-room with well-polished furniture, a painting of moorland cottages, a building society calendar and a photograph of Mao Tse Tung — and one of the very few telephones in the township which (it was assumed) the police helped to supply in order to tap it.

His four children were running in and out, overseen by his wife Albertina who, as he put it, was "the backbone of the home, a great inspiration to all my political activities"

After I sent him a draft of my chapter he wrote me a long letter, amplifying and adding to the quotations.

Sisulu was already established as the policy-maker of the African National Congress and depicted by the government as a sinister communist influence. He had certainly, he explained to me, been much heartened by having visited Russia and China before in 1953.

It made him feel no longer inferior, and that half the world was on his side; and he was much impressed that China, even poorer than Africa, was gradually working its way to prosperity. He found China more welcoming, and more relevant, than Russia which he found "too like England". He was worried by the cult of Stalin which was still evident, and admired Khrushchev when he later led the attack against Stalin. "There was too much of Stalin in everything."

He explained that he would certainly have visited America if he had been invited; but that he was disappointed by Washington's obsession with anti-communism as opposed to liberation. He blamed John Foster Dulles, then secretary of state, for losing America the prestige it had inherited from Abraham Lincoln and the fight against slavery.

He talked at length about his childhood in Transkei, how he was bought up by his aunts and uncles. His family were Christians who tried to instil him with respect for their white bosses, but he refused to be polite to them. "I doubt whether you'll be allowed to work for a white man," his aunt warned him.

He was inspired by the history of the Xhosas and their struggles against the early white settlers. By his mid-20s he was (he explained in his letter) "already a firm believer in the unity of the African people at the beginning of my political nationalistic attitudes ... I broadened my outlook politically and literally by continuous studies and practical experience in my daily contact with the leaders and masses of the people."

When he joined the ANC Youth League, led by young intellectual Anton Lembede, he saw himself as a man of the people among the scholarly colleagues. Like Mandela, Tambo and others, he was at first strongly opposed to the influence of communists, but acquired a growing admiration for their courage and lack of racialism; and the defiance campaign convinced him that Indians and whites were prepared to suffer with blacks.

His own commitment galvanised when he became secretary-general of Congress, its only full-time official, in 1949. He remained always loyal to the Congress, he retained his own closeness to the African people, his pragmatic sense of what was politically possible.

I last saw Sisulu in the Rivonia trial before he was sentenced with Mandela and others, before he went into a quarter-century of imprisonment, and emerged as a world figure. But it is that conversation in Orlando, when he was scarcely known by the world outside, which sticks in my mind.

W. Mar 1 20-26/10/89

## THE PRISON RELEASES ... THE MONTHS-LONG BUILD-UP TO SUNDAY'S DRAMA



Close to home ... Wilton Mkwayi clasps a proffered hand of welcome as he arrives in Orlando West  
Picture GIDEON MENDEL



Oscar Mpetha is enveloped by family and friends, come to greet him at the airport  
Picture Afrapix

# The Mandela visits that led to freedom

BY THAMI MKHWANAZI

FIVE of the eight prisoners released at the weekend were eating a sumptuous dinner of fillet steak accompanied by wine, served at the warders' mess near the Mandela prison home, when they heard a television announcer say they were going to be freed.

The extraordinary meal — the first fillet they had tasted in 26 years, said Wilton Mkwayi — capped a dramatic build-up of hush-hush meetings between Nelson Mandela and his Pollsmoor Prison colleagues and increasing concessions from the prisoners' jailers.

This week, Mkwayi sat in the lounge of Mandela's home in Orlando West (his own home was sold last year when his wife died) and recalled that "we had always shrugged off release rumours as trash until we saw the signs in July."

The first sign came when prison authorities announced that he, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba were no longer to wear prison-issued clothing when escorted on visits to doctors or lawyers in Cape Town.

"They told us to inform our relatives to bring us clothes," he said. "Progressive Indian traders in Cape Town sent us each two sets of clothes — a suit and sportswear."

Meanwhile, Sisulu, who had been separated from the others in Pollsmoor for some time, had been accorded more privileges. His visits from his loved ones were no longer limited to the official 40 minutes, said Mkwayi: "He often received whole day visits from his family. They also allowed us to visit him in his section fortnightly or after three weeks."

These moves were followed by numerous visits by the five Rivonia trialists in Pollsmoor (Elias Motsoaledi was still on Robben Island) to Mandela in his house on the prison grounds at Victor Verster Prison.

"We used to arrive in the morning and left Madhuba's place after 2pm.



Our main topic was our rumoured release and that of political prisoners in general. During discussions we discovered Mandela himself had similar talks with the prison top brass. Mandela, he said, was concerned about the release of old and sick prisoners, as well as lifers and others who had served many years.

"We got wind Sisulu was to be released, but the matter was shelved because of clashes between the Namibian security forces and Swapo guerrillas who were returning home from exile. When that was over, the September election campaign came in the way."

Their last visit to Mandela was the longest, on October 10, Mkwayi said. They were taken from the house after 5pm, apparently to make way for another group of visitors, Mass

Democratic Movement leaders Murphy Morobe, Cyril Ramaphosa, Albertina Sisulu and Cas Saloojee.

During this meeting the five men were kept in the warders' mess. They were greeted with Simba chips and wine and treated to a sumptuous dinner of vegetables and fillet, he said.

"We'd been watching TV all along. Then came this announcement at 8pm. I couldn't believe my eyes."

They reached Pollsmoor prison after 10 pm, Mkwayi said, where they were greeted by excited common-law prisoners who chanted: "The leaders are going." They had heard about it on the 9pm radio news.

"I didn't sleep that night. My heart was beating like a cheap watch."

By that time Sisulu had been removed from his private quarters and was among the others in three large

cells. Motsoaledi had been brought to a separate part of Pollsmoor.

Warders and prisoners who brought breakfast the next morning shared their excitement. "Still I did not believe it until it was announced we were to leave at 5am on Friday, and we would be flown to Johannesburg, and Ndobe (Mhlaba's clan name) to PE. My heart beat harder, and prison memories of 26 years poured out.

"On Friday, we got up at 4am, had a shower and jumped into our suits. Our personal belongings had already been bundled together into vehicles when we were whisked to the airport, one in each car with two warden escorts. We smiled, laughed and joked, and were sad when we left Mhlaba at the airport for his flight home."

At Jan Smuts airport, the five, including Motsoaledi, were taken to the

A fine seam ... Thirty years ago, Walter Sisulu regularly used this shop as an escape route. This weekend the elderly tailors welcomed him home. See page 11

Picture: Afrapix

Johannesburg Prison, Diepkloof, known as Sun City. "On arrival in Sun City's reception office we saw goods marked Jafta Masemola, and knew he was also going home."

It transpired that Masemola had been given a new suit by the prison and flown to visit Mandela that morning, returning the same night.

"We were kept in separate cells at Sun City and met Jeff in the courtyard the next morning. He had been on a hunger strike for some time over the conditions in Sun City and had to call off the fast when he honoured Madhuba's invitation.

"After we had been told we were to get up at 2am on Sunday to be taken home, we spent Saturday talking about our Island experiences.

"Indeed we were up at 2am. How could we sleep anyway?"

"On arrival in the Sun City reception office at 4am we saw a forest of plainclothes men we concluded were security policemen."

"The doors opened minutes after 5am and we were escorted, each to a waiting car, and driven home in this manner. Each one of us was driven in a separate car, in front of which was another car occupied by several policemen. Behind the van carrying our prison luggage of 26 years and right behind the van was another car. In other words, the six of us were escorted home in 24 vehicles, four vehicles for each one of us."

The police, he said, "were strangely polite and bade me goodbye as they offloaded my luggage at Madhuba's house."

OSCAR MPETHA says he is still a member of the South African Communist Party and still considers himself president of the African National Congress in the Western Cape, the position he held when the organisation was banned.

The veteran trade unionist said he was ready to function again within the Food and Allied Workers' Union, which grew out of the Food and Canning Workers' Union he helped found.

His energy and high spirits belying his 80 years, Mpetha described the past few days since his release as "hectic" but "wonderful". A "welcome home" rally is scheduled for Sunday at Nyanga stadium.

Questions were limited, at the behest of the press committee liaising between Mpetha and the media, to matters non-political.

But Mpetha said he believed the

## Mpetha: Free eight months early

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

anti-apartheid movement in the country was "further along the road to unity than ever before."

He gave Nelson Mandela all the credit for the releases. Mandela had told him two months ago that their release was imminent, Mpetha said.

"He said before it happened he would call us again."

The "call" came on October 3. He joined the other six for a secret meeting at Mandela's Victor Verster prison-house near Paarl.

"Since then I was just waiting for the final word," he said.

Last Sunday "at 4.30am the door was flung open. Three high officials from the prison came in. They said:

"We have come to see you about this question of your release."

"I signed a lot of papers. Then I phoned Esther (his daughter).

"I heard a noise and realised she was not alone; there were a lot of people with her. She said: 'Wait — I am coming now to fetch you.'"

His five-year sentence was due to end on June 6 1990.

A diabetic who has had one leg amputated, Mpetha began his sentence in Pollsmoor before being transferred to Grootte Schuur Hospital.

He began to write up his life story, something he intends to complete.

At Grootte Schuur he spent his time exercising in the morning — "the bicycle, push-ups and weight-lifting" — and, in the afternoons, typing and knitting. He produces exquisite, intri-

cately patterned garments.

But he would like to get involved in union work again — "it's in my blood ... but I would prefer at this stage not to go on organising but rather to keep the books".

He dismissed queries about his health (he has a full-time nurse) with: "I'm fine, no problems."

He was irritated by the judge who, when sentencing him, cited Mpetha's age and poor health as among the reasons he was reluctantly imposing a mandatory minimum sentence.

When he arrived at Pollsmoor he heard the receiving officer say "Do you think he'll make it?"

"Well, I've shown them that they are not my God," Mpetha said.

Most of all, he would like to leave South Africa for a period.

"I would like to go to England or America and be free for a time and then come back to start work."

# THE PRISON RELEASES ... THIS CHAP DE KLERK IS A THINKER, SAYS SISULU

## A lunch date on the edge of Sisulu's bed

HALFWAY through a lunch of meat and rice in the bedroom of his Soweto home this week, Walter Sisulu suddenly threw aside his knife and fork

"Hey, let me just leave out these things," he said, picking up a spoon "They're just wasting my time."

The habits of a lifetime in prison didn't die easily, he agreed, but added quickly that in all other respects, he was back in business

To sit with the elderly ANC veteran — perched on the edge of his bed — as he enjoyed the unusual informality of a private chat rather than a formal press conference, was to be struck by mental agility, charisma, and energy which belied his 77 years

His homecoming had, he said, been "a thrilling experience", especially insofar as the schoolchildren who had come to pay respects were concerned

"Let me say that I have never seen such discipline as I saw in these kids," he said "In the first group I addressed, you could hear a pin drop when I talked. When I was finished, they went without any trouble."

"Senior people would have found it difficult to behave that way — I will never forget it. And what's more, they took the message home. Some of the parents came to tell me they were so happy because I had told the youth about education, that they must pay particular attention to it whatever else they do."

Throughout his wide-ranging talks with the *Weekly Mail*, Sisulu's door opened and closed as admirers and friends arrived to see "Ntate". Some just looked and smiled, others came in and kissed his hand

Sisulu said he had been able to speak to several ANC colleagues since his release, including the restricted Govan Mbeki in Port Elizabeth and exiled officials Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi

ANC president Oliver Tambo had wanted to telephone the Sisulu home, he said, but had been told by his doctor that it would be unwise

"So he asked his wife, Adelaide, to tell me he was highly moved by the way we have handled the situation, and excited about the releases. In fact, Adelaide put it this way, she said this one day had done for him what it would have taken the doctors six months to achieve."

Even Joe Slovo — "not a chap who is easily excited" — was impressed when Sisulu was able to speak to him on the phone, he said

Sisulu had received a letter of congratulation from US President

**THAMI MKHWANAZI and SHAWN JOHNSON sit on the edge of Walter Sisulu's bed while the ANC leader — in between bites of lunch — talks about Mandela, PW and FW**

George Bush, he said, and expected to meet a wide range of local and international leaders in the future

But, contrary to reports, he and his colleagues had no immediate plans to visit Lusaka for consultations "We have not even applied for passports. It will have to wait for a matter of weeks, maybe more."

Sisulu thought it likely a "welcome home" rally would be organised — "the people want it" — but said his precise plans over the coming weeks were still subject to discussion

It was "still guesswork" as to when Nelson Mandela would be freed, he said, "but I do not think it will be this year"

"The government is excited about this situation. They have fears because they have seen the response of the people, they think that there will be chaos, riots, revolution"

"But we will press the point that everything has been so disciplined and orderly." Sisulu regards FW de Klerk as being "a little bit more balanced than PW Botha who was, after all, merely an emotional agitator"

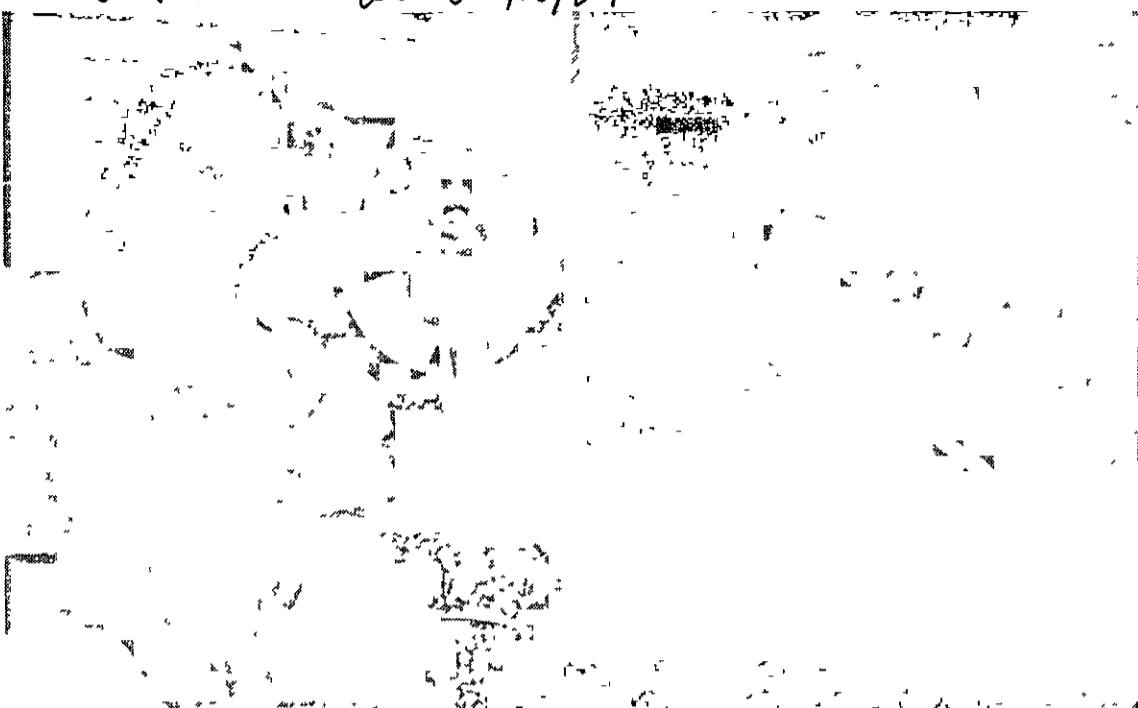
"This chap De Klerk is a thinker. Of course he's still a Nationalist, and there's no change in the Nationalist policy, but there is a change of style in keeping with his diplomacy and personality"

Sisulu was "impressed by the ability of De Klerk to control the situation" during the government's leadership crisis "He got the entire cabinet behind him, and not only that, he was not small-minded. They were not petty — they praised Botha"

He said the first he knew of the meeting between Botha and Mandela was "on the 6 o'clock TV news" but that he had been able to consult Mandela afterwards. And "I will be trying to see him again in the near future"

There was great hope for the anti-apartheid struggle in the calibre of the new generation of leaders, said Sisulu "I'm really impressed with the MDM leaders I have met. They are steady young men, balanced. I am struck by their demeanour, their utterances, their planning"

"I think they are absolutely wonderful — more organised than we were at the same age, more systematic"



A prison memory ... the absence of children. Ahmed Kathrada spent time with his nieces after returning home this week  
Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

## 'I never felt it was too high a price'

**After spending more than a quarter of a century in prison, Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada admits to being baffled by cordless telephones, personal computers and mimibus taxis**

But, he insists, he does not bear psychological scars from his experience

Sitting in his brother's home in Lenasia this week, Kathrada said it was his unwavering political beliefs that saved him and his colleagues from despair

"Over the years I thought a lot about Oscar Wilde's lines," he says "Wilde wrote: 'Prison weeds, like prison weeds, grow well in prison air. It is only what is good in man that wastes and withers there'"

"It hasn't applied in my experience — on the contrary, I learned a great deal about human relationships while in prison"

"Political prisoners generally have a positive approach that carries them through. I used the opportunity to study, and was enriched by getting to know my fellow prisoners. They were fascinating — different points of view and all different backgrounds — from highly educated to illiterate"

He was already fairly knowledgeable about prison life when he received his life sentence, having first been jailed at the age of 17.

The deprivation he felt most keenly, he says, was the absence of children "The inability to even see a child was very painful. Occasionally, when we were working in the quarry on Robben Island one of the warders' children would come close. But they would be chased away before we could see them"

Kathrada's first physical contact

**After spending half his life behind bars, Ahmed Kathrada seemed almost inexplicably relaxed about his release. He spoke to SHAWN JOHNSON**

with a child after his conviction at the Rivonia trial was in 1983 — 23 years after his sentencing "A friend who came to visit brought his child. It left an indelible impression on my mind, and the novelty never wore off"

This week, looking almost inexplicably relaxed and healthy, Kathrada gave little outward sign of having been removed from South African society for almost half of his life

"Once I made the decision to go underground," he says, "I knew that I would be arrested, that they would catch up with me sooner or later. But I never once felt it was too high a price to pay"

He concedes that when he went to prison, he did not realise it would be for so long "But I didn't set myself a time frame because I knew it was going to be a long struggle"

Since his release on Sunday he has been engaged in continual meetings, and has had little time to savour the world he left behind so long ago, or to ruminate over how it has changed

Lenasia came as something of a shock to him, he says — "when we went to prison it was just a few houses and a prefabricated school" — but Soweto seems unchanged, "just as dilapidated, only much bigger"

His only venture into Johannesburg has been to visit veteran activist Helen Joseph, and what struck him most forcefully about the city was

how the highways cut travelling time to the suburbs

But the "culture shock" he has experienced has been surprisingly limited, he says with an air of faint bemusement

"I just haven't felt much different, for some reason. Even the doctor who was giving me my check up before I was released asked me why I wasn't excited — my blood pressure was like a baby's"

Kathrada has not had to use the pills which were prescribed to help him through the adjustment, although he doesn't rule out the possibility of a delayed reaction

His biggest practical problem has been to work out how to replace the blade on his razor, and he has had to rely on his friend, attorney Ismail Ayob, to explain the concept of fax machines to him. He is fascinated by, if still ignorant of, computers ("my image of the things was that they filled entire rooms"), and has yet to see the inside of a South African library or hotel — he'd never got round to it before his imprisonment.

"But otherwise, I'm quite enjoying being pampered," he says

Ironically enough, the advent of television in the prison cells in 1986 played a part in smoothing the path for his return

"The SABC is crude, of course, but it showed us a lot of things in the outside world that we were not aware of. And we were skilled at reading between the lines"

Kathrada says he owes a great debt to the older political prisoners — in particular Walter Sisulu.

"Even when his own wife and children were in jail, he was an inspiration, I could always turn to him for help."

The Transvaal Indian Congress veteran has been overwhelmed by the reception he has received, and by the growth of the resistance forces. He believes the FW de Klerk government represents a "change of style" and is more sensitive to pressures

What will he do now? Kathrada remains unequivocal about his loyalties — he will do what the organisation to which he has devoted his life wants him to do

"We are at the disposal of the organisation," he says "I have a personal wish which I hope I will be allowed to pursue — it is within the struggle, of course, doing something which I think would be useful"

"But we shall see. I am subject to the organisation's discipline and will do what they decide is best"

Until then, he is still trying to make time for a "proper session" with his family. And working on the riddle of the new-fangled razor

## THE LONELIEST PRISONER COMES OUT WITH LITTLE FANFARE

**JAPHTA MASEMOLA**, the second longest serving political prisoner, may be free but seems to be as lonely outside as in his prison cell.

The return of the Pan Africanist Congress leader, who served 26 years for sabotage, was a quiet affair. Only a handful of people turned up to welcome him home, and he appears to have few links with the organisation.

Seeing Masemola is like visiting any other family in Atteridgeville — there is none of the strict security of the houses of the five Rivonia men.

Although married with a son, he is at present living in his sister's crowded home. And he has no job.

Masemola was released at 2.15am on Sunday morning but only arrived home four hours later. Among those who went to No 26 Makgatho Street, to welcome him were members of the local Anglican Church, neighbours and the president of the PAC, Zeph Mothopeng.

At the age of 34 Masemola was sentenced on July 2 1963 to life imprisonment

**By VUSI GUNENE**

ment for sabotage. He spent 23 years on Robben Island before being transferred to Johannesburg Prison in August 1986.

Throughout his time in prison he has taken up issues on behalf of prisoners, going on hunger strike and writing letters to the authorities. As a result he was the last of his group of 15 to be released.

Masemola was among the political prisoners who, in 1985, refused the conditional release offer by the then state president, PW Botha.

He told the *Weekly Mail* that he first heard of his release last Wednesday.

"I was told that there was good chance that I was to be released with other political prisoners from Pollsmoor — but I did not know who they were," he said.

"I was told to pack my things and on Thursday a Brigadier Louw came to inform me that Mandela wanted to see me."

"I was flown to Victor Verster Prison where I spent the whole day with Nelson discussing our release and other political-

ly related issues. I was then flown back to Johannesburg where I met Sisulu, Mkhwayi, Kathrada, Motaledi and Mlangeni. We spent the whole of Saturday together, chatting about the past and looking forward to our release. It was a noisy and happy reunion — since I had left the five on Robben Island in August 1986."

Although Masemola was happy to be with family and friends after 26 years, he said the release left a "deep bitterness".

This anger stemmed from the trial in which he and another 13 were convicted of sabotage.

"Our sentences did not warrant years that we had spent in jail for the simple reason that I was interrogated for three months without any access to lawyers until the trial resumed."

"Our lawyers saw us for the first time when we were in the dock, without having had a chance to consult us."

Asked about his views on negotiations, Masemola said they were "an exercise in futility."

"There cannot be any meaningful nego-

tiations with the people who are in the government circles and therefore there cannot be any balance of forces between the oppressed and the rulers," he said.

Asked to comment on the defiance campaign called by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), Masemola said he was not against the marches as he believed that "people have the right to express their feelings through demonstrations and marches".

But he agreed with Mothopeng's statement that there was no need for marches "as a point had already been made."

Masemola said he did not believe the PAC and the African National Congress would forge links.

"The gap between the ANC and PAC will not diminish because of ideological differences."

Masemola told the *Weekly Mail* he had no immediate plans and that he would be "out of circulation" because he had to have an operation.

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No, Jomo, the split won't solve soccer's problems

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THE WEEKLY MAIL The paper for a changing South Africa

Volume 5, Number 41 Friday October 20 1989 to Thursday October 26 1989

Eleventh-hour confession of man about to hang ...

Death-row policeman tells of SB 'hit-squad'

W-Mail 20/10 - 26/10/89

Holomisa to Buthelezi: I'll sue



General Bantu Holomisa

By CARMEL RICKARD

OPEN hostility between the leaders of South Africa's two largest 'homelands' erupted this week with Transkei's Major General Bantu Holomisa threatening to sue Fwazulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi for defamation.

Holomisa took exception to remarks by Buthelezi at the Inkatha Women's Brigade Conference last weekend. Buthelezi said the general should stop peddling his political axe and challenged him to attempt a coup in Ciskei and KwaZulu. The Transkei leader's words were already very filthy and could not be more soiled by orchestrating a coup in Fwazulu, Buthelezi added.

Holomisa replied by saying Buthelezi had an unfortunate knack of annoying both friend and foe alike and had alienated everybody serious.

© Continued overleaf

W-Mail 20-26/10/89

Rivonia six speak out: No plan for 'second' ANC wing

By GAVIN EVANS and SHAUN JOHNSON

THE release of six ANC leaders will not lead to the establishment of a formal "internal wing" — but it has provided an enormous boost for the movement.

Even though the leaders are proceeding with caution in order not to jeopardise the release of Nelson Mandela, their presence — without restrictions — is galvanising resistance activity.

They are expected to address a massive "welcome home" rally in Johannesburg next Sunday, in what could be the largest display of support in the 77-year history of the organisation.

It is even possible that the six — Walter Sisulu, Wilton Mkwayi, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni — will be joined at the rally by their restricted colleague Govan Mbeki.

Regional rallies are expected to follow if the Johannesburg meeting goes off smoothly.

The leaders have stressed that any actions they undertake will be with the sanction of the ANC, and of internally-based structures.

In a wide-ranging series of interviews with the Weekly Mail, the men indicated that their priority is to consult their organisations and inform themselves fully of political

●To PAGE 2



The sweet taste of non-prison food. Walter Sisulu munches his lunch during an interview with the Weekly Mail. (See page 10) Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

By IVOR POWELL

A FORMER security policeman on death row yesterday claimed he was part of a police death-squad that brutally killed leading human rights activist Griffiths Mxenge.

Butana Almond Nofomela, who was granted a last-minute stay of execution last night, claimed in an affidavit that he was one of four South African security policemen who killed Mxenge under orders from senior officers in the force eight years ago.

Nofomela said in the affidavit that he was partially responsible for eight other political killings ordered by superior officers and that all but one of the victims were connected to the African National Congress.

It was unclear at the time of going to press whether the confession was genuine, or merely a well-hatched plot to escape the noose waiting for Nofomela early this morning. If it is shown to be true, it will be the first major lead to emerge from the series of political assassinations in recent years.

In his affidavit Nofomela gave a detailed description of the Mxenge killing and implicated police officers, including a brigadier and a captain. According to sources in Natal, Nofomela's account ties closely with the facts of the case.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee granted Nofomela a last-minute stay of execution yesterday evening after Lawyers for Human Rights had submitted the affidavit in an urgent application for the hanging to be halted. The reprieve will remain in force until the allegations have been investigated.

The killing of Mxenge at Umlazi Sports Stadium on November 19, 1981 was a peculiarly brutal one. The Durban attorney was butchered with knives, his throat was cut and his ears cut off.

His body was found the next morning with a 21cm gash across the throat, 45 stab wounds and a crushed skull.

Two fierce dogs that Mxenge kept for protection had been poisoned a few days earlier. Griffiths Mxenge's wife, Victoria, was shot dead a few years later in the driveway of her home. Both killings remain unsolved.

Nofomela, 32, who was based at security branch headquarters in Pretoria, claimed he was sent to Durban by senior officers in the

Affidavit implicates top officers in murder of lawyer Griffiths Mxenge

●To PAGE 2

W-Mail 20-26/10/89  
**Holomisa may sue in bitter feud of homeland leaders**

●From PAGE 1  
 ly engaged in the body politic of the region". He said he would begin legal proceedings unless the kwaZulu leader made a public apology by Sunday. The extraordinary tension between the "homeland" leaders comes exactly a year after they met in Durban for congenial talks. The cracks in their relationship became public after Buthelezi was invited by Transkei President Tutor Ndamase to a meeting of heads of the "independent and self-governing states".

Buthelezi turned down the invitation in a letter slamming Umtata for having taken "the quasi-kind of independence which Pretoria offered it".

His letter demanded that the Transkei reincorporate itself into South Africa before he would join the talks and indicated some irritation at Holomisa's meeting with the ANC.

Holomisa replied by saying a meeting with Oliver Tambo was these days "not an issue to write home about" — a special stung for Buthelezi who is still waiting for a reply to his request that Tambo meet him.

This sparked a furious response by Buthelezi at the IWB rally. He said he was leader by the will of the people — "not through the barrel of any gun and not through Pretoria".

Holomisa has written to Buthelezi saying he read reports of the speech "with disbelief and amazement". He asked if Buthelezi was really concerned with the future of South Africa or whether he was "safeguarding (his) cosy position and the purse attached to it".

He asked whether Buthelezi was anxious "to placate some political masters so that when the wheels of true liberation start moving, your name can be proposed in conservative and reactionary circles for the position of national leadership".

"People will respect you," he told Buthelezi, "if you resign as a homeland leader and pursue the national liberation struggle from a different platform."

TOP-LEVEL police officers visited African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu in Soweto this week to ask him, "as the leader here", to put a stop to the welcoming celebrations outside his home.

The arrival of Major-General JJ Viktor, SAP Divisional Commissioner for Soweto, and Colonel IF van der Merwe of the security branch, was the first sign that the authorities might be planning to clamp down on the wave of celebrations which has followed the release of the eight political prisoners.

And Viktor — the same man who fingerprinted and charged Sisulu 26 years ago — was exposed to the ANC veteran's famed statesmanship in the remarkable encounter.

Weekly Mail reporters had just completed an interview with Sisulu on Wednesday when the police arrived. A meeting took place in Sisulu's bedroom, where he was finishing his lunch.

This is a shortened version of the

W-Mail 20-26/10/89  
**Tug-of-tongues as Sisulu faces general**

●From PAGE 1  
 By SHAUN JOHNSON and THAMI MKHWANAZI

discussion

Viktor It is my duty to come and see you I wanted to come on Sunday already but I know you were very busy. First of all, if you have any problems about people worrying you here, by all means I am available.

Secondly, you know this is a public street and we've had complaints, people saying that people stand here in the street, you have your flags here I think you've had your welcome now — and as far as I'm concerned you are very welcome back in Soweto — but I think it's time that we come to some agreement ...

Sisulu No ...

Viktor If I must as a policeman according to the law of my, of the country, I'll act. But I wouldn't like to do that.

Sisulu I thank you, general, for your reasonable approach in discussing this matter. But I want you to appreciate one thing, the amazing discipline. You must take the entire situation into consideration. People are moved. You don't want them to be bottled up. You see.

Viktor When it comes to politics, Mr Sisulu, I'm not concerned. I'm a professional policeman ... I know what you want to tell me. The people are very grateful, they want to welcome you.

Sisulu. No, General Viktor, it's not a question of politics. I'm saying in the interests of the country you don't want people bottled up. When they are well behaved that is in the interests of the police, of everybody — you don't want to provoke anything. Viktor Uh, uh.

Sisulu Precisely. Now that is why I say that you must appreciate that aspect. For a few days, the people have come. We are not making a permanent station here, but people are coming, they are the children of this township, they know that I am.

Viktor It's not a township anymore, it's a city.

Sisulu (Laughing) Of course yes, okay. They are proud. They come from the city, they are interested, and everything is properly organised.

And you know what we, which you should appreciate, do when they come in? They come for two minutes, and we say 'thank you for coming, please go'. Now general, if that is not really an orderly deed, then what is?

W-Mail 20-26/10/89  
**Rivonia men reveal their plans: No 'second' ANC**

●From PAGE 1

developments. They said they suspected the government was attempting to create division by creating "two ANC's".

"There is no question of separating the ANC," said Sisulu. "We have structures existing inside the country through the underground machinery."

Kathrada said he had no doubt that President FW de Klerk was attempting to divide the ANC into two wings, "one supposedly led by Mr Nelson Mandela, and one external", but said this attempt would fail.

"There is only one ANC. Its headquarters are in Lusaka and we have every reason to believe it exists within South Africa. Our leadership is absolutely united, and we owe our allegiance to the one ANC."

However, while the ANC and PAC remain banned organisations, the releases have provided both with a far more visible internal presence.

The six stressed they were not themselves "the ANC leadership", and have underplayed the importance of their own role.

"I am not a member of of the National Executive of the ANC", said

Mlangeni. "When we talk of the leadership of the ANC, we are really talking of the NEC."

When it was suggested to Sisulu that it might be most appropriate to refer to the six as "extraordinary" rather than "ordinary" members, he readily agreed.

Kathrada stressed that the six were subject to the discipline of the movement's Lusaka-based leadership.

"We are just symbols that are being effectively mobilised as part of the struggle."

However, in a statement from Lusaka late yesterday, the ANC NEC said it regarded the men as being more than symbolically significant.

"We are certain that they will assume their rightful leadership role and promote the advance of our liberation struggle. Their experience and maturity will lend new quality to the burgeoning revolt for the eradication of the basic causes that called our struggle into being."

object to entering into discussions with government representatives.

"If Mr Viljoen would like to have talks with the ANC to discuss the question of meeting the conditions for negotiation," said Sisulu, "I can't answer directly — but I can't see how the ANC would refuse to have talks about talks."

Sisulu emphasised that there was no question of entering into negotiations on the government's terms, or of participating in the proposed "Great Indaba".

"We can never accept that type of thing, but there's nothing wrong with meeting various groups and exchanging views, with the ultimate aim of (convening) a constituent assembly."

He said Dr Zach de Beer of the Democratic Party had put in a request to meet him in a fortnight's time.

The six said their releases were a consequence of international and local pressures which the government found impossible to resist.

But asked whether he believed negotiations were about to begin, Sisulu said "No, I don't think soon. There have been a lot of difficulties between the government and the ANC, but I

do believe the government has no alternative but to work towards negotiations.

"This is why government officials have said they are considering some of the conditions that have been put forward — it's because the situation demands that they should do this."

Each of the men expressed the view that the international sanctions campaign had contributed to their releases and rejected suggestions that sanctions should be eased in any way.

"We feel that if economic sanctions are intensified this might have an effect on the government and perhaps it will meet our demands. Unless the government is prepared to do this, the country will go bankrupt," said Mlangeni.

But the men said sanctions were "one factor only" and should be combined with a variety of internal pressures. Each stressed that they had never renounced armed struggle and continued to support the ANC's military strategy.

Asked if they intended to meet with non-MDM groups like Inkatha and business leaders, Sisulu said "we will meet anybody".

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W-Mail 20-26/10/89  
**Policeman's hit-squad claims**

●From PAGE 1

company of three other "colleagues". The instructions given to the four were to "eliminate" Mxenge "for his activities within the ANC", and to make the crime look like a robbery.

In the affidavit, he described the journey to Durban, and how he poisoned the Mxenge dogs.

The assassins, Nofomela said, scouted out the Mxenge home and the route which Griffiths took on his way home from work.

"In the meantime I went to the house and threw the (poisoned) meat into the yard as planned."

However they were unable to get Mxenge until several days later, when they faked a breakdown at a point they knew he would pass on his way back home from work.

"Mxenge stopped behind the bakkie (where the four were waiting) and asked whether he could help us. I opened the car and I said 'Yes please'. He then switched off his ignition and at the same time I pulled my firearm, a Makarov pistol."

Nofomela then describes how they took Mxenge to Umlazi Stadium and hacked him to death.

"We then all stabbed him several times. He immediately died and we

carried on butchering him badly," he said in the affidavit.

"We removed Mxenge's items of value like his money and watch in order to simulate a robbery".

They then took Mxenge's car to Umlazi police station, and later Nofomela drove it to Piet Retief in the company of a senior white police officer, stripped it and set it alight near the Swaziland border.

Nofomela claimed that he and his fellow assassins were each paid R1 000. He was told he might be needed at a later date to kill Mxenge's wife, but he was not given further orders in this regard.

He claimed to have taken part in a series of police killings on ANC targets, four of them in Swaziland, one in Maseru and one in Botswana.

Nofomela said he was visited on death row on a number of occasions by security branch policemen who assured him that steps were being taken on his behalf and he would be saved from the noose. But, losing faith on receiving his notice of execution last Friday, he sent a message to Lawyers for Human Rights.



**University of the Witwatersrand**  
**INAUGURAL LECTURE**

**Professor G J Hofmeyr,**

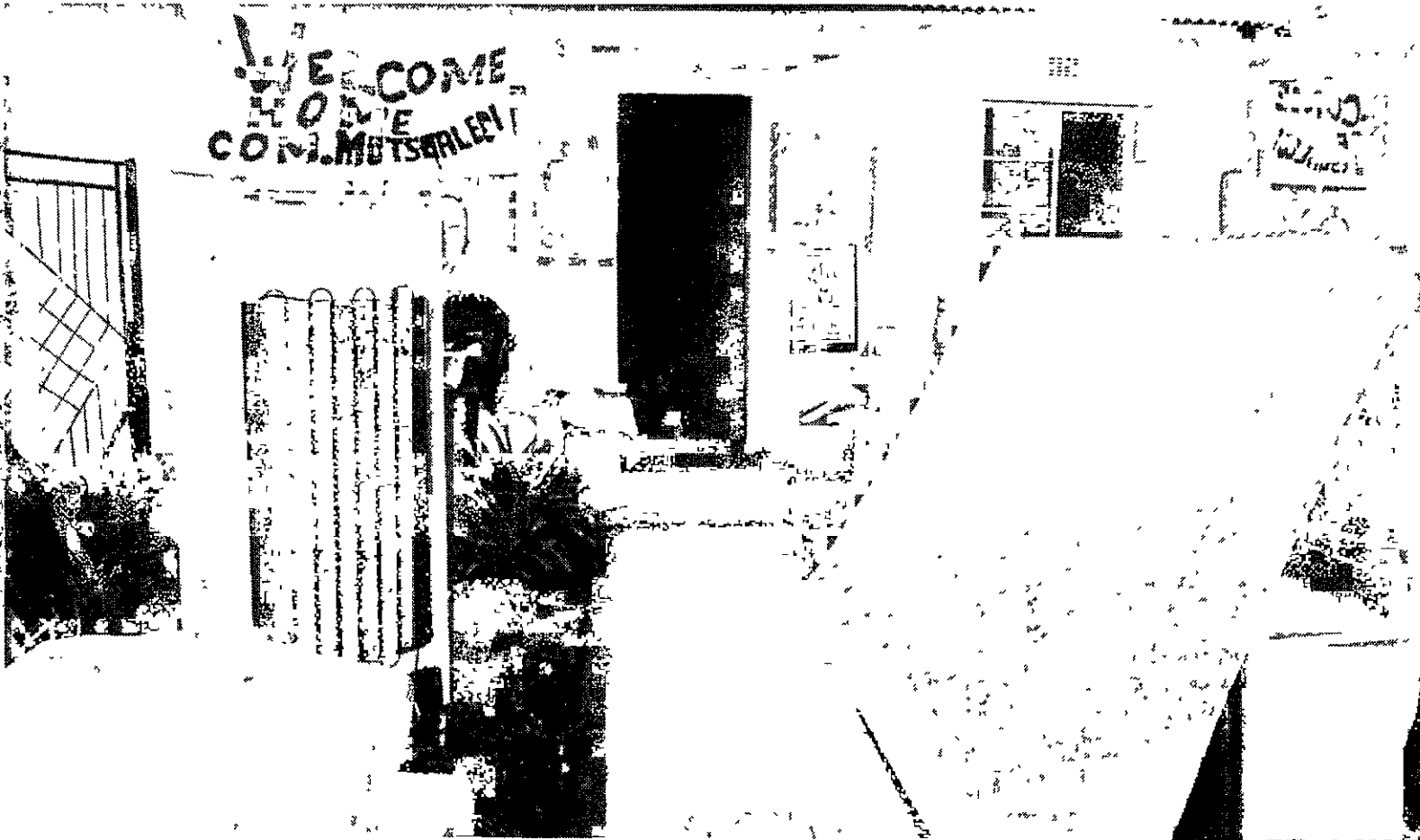
Head of the Department of Obstetrics & Gynaecology at the Coronation Hospital will deliver his Inaugural Lecture in the Dorothy Susskind Auditorium, John Moffat Building on Tuesday, 24 October 1989 at 17 30. The title of his lecture will be

**"WAYS OF MAKING BIRTH DIFFICULT -**  
 An examination of modern obstetric procedures which may impair the process of birth and parenthood

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC ARE MOST WELCOME

**A SON POLISHES HIS FATHER'S BOOTS 'AT LAST I FEEL I HAVE A FATHER ...'**

The son who only learned of his dad at the age of 11



(Modern hairstyles look Rastafarian, grumbled her husband.) ABOVE: Shopping spree. A new fridge and furniture arrive.

home he last saw 26 years ago



Father shows off his album of pictures of the family, lovingly collected over 26 years

its cause. Again all erupt in mirth. He tells those gathered that he does not appreciate modern female hairstyles, including his wife's, she had a perm on the eve of his return "They look Rastafarian," he says. He tells a visitor not to smile or the photographer will take a picture of his "love gap" — the 1960s fashion of removing front teeth. Then he goes on to remark that his daughter, who had just arrived, is able to drive a car, but that he only has a scooter bike licence. He says he will learn to drive. The ladies in the house advise him to choose an automatic car and he jokes again "No, I want a manual. I have not been defeated by the State of Emergency. How will I be defeated by a manual car?" The ambiance tonight is filled with excitement, not the tension that affected the nights spent in waiting since the state president announced he would release all but one of the Rivo-

nia trialists. The days between the announcement and the return of the prisoners were filled with activities planned to welcome Motsoaledi, working, fetching and carrying, with much *toy-toying* in between. The house was turned upside down by a thorough spring cleaning. It was varnished, polished and painted and a new bathroom was erected, all to the tune of freedom songs. New furniture was brought into the house. There was apprehension as visitors filled the yard and lounge on Saturday night, holding vigil with only an old movie on the television and constant *toy-toying* to keep the spirits up. The family had heard these rumours of release many times before. This one came true. On Monday night, Koikoi Motsoaledi polished his father's shoes. Now, he says, he feels he has a father.

Warm embrace. Caroline vowed not to remove the bracelet — stamped with her husband's name and date of arrest — until the day he was freed. Pictures: GISELLE WULFSOHN, Afrapix

FOR Caroline Motsoaledi, the first years of separation from her husband were the hardest.

In the early days, there was little support for the wives of the trialists. Caroline, who often had to wait for days before the prison ferry left for the Island, had no one to stay with, and often had to sleep in the toilets of the railway station.

She was detained shortly after her husband's arrest. For 162 days she refused to testify in the Rivonia trial, and counted each day by scratching a mark on the black walls of her cell. Denied exercise, she found on her release that she could hardly walk.

"I made them take me home. You have to be tough with these people; otherwise they think they can play games with you."

Her determination to resist continued. Harassment from the police at least diverted the focus of their attention.

"They would often come to take me to John Vorster Square, and asked me about my eldest son. 'Find him yourself,' I used to tell them, 'and stop bothering me at work.' They did stop, but afterwards they would come to the house at any time of the day or night. They still do."

Bringing up her seven children was a delicate balancing act in more ways than one. The economic hardships were ameliorated slightly when a friend found her a job in the textile factory where she is still employed. But there was the dilemma of what to tell children too young to understand.

Koikoi Motsoaledi was 10 months old when his mother came home from detention, and had no idea that his father existed until he was 11 years old.

"When I found he was alive, I felt anger towards him," says Koikoi. "I couldn't understand how he could have left us. Sometimes there were whole days without food, and we had to go to school without shoes. In many ways, I felt he was to blame for this."

Koikoi found a letter from his father to his mother with the Robben Island address on it. Without realising it was a prison, he wrote a letter reproaching his father for neglecting his family.

During his wife's next visit to the Island, Motsoaledi insisted that she explain the reasons for his imprisonment to the boy.

An intense correspondence between father and son ensued, allowing Koikoi to develop an understanding and respect for Motsoaledi's actions.

During the 1976 uprising she further enlightened him on his father's beliefs. "I realised my father was a martyr, but although I was proud of him I had no-one to share this with."

In the same year Koikoi was given permission to visit Robben Island. "I was very excited and looking forward to the visit. I had seen photos of my father, but when he was much younger," remembered Koikoi. "When I got to the Island there was a thick window and we had to speak through an intercom. But the words came easily. It wasn't like speaking to a stranger."

Eddie Koch

# **FREE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS**

**Shell urges Government to:**

- 1. End the State of Emergency**
- 2. Release and unban all political leaders**
- 3. Lift restrictions on democratic organisations**
- 4. Allow and encourage freedom of expression**



11A

# ANC 7 want passports

THE seven African National Congress leaders released this week after 26 years in jail want to go to Lusaka to meet the organisation's leadership in exile and would do so if

the Government gave them passports, they said  
Former ANC general secretary Mr Walter

Sisulu said "There is a desire that we go to Lusaka and this we would do either as individuals or as a group"

Another former Rivonia trialist Mr Elias Motsolaedi said they would go to Lusaka if the Government granted them passports.

"If we are called to Lusaka we will obviously go there," Motsolaedi said.

Sisulu said that as disciplined members of the ANC they believed in collective leadership and as such gave support to the elected leaders in exile on any position they took

Sisulu said that in the meantime the seven leaders would be available to "any congress directive" and would facilitate the negotiation process

He said about the ANC's position on negotiating with the Government "We support the ANC's statement and document adopted by the Organisation for African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, that we are prepared to negotiate only if the Government met certain conditions."

These he said were the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the repeal of all laws which hinder freedom, the removal of troops from the townships and guaranteed safe return of those in exile.

Sowetan 25/10/89



## THE AGONY OF WAITING ENDS ... AND SOWETO ERUPTS IN JUBILATION

11A  
20-26/10/89

# Soweto turns black, green, gold

Four of the prisoners came home to Soweto last Sunday — and the party flowed across town  
By **SHAUN JOHNSON** and **THANDEKA GQUBULE**

THE urgent, whispered conversation between two "comrades" holding up a black, green and gold flag outside Walter Sisulu's house was an indication that this was becoming one of the most remarkable weekends in Soweto's turbulent history.

"You don't have to wear that," said the one youth, pointing to a scarf which — out of habit — his companion had wrapped around his face to hide his identity.

"Not any more," hissed youth number one. "Our leaders are back — it's all changed." The other boy pulled the scarf away, revealing a broad smile.

Last Sunday, Soweto openly declared itself ANC territory in a way that had not been seen since the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

The homecoming of four elderly legends of the anti-apartheid struggle sparked spontaneous celebrations at poor homes spread across the labyrinthine township, sweltering in the first days of the Highveld summer.

The highly politicised "party" ebbed and flowed as crowds moved from house to house to welcome the leaders back, to catch a glimpse of them and, most of all, to be together on this momentous day.

Standing on a makeshift dais outside his modest home in Ndlovu Street, Andrew Mlangeni — leading light in the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — addressed a crowd for the first time in 26 years.

Against the backdrop of a huge ANC flag, emotion drawing his skin tightly around his cheekbones and mouth, he listened as they danced and sang to him, throwing clouds of dust into the air.

"Andrew Mlangeni, *akunaye ofane naye*," they chanted. "Andrew Mlangeni, there is no other like you." Eventually he spoke. "Well," he said laconically, "we have been in the struggle for a long, long time. Now we are back here, and we hope we can be of help to you. Thank you for coming to see me."

Then he disappeared inside the house, leaving the crowd to dance its way joyously to the next destination.

They passed houses and shops daubed with freshly painted slogans praising the imposing, bespectacled, slightly-balding figure who had been classified as one of the most danger-



Black, green and gold Sunday ... Walter Sisulu waves a makeshift ANC flag at the crowds

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL



'A sea of flags, fashioned from any material people could find'

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

ous men in South Africa and sent to Robben Island more than two decades before.

The "Springbok Supply Store's" facade was turned into a colourful billboard with "Welcome home Comrade Mlangeni, the Leader of the People" obliterating the customary advertisements for samp and mealie meal.

AK 47 rifles and limpet mines were depicted, too, leaving no doubt about the artist's admiration for Mlangeni's role in the "armed struggle".

The shop's staff didn't seem to mind much; they too were drawn into the rejoicing, disappearing in a sea of ANC flags, fashioned out of any material Sowetans could lay their hands on at short notice.

The extraordinary scene — made more striking by the complete absence of South African Police — was being replicated in different areas and at different times throughout the morning.

Hundreds jostled for a glimpse of Walter Sisulu outside his home in Orlando West. Young "comrades", who had not yet been born when Nelson Mandela's confidant went to jail, fell silent momentarily as they studied their grey-haired hero. There were special praise songs for him, too.

Rumours ran rife. Mikhail Gorbachev had personally called Sisulu to congratulate him, said one marshal breathlessly. He was disappointed to discover, later, that it only been a Soviet journalist calling from Moscow.

Outside the matchbox house of Elias Motsaedi in Kgaye Street, admirers had painted an outsize message of welcome on the tarmac, and when the

diminutive leader emerged, broke into a stirring rendition of Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika.

Motsaedi — ANC official, South African Communist Party member, trade unionist and guerrilla leader — stood stiffly to attention in a tightly-fitting grey suit, gripping the hands of two of his grandchildren and singing along with gusto.

At Winnie Mandela's home on the opposite side of the township there was a reception for Wilton Mkwayi, the ANC official and trade unionist who achieved almost legendary status in the Eastern Cape during the resistance campaigns of the 1950s.

As news of the releases began to spread through Soweto, so did the carnival atmosphere. Disbelieving residents wanted to know whether journalists had "really, really seen them".

"Hai, things are happening," said a stout woman on her way to a Zionist Christian Church service. She was clearly in two minds about whether it would be as exciting as what she was missing.

Groups, hundreds strong, of "comrades" did the *toy-toy* down the streets. The roads were filled with noisy motorcades as youths, acting as self-appointed traffic wardens, unilaterally declared Soweto's main routes to be one-ways.

In nearby Lenasia the fever took hold with equal energy. Hundreds — and, by evening, thousands — of well-wishers gathered outside the home of Sulman Kathrada to welcome his brother Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada.

Five hundred or so mouths were fed over lunch, and the crowds spilled good-humouredly into the surrounding streets.

Most of those who were there to experience the climax on Sunday had been waiting a long time — the vigil outside the Sisulu house had started in earnest on Friday.

Activists and residents had begun their singing and dancing on Friday evening, attracting the attention of police who at one stage fired teargas at a crowd.

Marshalls manned gates at the homes of each of the ANC leaders, while their wives and the ubiquitous, uniformed members of the Federation of Transvaal Women prepared the houses — cleaning, scrubbing and cooking in huge three-legged pots.

Albertina Sisulu appeared anxious, sending children on errands and fussing endlessly over the curtains she had put out to dry in her back yard.

Simultaneously, a heated debate was taking place between two elderly tailors, the Sisulu's neighbours for the past 30 years. While he was on the run all those years ago, Sisulu used to use their shop as an escape route. The two old men had had enough of waiting.

"Do you think they have taken him to a hotel?" asked one anxiously.

"No, no, no," said the other, "I am certain not."

"Well anyway," said the other philosophically, "wouldn't it be nice to see Walter again?"

A thought suddenly struck his friend: "If they have taken him to a hotel, do you think he would eat there?"

"Yes," came the worried reply, "what would happen to all the food Albertina's prepared at the house?"

The speculation continued, seemingly endlessly. Journalists camped outside through Friday night — and the next day.

Finally, at 5.30am on Sunday, their patience was rewarded. A police convoy rounded the corner, sending marshalls scurrying away, fearing a raid. Journalists were confused, too. One reporter took the only sensible course, and when a small grey-headed man emerged, asked "Are you Walter Sisulu?"

Welcome ... The Mlangenis  
Picture: GILL DE Vlieg, Afrapix

## The agony of waiting on this side of the bars

The families left behind learned to shoulder their pain quietly  
**THAMI MKHWANAZI** talks to June Mlangeni

JUNE JOHANNA MLANGENI recalled this week the fateful day of June 11 1963 when police raided her home and took away her husband Andrew.

"They came in three cars. The house doors were locked. It was dark. They opened both the front and back doors; apparently they had spare keys.

"They shone their torches, we lit the candles. They ordered us not to talk to each other. 'Where is your pass?', they shouted when he refused to give them his name. They found the *dompas* in his jacket pocket on the chair.

"Before they took him away one officer said: 'Andrew, kiss your wife for the last time.' I saw Elias Motsaedi in one of the cars as they drove off."

"I attended the Rivonia trial regularly with Caroline (Motsaedi), Winnie (Mandela), Albertina (Sisulu) and Tiny Nokwe (wife of advocate Duma Nokwe who died in exile)."

The saddest moment came. "The lawyers advised us against false expectations. They told us to expect any sentence, even death. Advocates George Bizos and Braam Fischer told us not to shed tears in court when sentence was passed. 'Cry your heart out once you arrive at home,' Braam told us."

When sentence was passed in June 1964 her four children, Maureen, Sylvia, Aubrey and William were 15, 13, 11 and eight respectively.

She was shunned by one employer after another.

"I was fired from several jobs within short spells of service from 1964 until I was employed for 10 years in a single firm, Sewknit, where I demonstrated the company's sewing and knitting machines." She lost the job when the business changed hands.

No reasons were given whenever she was called to the manager's office and fired from one job after another, she said. "I believed then that the police had a hand in the game."

She was unemployed for years until she found a job with the South African Council of Churches in 1982, making tea. Later she became a receptionist.

Her affection for her husband since her wedding day in 1949 had been deepened by the distance between them. She took every opportunity to visit the Island.

"I waited six months before I could obtain the first visitors' permit. Finally I saw him standing under a shed among his fellow-inmates, who had also received visits.

"We spoke to them by shouting across a two-metre steel barrier. In later years we spoke through a telephone, separated by a glass panel."

The trains between Johannesburg and Cape Town were slow those days, she said. "I missed two visits in those early days and returned to Johannesburg without seeing him. We had to walk for 5km to the docks. I had missed the boat to the Island."

**THE PRISONER RELEASES ...**



Preparing a hero's welcome: LEFT: To the tune of freedom songs, a speedy paint-job. CENTRE: Youths await the big moment. RIGHT: A perm for Caroline Motsoaledi.

# Elias Motsoaledi returns to the tiny

*Elias Motsoaledi, former factory worker and trade unionist, enjoys his third night of freedom in the house where he was arrested 26 years ago.*

**THANDEKA QQUBULE reports**

HOUSE 10175, Kgaye Street is a matchbox in a long row of others. It has been newly painted pale yellow and the lights are on. The windows are open and curtains blow in the evening breeze.

Loud laughter and chatter flow through the house as children play outside in sand heaps.

The house is no different from any other in the row. But in this back corner of Soweto — near Phefeni station in Orlando West — it stands as an unassuming monument to the African National Congress. The occupants are family, friends and comrades of Elias Motsoaledi, one of the Rivonia trialists released from prison on Sunday after 26 years.

Today the area, one of the poorest in Soweto, is politically volatile. At times it is tense but quiet; at other times it erupts. But throughout the years, Motsoaledi — who joined both the ANC and the SA Communist Party in the 1940s — and his family have been symbols of the congress tradition, according to his neighbours.

Tonight Motsoaledi, now 65 and enjoying his third day outside prison, holds every occupant of the room captivated as he relates tales of his experiences in prison and before.

The veteran union leader is said to be a sophisticated political thinker, dedicated to the cause of the working class. What emerges tonight is a man with a dignified presence and an ability to relate to people around ordinary issues, sprinkling the conversation with humour.

He talks of the Delmas trialists, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Popo Molefe and others, expresses concern for them, discusses legal details, then jokes: "You know, Terror, he found me in prison and left me there. Then he found me in prison again and I left him there. That is South Africa."



The first family picture, with children Koikoi, Leshoro and Mphoreng

He chats to his visitors as he pages through 26 years of family photographs in an album he has brought back from prison. He points admiringly at a youthful picture of his wife, factory worker Caroline Motsoaledi; then his eyes fall upon a cousin who committed suicide in his absence.

Someone in the room points out the irony: that while he hung on to pictures of the family, for a quarter of a century, they had no pictures of him. Motsoaledi was arrested in this

house. He tells those who have gathered to hear him that police ordered to arrest both him and his co-accused, Andrew Mlangeni, didn't know who he was because the first time they came they didn't arrest him.

He told the police he had no idea so they left him there and drove all over Soweto. Eventually they found Mlangeni in his house behind double-locked and bolted doors. They opened the door with a special key, took Mlangeni away, then went back for Motsoaledi.



The crowd cheers Elias Motsoaledi as he arrives home: A dignified presence, a conversation sprinkled with humour

Motsoaledi has not always lived in Soweto. He comes from Sekhukhuniland, where he attended school up to Standard Six before trekking to the city of gold. Here he became a factory worker and trade union leader.

He was centrally involved in the defiance campaign in the Transvaal and was slapped with a banning order in 1952. Shortly afterwards he joined the Umkhonto underground and was detained.

Many in Orlando West, including three of Motsoaledi's sons, have since joined Umkhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. So the family portraits the Motsoaledis took on this breezy night remained incomplete. One of his children died in his absence; three are in exile and cannot return until the ANC is unbanned and refugees allowed home. Tonight he poses for a family picture with only three of his children: Leshoro, Mphoreng and Koikoi. A *koikoi* is a mythical beast. Koikoi was five months

old when his father went to jail, his first visit was at the age of 16.

Motsoaledi sits in his chair posing for the press photographer and making jokes about everyone in the room, including the village fool. He seems to have no problems readjusting to the presence of large numbers of people. He jokes as if he has been with them all the days of their lives and acts as if he knows each intimately.

The village fool asks whether he will now apply for a pension from the Prisons Service. Motsoaledi says: "Yes, with you, my friend." "No, no, no," shouts out the village fool. "I have my disability grant already." All in the room burst into laughter as the village fool produces a letter and hands it to this journalist. Under the section diagnosis is written in pen: chronic schizophrenia.

But to hearten all further, Motsoaledi jokes that the Release Mandela Campaign has awarded him the watch he wears for many years of service to

W. MAIL 20-26/10/89

# Mandela will be free soon, says Mpetha

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w/e ARGES 2/10/89

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Weekend Argus Reporter

IT will not be long before Nelson Mandela is freed, says Oscar Mpetha, president of the African National Congress in the Western Cape.

In an interview in his Nyanga home, a healthy looking Mr Mpetha said pressure had to be exerted on the government to release Mr Mandela.

"Personally, I think it won't be long before Mandela is released," he said

## "Life is fine"

Wearing a red Food and Allied Workers' Union sweater and a khaki cap, Mr Mpetha, 80, said "Life is fine and my health is sound"

He leaves for Johannesburg on Monday to meet the six other African National Congress members released with him — albeit at different venues — last Sunday

"I'm going for a meeting of the national executive of the ANC."

Asked if he was still a member of the ANC, he said: "Of course, I'm the Cape Town president"

He had read reports that the seven were planning to meet the ANC leadership in Lusaka and had applied for passports "But I have not made an application"

He reiterated his call for an end to stone-throwing.

The veteran trade unionist said he was still a member of Fawu "I would like to return to work I'll be pleased to organise because I believe in getting close to people"

Embarrassment was nowhere in sight when he recounted how he had learnt to knit while serving his five-year sentence for terrorism in hospital.

Knitting was a "good pastime" and he will encourage unemployed township residents to start knitting In Groote Schuur hospital he knitted jerseys for his grandchildren and great-grandchildren

His welcome home had excited him "The very fact that there was a march from DF

Malan Airport on Monday (when he returned from Johannesburg) was amazing to me"

He was also pleased by the march of more than 1 000 teachers to his home on Thursday

"It's a great pleasure to see people still have confidence in me and the ANC."

The Mpetha home is a one-bedroomed house with an outside toilet and no electricity. Mr Mpetha shares it with his daughter, daughter-in-law, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

## Renovations

His home would be extended and he would probably move for three months to a rent-free room in Guguletu, provided by the Urban Foundation, while renovations were being done, he said.

A nurse, paid from funds supplied by the British Trade Union Congress, sees to his daily needs, giving him an insulin injection once a day

Mr Mpetha will speak at a "welcome home rally" at Nyanga Stadium tomorrow afternoon

# Educate those who fear majority rule — Sisulu

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Walter Sisulu extended a hand to white South Africans yesterday and said it was a major task of the national liberation movement to constantly educate people who, over the years, had been misled by a distorted history of the country and feared majority rule

Speaking from the Holy Cross Anglican Church opposite his Orlando West, Soweto, home Mr Sisulu, 77, although attentive and alert, showed signs of being slightly run-down after five days of continuous and gruelling interviews

Fellow-Rivonia trialists Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who, with Mr Sisulu spent 26 years in prison, also attended the interview

## Seventh day

The four are among eight long-term political leaders who enter their seventh day of freedom today

Amid reports that a big "welcome home" rally was being

planned for the ANC leaders in Johannesburg next Sunday, Mr Sisulu declined to elaborate and said any information would be made known by the National Reception Committee.

Commenting on the warning he received from the police this week to quieten down the celebrations, Mr Sisulu said "We have been away for 26 years. People are excited and police should appreciate that."

Since Sunday (when the men were released), an atmosphere of jubilation, optimism and celebration has swept through Soweto and the Sisulu home has had a constant flow of visitors who have come to welcome the men's homecoming

Yesterday there was still a large Press contingent trying to secure interviews with the freed men

Touching on a range of issues, Mr Sisulu said he looked forward to the day when Namibia was free. He said the struggle in South Africa was "intertwined" with that of Namibia and the major organisations of Namibia and South Af-

rica worked together because "we are (both) under the same regime"

Mr Sisulu predicted that the incidence of right-wing attacks was something that would continue for some time. On their own safety, he said "we expect anything at any time"

Mr Kathrada said during their long-term imprisonment they took advantage of the opportunity to educate themselves politically, and they developed a strong comradeship

## Cosmetic changes

Mr Kathrada said while certain political changes had taken place while they were in prison, these were essentially cosmetic

"What has happened is the language we use is now being used by the government — the concept of democracy and other concepts which we have been using are now being used extensively by the Nats

"They are trying to display a bit more finesse, but fundamentally, there have been no substantial changes"

# Sisulu's 'let's be friends'

Visitors flock to see former prisoners

JANET HEARD

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## Travelled from Lebowa

A minibus pulled up outside the church, carrying about 15 people who had travelled from Lebowa to greet the men and particularly Mr Motsoaledi, who has relatives living in the area.

Touching on a range of issues, Mr Sisulu said he looked forward to the day when Namibia was free. He said the struggle in South Africa was "intertwined" with that of Namibia and the major organisations of Namibia and South Africa worked together because "we are (both) under the same regime".

Mr Sisulu predicted that the incidence of right-wing attacks was something that would continue for some time. On their own safety, he said "we expect anything at any time".

Describing the relationship between the ANC leaders and leaders of other organisations, Mr Kathrada said that in prison there was 24-hour contact between the oppressed and the oppressor.

"Circumstances brought us together and we developed very healthy relationships with all the others because the common enemy was (right) there."

Mr Kathrada said that during their long-term imprisonment, they took advantage of the opportunity to educate themselves politically and they developed a strong comradeship with other political prisoners.

He said it was hoped that the vast majority of political prisoners had "emerged from their experience as more mature, better-informed people without hatred, without regrets, without bitterness".



**HAND OF FRIENDSHIP:** A major task of the liberation movement, said Mr Walter Sisulu yesterday, was to educate people who over the years had been misled by a distorted history and the fear of majority rule. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Mr Kathrada said certain political changes had taken place while they were in prison, but these were essentially cosmetic.

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# The Roof

● FROM PAGE 1.

as their opponents roared by

Despite this, a blackened and bloody John Angus vowed he would be back next year

The editor-in-chief of the Star, navigator Harvey Tyson, and driver Clive Smith retired from the race after snapping an axle.

Local biking hero Patrick Andrew stormed into an early lead yesterday, only to be passed by Roodepoort ace Willy Ireland and Alfie Cox, last year's winner

As searing heat and dust gave way to late afternoon rain and stinging hail, the fortunes of the favourites changed dramatically

Early leaders Philip Malan and Richard Leek saw their advantage slip away as the

transmission of their Toyota Landcruiser began to fail.

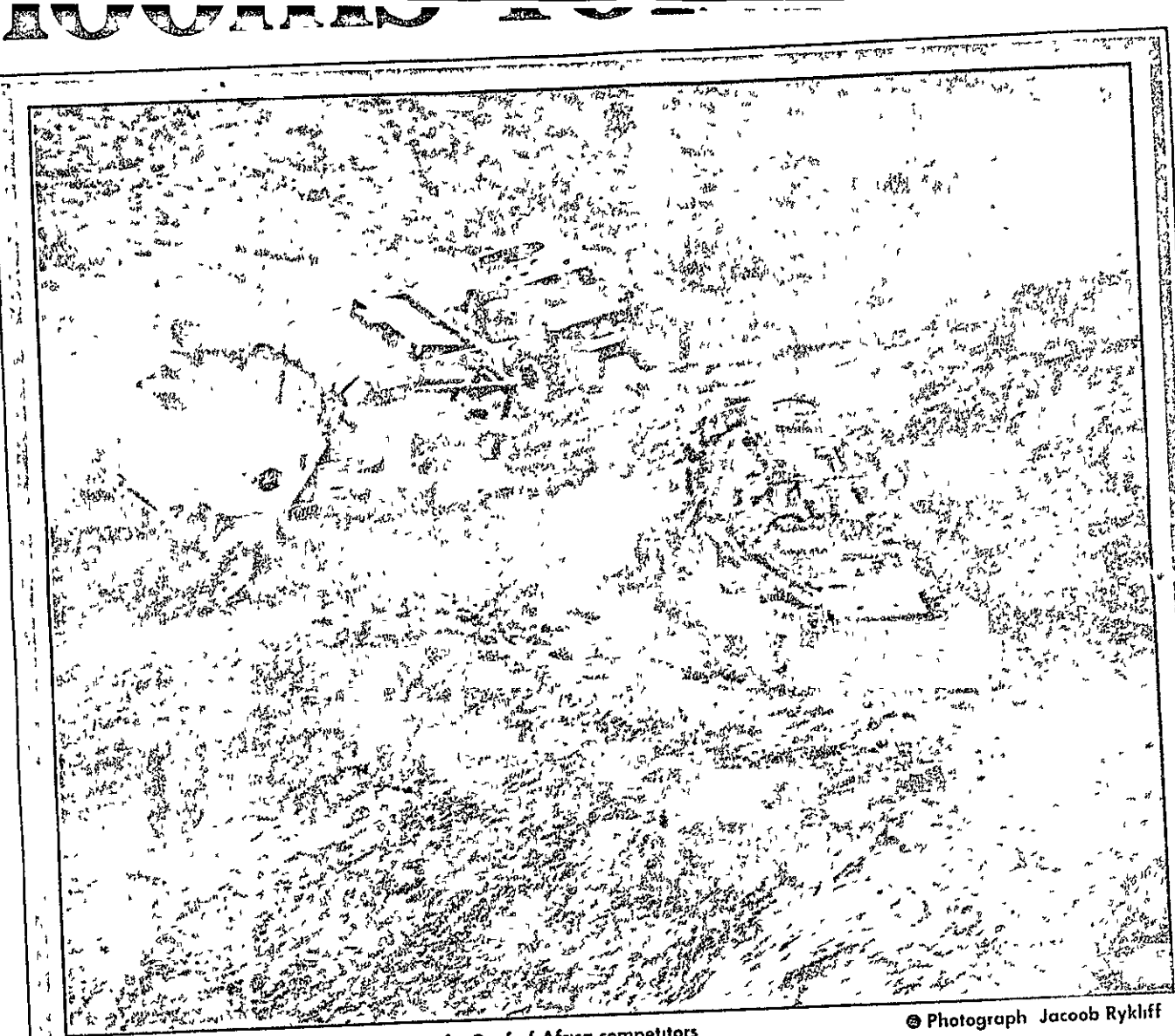
Erwick Pennoy and Jack Purchase took a narrow lead from Richard Shilling and Fred Levesque. Klaus Degener repaired his Chenoweth after a crash ripped off a wheel to finish in 21st place.

Late into the darkness of last night, helicopters and marshals searched the mountains for missing motorcyclists.

Willie Ireland took a 10-second lead from Alfie Cox after the 450 km section of widely varied terrain.

German ace Bert von Zitzewitz clung on to third place in spite of losing his way

With Jurgen Maier slowed by injury and Dirk von Zitzewitz drowning his bike in a river crossing, it seems that top Roof honours may again go to a southern African rider.



© Photograph Jacob Rykliff

**ACTION GALORE** There was lots of drama for Roof of Africa competitors

# Day of high drama in Roof of Africa Rally

MOTOR cyclists and their bikes had to be airlifted from inaccessible parts of Lesotho yesterday during the second day of The Star-Lesotho Sun Roof of Africa Rally that saw about half the competitors eliminated by sunset and one missing in rugged terrain

In a day of high drama, competitors were blitzed by hail, three cars crashed and rolled and bikers had to carry their machines down the Baboons Pass

Heavy thundershowers and electrical storms added another dimension of danger to the race and reduced media communication from Lesotho to almost nil. Riders waiting to be airlifted sat shivering as temperatures dropped dramati-

11A

## DAWN BARKHUIZEN and STEVE KEALY

ly in the late afternoon German enduro champion Jurgen Maier was slightly injured when he tried to avoid hitting a Basotho child. The child stood up and ran away.

Last night a helicopter was scouring the Thaba Bosiu area for the missing rider.

"It was rough, there were boulders the size of armchairs and it was damn frightening," said Craig Draper who flipped his R2000 imported American Nissan on a hairpin bend.

This is the first year that the "Com-

rades Marathon" of motor racing has been routed across the Lesotho lowlands instead of the highlands.

But nothing could have been further from the truth, according to navigator Jacques Purchase, who was first across the line yesterday with driver Errick Pinnoy after a gruelling 450 km.

Navigator John Angus hung over the side of his space-frame special for 120 km of rocky mountain terrain as driver Klaus Degener steered the vehicle home on three wheels.

The two, who had been ahead of the field survived somersaulting down a 10 m embankment and lay out of sight.

© TO PAGE 2.

Star 2/1/89

P.T.O.



● Photograph. Jacob Rykliff

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● TO PAGE 2.

Star 2/10/89



**T**HE Red Flag of the South African Communist Party (SACP) is becoming an increasingly common sight as protest marchers tramp their way through the country's main streets. Hardly more than four years ago, political observers were astounded when the Red Flag was hoisted at Cra-dock during the funeral of four murdered United Democratic Front activists.

They pondered whether it signalled growing support on the ground for the SACP, the first radical organisation to be outlawed by the National Party after it won power in 1948.

Today there is less need for conjecture, there may be debate about the extent of its growth, but there is little doubt that the SACP has grown.

The Red Flag, with its tell-tale hammer and sickle, has become almost routine in protest marches. When the black, green and gold flag of the African National Congress is hoisted, the Red Flag is sure to follow.

At its recent seventh congress — held on an unknown date at an undisclosed venue — the SACP reported that its membership had grown by "90 percent" since its sixth congress in 1984.

The statement may be pure propaganda. But observation of black activists from the Freedom Charter camp since 1984 suggests that it has substance.

The cry "Viva ANC" is frequently followed by shouts of "Viva SACP". Praise for ANC president Mr. Oliver Tambo is often a prelude to accolades for SACP general-secretary Mr. Joe Slovo. The appearance of the Red Flag at marches and rallies is now almost predictable.

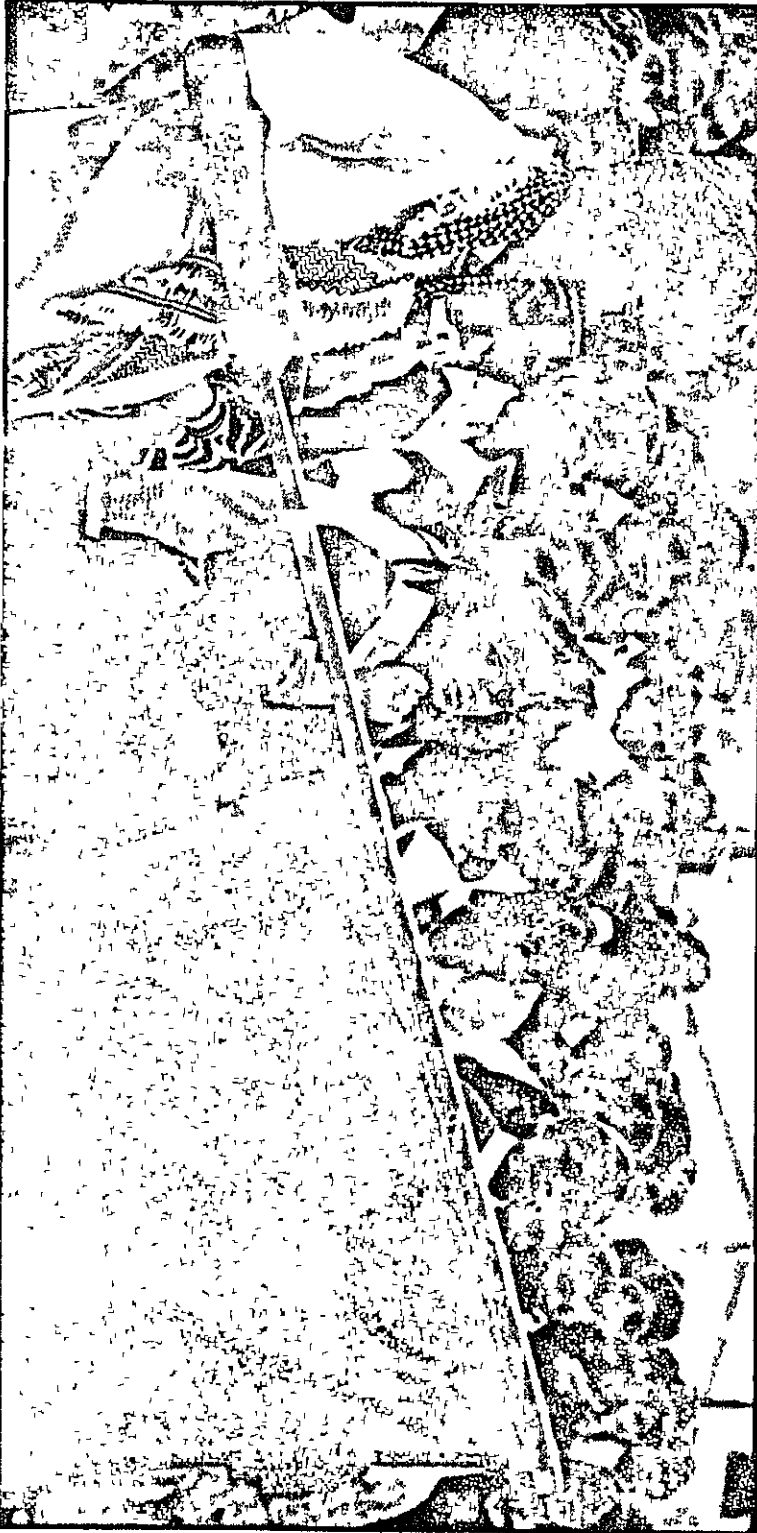
Its occurrence is frequent enough to have sparked controversy in the ranks of anti-apartheid clergymen, some of whom feel very uncomfortable in the shadow of a flag associated with the atheism, cruelty and tyranny of Joseph Stalin.

In a recent article in *World and Progress*, the SACP leadership says "The raising of our flag beside that of the ANC, and (the chanting of) pro-party songs and slogans, were mostly un-

# SACP comes in from the cold

11A  
Star 21/10/89

**PATRICK LAURENCE** looks at the phenomenon of hundreds of thousands of protest marchers tramping under the flag of the hammer and sickle



YESTERDAY: Some of the 1 000 students who marched to freed ANC stalwart Mr. Ahmed Kathrada's Lenasia home. ● Picture by Sean Woods.

## Kathrada tells students: don't neglect education

HEAVILY armed police yesterday prevented Lenasia students from marching.

SUE VALENTINE

the pioneers of the slogan "liberation had seemed to describe him and the before"

icipating in the truncated South African parliamentary system. Careful reading of *The Path to Power* leaves one with two dominant impressions: first, the theoretical approach is, within the Marxist paradigm, thoroughly thought out, second, although drawn up after Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union, neither Mr. Gorbachev nor his doctrines of perestroika and glasnost are mentioned.

Against that, the SACP leadership regrets that a divide opened up in the past "between socialism and democracy". It concedes, too, that the divide led to the exercise of commandism and bureaucracy over society as a whole.

Doctrinal hiccups in *The Path to Power* include

- The view that the South African situation is "colonialism of a special type". South Africa, in SACP theory, is essentially in a colonial situation, with the exception that the white "colonial power" and the colonised natives live in the same territory.

- The conviction that South African "colonialism" is in a state of severe and irredeemable crisis, that the "internal contradictions" are fatal. Hence "The deep-rooted crisis and conflict in South Africa cannot be resolved within the confines of the apartheid colonial system."

- The contention that the road to communism is through two revolutions: a "national democratic" revolution to end "colonialism" and establish a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa and a socialist revolution — which may take place through the post-apartheid parliamentary system — to socialism and, eventually, a classless society.

**T**he driving force for these revolutionary changes — which may include "seizure of power" rather than negotiations to political victory — is the black working class which, because it has "no property stakes in present-day South Africa", is most capable of taking the "struggle to its fullest conclusion".

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Its occurrence is frequent enough to have sparked controversy in the ranks of anti-apartheid clergymen, some of whom feel very uncomfortable in the shadow of a flag associated with the atheism, cruelty and tyranny of Joseph Stalin.

In a recent article in *Work and Progress*, the SACP leadership says "The raising of our flag beside that of the ANC, and (the chanting of) pro-party songs and slogans, were mostly mistakes taken on the ground."

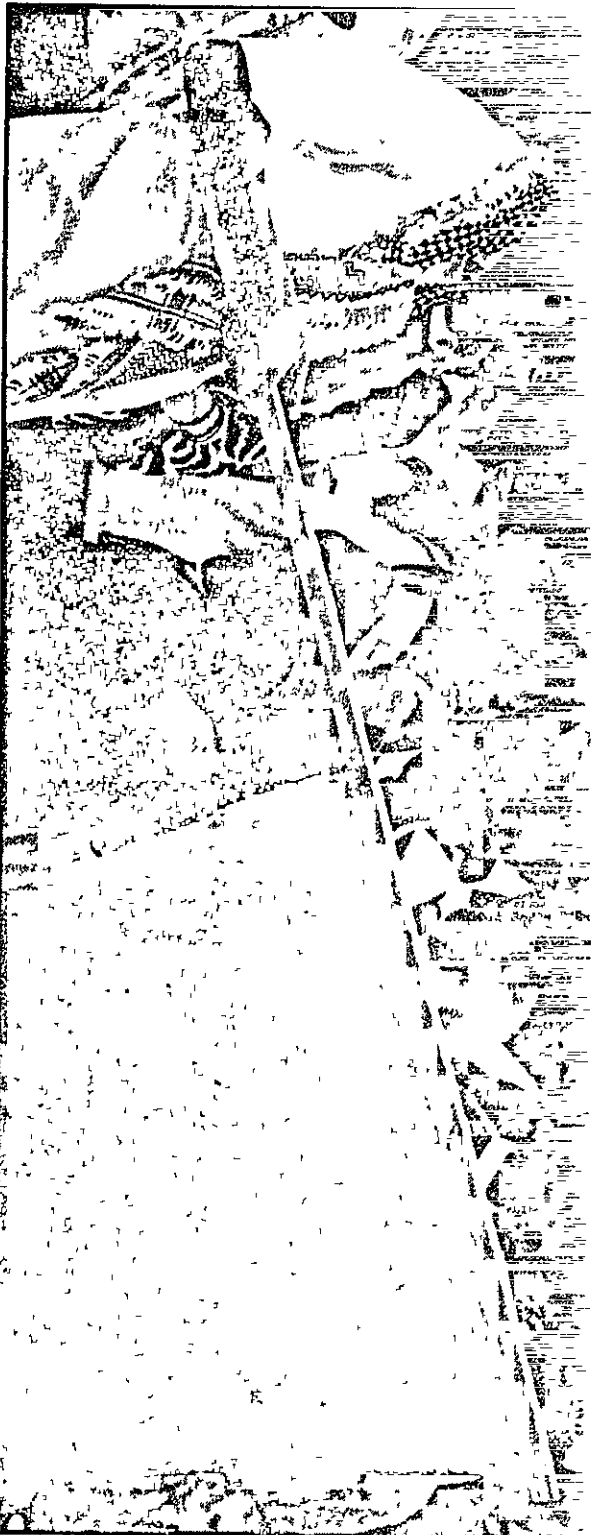
The inference is that these public manifestations of allegiance are spontaneous rather than ordered by someone. Perhaps either way, they are indisputably there.

The report to the seventh annual congress gives a racial breakdown of the SACP members: 70 percent African, 16 percent white, 10 percent Indian and 4 percent coloured.

The racial composition may surprise some South Africans. Over the years they have been influenced by a widely-projected stereotype of a communist, a white agitator, who is usually Jewish, a Joe Slovo with a touch of Hogenheimer.

But, again, on-the-ground observations tend to confirm the view that SACP membership is largely, if not overwhelmingly, black.

The point has been dramatically accentuated by the release of the eight top black political prisoners, seven of them ANC leaders. Of the seven, at least four — Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Mosealala, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Raymond Mkhabela — are or have been members of the SACP or, as it was known until 1950, the Communist Party of South Africa.



YESTERDAY, Some of the 1 000 students who marched to freed ANC stalwart Mr Ahmed Kathrada's Lenasia home.

## Kathrada tells students: don't neglect education

HEAVILY armed police yesterday prevented Lenasia students from marching to freed African National Congress stalwart Mr Ahmed Kathrada's Lenasia home.

About 1 000 students from several schools in Lenasia met at Ntswana High School to begin the short walk from the school to the former political prisoner's home about 1 km away.

When the students were about halfway, several police vehicles arrived and the group was given five minutes to disperse.

After appeals by the marchers to the police to allow them to continue their

SUE VALENTINE  
Education Reporter

peaceful procession were denied, the students agreed to return to school.

A police contingent comprising at least 50 riot squad members and "kits konstabels" followed the children back to their school.

Mr Kathrada then went to the school to address pupils, who had gathered to welcome him back to the community following his release from prison last weekend.

In a brief address to the students, Mr Kathrada told the crowd he was one of

the pioneers of the slogan "liberation before education", but he had come to realise he was wrong.

"While I was on Robben Island I realised education and liberation go together. I want to appeal to you not to neglect your education. It should be your priority."

He said he was not advising that students should not demonstrate their feelings, but once they had shown their solidarity and determination, they should go back to school.

"Liberation without education is going to be no liberation."

He added that, although the media

had seemed to describe him and the others who had been released as some sort of heroes, the real heroes were the young people who had stood their ground and suffered teargas and baton charges.

"Although we have been in jail for a long time, it has been a sort of a holiday. That's why we're all so fit," he said.

"We have been getting newspapers while we were in jail and we even had a TV. We expected a certain amount of enthusiasm, but what we have seen since our release has encouraged and inspired us beyond description."

The most senior of the men, Mr Walter Sisulu, declines to say whether he is a member of the SACP. He describes himself as a "socialist" who believes in "scientific socialism", which means — at the least — he is sympathetic to some of the aims of the SACP.

Released Rivonia trialist Mr Govan Mbeki, who was freed two years ago, reinforces the observation that the ANC and the SACP are linked by black people with dual memberships of the two organisations. Like his newly-released comrades, Mr Mbeki is a man whose demeanour, he it said, impressive

The public re-emergence of SACP members and some of its senior members raise questions about its strength and ideology. The SACP — as its newly adopted programme, *The Path to Power*, makes clear — is a "vanguard party". It is a small party showing the way forward, it does not seek to recruit members en masse.

Its strength cannot be measured by the size of its membership list. It must be sought in its role as a partner with the mass-based ANC in the quest for a democratic and non-racial South Africa and in the quality of its members.

The SACP is strategically sit-

nated in the ANC, several of its leading members serve on the ANC's national executive, notably Mr Slovo. A 1986 United States State Department report, says of the national executive: "Roughly half the 30 members are known or suspected members of the SACP."

Its position in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the fighting arm of the ANC-SACP alliance, is as important. Umkhonto or MK is the joint creation of the ANC and the SACP and not, as many people think, purely the instrument of the ANC.

Thus the SACP has joint command of the guerrillas whose "armed propaganda" played a

key role in the political resurgence of the ANC after the Soweto revolt of 1976. Mr Slovo was MK's chief-of-staff until he resigned in 1987 to devote more time to the SACP after the death of the central committee's immediate past chairman, Mr Yusuf Dadoo.

Thus, in sum, it seems that the SACP is well-placed to exploit the current political ferment in South Africa. There is an element of irony in the situation. The SACP is poised to advance in conjunction with the ANC in South Africa while communism is on the retreat in the rest of the world.

The SACP's ideological outlook is detailed in *The Path to Power*. It represents a revised, updated version of its 1982 policy statement, *The Road to South African Freedom*.

The SACP has been labelled as "Stalinist" by some of its foes in the 'bourgeois parties' parti-

cularly those imbued with capitalist values, these statements will sound like exhortations to economic disaster, they will, no doubt, view the men and women responding to them as blind fools running, lemming-like, to a suicidal precipice.

The SACP, however, deserves to be taken seriously, not dismissed as obsolete.

It was the first white party to have the presence to open its ranks to black people. It was well in advance of the existing "bourgeois" parties. Even today, two of the three parties in the white chamber of Parliament, have not yet opened their ranks to black people.

At the 7th SACP Congress, delegates were asked to stand in memory of 22 communists who had laid down their lives for "liberation socialism" since the last congress in 1984. The majority were black.

Having recruited black people and skillfully located them in key positions in the ANC, the SACP has risen — with the ANC — to become a major factor on the political stage.

Thus it boasts in *The Path to Power*: "Today the influence and prestige of the South African Communist party is greater than at any time in its history."

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Having recruited black people and skillfully located them in key positions in the ANC, the SACP has risen — with the ANC — to become a major factor on the political stage.

Thus it boasts in *The Path to Power*: "Today the influence and prestige of the South African Communist party is greater than at any time in its history."

the driving force for these revolutionary changes — which may include "seizure of power" rather than negotiations to political victory — is the black working class which, because it has 'no property stakes in present-day South Africa,' is most capable of taking the 'struggle to its fullest conclusion'.

To 'bourgeois' observers, particularly those imbued with capitalist values, these statements will sound like exhortations to economic disaster, they will, no doubt, view the men and women responding to them as blind fools running, lemming-like, to a suicidal precipice.

The SACP, however, deserves to be taken seriously, not dismissed as obsolete.

It was the first white party to have the presence to open its ranks to black people. It was well in advance of the existing "bourgeois" parties. Even today, two of the three parties in the white chamber of Parliament, have not yet opened their ranks to black people.

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# New FW stance on ANC?

Cap-Times  
21/10/89



De Klerk



Mpetha

## Political Staff

THERE is strong speculation in Nationalist circles that President F W de Klerk is about to adopt a more amenable attitude towards talks with the ANC

Up to now the government has strongly criticised independent sorties by politicians and extra-parliamentary groups to Lusaka and elsewhere for talks with the banned organisation

However, the mood appears to be changing since the release from prison of seven leading ANC members and one PAC member.

Mr De Klerk is being tipped to raise the issue when he addresses a one-day congress of the Transvaal NP in Pretoria this morning.

A spokesman in his office yesterday said he knew nothing about it but expected Mr De Klerk to "address some of the issues arising from the release

of the prisoners".

The government's attitude towards the ANC is said to have been discussed by the newly-installed cabinet and details could be revealed today by Mr De Klerk, who is expected to retain his position as Transvaal provincial leader of the party, even though he is leader-in-chief.

Mr De Klerk could also deal with comments by Mr Oscar Mpetha, the 80-year-old former ANC leader in the Western Cape.

Mr Mpetha, who was one of the eight released last Sunday, said in Cape Town this week that still-jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had called for a non-violent approach when he met the prisoners in his prison house on the eve of their release

He claimed that Mr Mandela had said that if the ANC stopped its violence, the security forces would stop theirs

# Freedom after 26 years in jail



The picture we wanted to bring you last Sunday. Home . . . the first dramatic moments of the early morning release of Walter Sisulu. Youthful comrades — many new faces — welcomed Sisulu at the beginning of his week No. 1 of freedom. For the former ANC

secretary-general, the past few days have seen him tirelessly attending countless Press interviews. Here, raising a clenched fist, Sisulu marks his return and a new era in South African politics.

EPIC: BONGANI MNGUNI.

# Hundreds bunk class to see Sisulu

By SANDILE MHEMELA

THE past seven days have seen hundreds of pupils abandon their classrooms to join the pilgrimage to house number 1372 in Orlando West, the home of former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu.

Since the homecoming of Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni, Wilton Mkwazi and Elias Motsaedi, hundreds of pupils carrying banners of the Soweto Student Congress and the ANC flag have walked to their leaders' homes.

The street where Sisulu lives has suddenly become one of the busiest places in Soweto. Scores of people mill around the house and many cars are parked in the neighbourhood.

The pupils behave respectfully. At the time of Sisulu's imprisonment in 1963 most of them were not born.

According to a Sosco spokesman, who asked not to be identified, pupils felt they had to pay tribute to Sisulu and his colleagues.

"These senior comrades have shown the way to the new society and it is only right for us to pay tribute to them."

Nearly 200 students daily make a pilgrimage to the Sisulu home to meet and see the aged ANC leader.

Scores of students can be seen singing, chanting ANC slogans and doing the toyi-toyi near the Sisulu house.

Commenting on the pupils' behaviour, Sisulu said: "They have a wonderful spirit which shows a high quality of discipline."

Sisulu often had to leave meetings with prominent people to address the pupils.

He told journalists during a Press conference this week his life since his

release revolved around meeting and addressing people and answering the telephone.

Top-level police officers visited Sisulu this week to ask him to put a stop to the welcoming celebrations outside his house.

Maj-Gen JJ Viktor, SAP divisional commissioner for Soweto, and Col IF van der Merwe of the security branch visited him on Wednesday.

It was seen as the first sign that the authorities might clamp down on the wave of celebrations which followed the release of the eight prisoners.


## Sisulu freed <sup>8/pan</sup> 11/10/89

the releases have been made contrary to government's stance in the past that the trialists must abandon violence

DP co-leader Zach de Beer said it was interesting Mandela's release was not on the cards "This seems to imply some kind of agreement between him and government Of course, there can be no negotiation without Mandela"

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS reports Caroline Motsoaledi said last night she had no idea yet when her husband would be released as she had not been contacted by the police

Mhlaba's wife was reluctant to comment before having confirmation, saying last time "they had said they were coming

 11/9  From Page 1  
out" she had waited in vain "This time I want to be sure"

IAN HOBBS reports from London that Thatcher last night hailed the release of SA prisoners as a "major step forward" for SA She said "I very much welcome the decision Naturally, we all hope it will lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and open the way for negotiations on a new constitution for SA"

Foreign Secretary John Major welcomed the news as "dynamic evidence that the De Klerk government meant what it said"

Senior ANC officials in London said the news was "good" but they awaited further details - Sapa

**PAC's top men (11A)  
for Club summit**

The Star's Africa News Service

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is to send a top-level delegation to the Commonwealth summit in Malaysia, the African News Organisation (Ano) has reported from Dar es Salaam

The PAC's delegation will be led by Mr Joe Mkwanazi, PAC administrative secretary

Other members will include Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs, and Mr Neville Legg, the movement's representative to Australasia and the Pacific

Sanctions will be one of the main topics on the Commonwealth summit agenda.

# Unconditional release of ANC men

By ALAN DUNN  
Political Staff

**PRESIDENT F W De Klerk** has ordered the unconditional release of eight prominent political prisoners after discussions with African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela

They include former secretary general of the ANC, Walter Sisulu (77) who has served 26 years in prison since police seized him, Mandela and other ANC leaders during a raid on their headquarters at Rivonia, Johannesburg in 1963

Oscar Mpehla (80), said to be South Africa's oldest prisoner, will also be released. He was convicted of terrorism in 1987 and jailed for five years

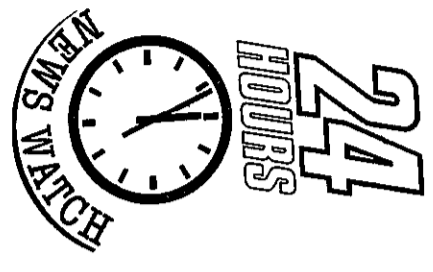
The other security prisoners to be released are Ahmed Kathrada (60), Andrew Mlangeni (63), Elias Mokoaleli (65) Raymond Mhlaba (69), Jeff Masemola (60) and Wilton Mkwayi (66), who briefly took command of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) after the arrest of the Rivonia traitors in July 1963

They will be released "as soon as necessary formalities can be dealt with which can take some time," Mr De Klerk said in the statement issued from the Union buildings last night

In a vaguely-worded reference to talks with Mr Mandela, Mr De Klerk said the jailed ANC leader had been fully apprised of these proposed releases

"In fact, discussions were held with him and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda," Mr De Klerk said

Mr De Klerk said he had given the assurance in his first speech after taking office that the release of security prisoners would be looked at on an ongoing basis



preferably promoted by such releases

The eight releases were taking place within this framework

"This decision was preceeded by a thorough investigation and a series of administrative processes," he said

"All relevant factors were brought into consideration including the fact that most of these prisoners had already served many, many years of their sentences and are already advanced in years

"It was decided that, taking good order into account, a favourable climate currently exists in which the release can take place"

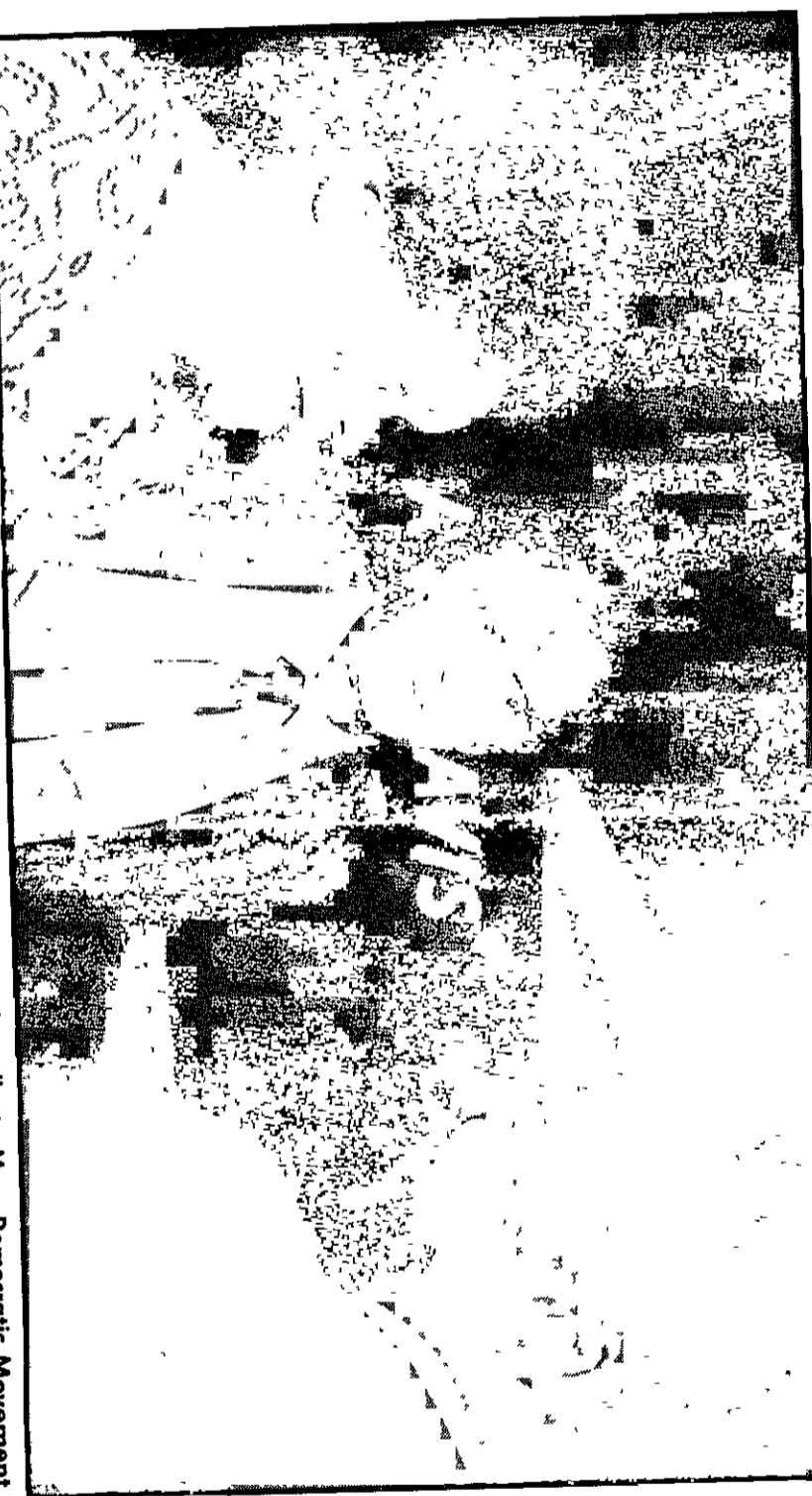
Mr De Klerk said further the decision had been taken against the background of requests and representations from various sources over a long period

"In particular, the views of moderate black leaders including the leaders of self-governing territories, carried special weight," Mr De Klerk said

He expressed the hope that the releases would contribute to the spirit of reconciliation presently evident in South Africa

"Most South Africans are tired of confrontation and wish to speak to one another about the road of prosperity and justice for all," he said

"The search for peaceful solutions is the key to a safe future for South Africa and I make an appeal to all South Africans to become a part of this process"



A beaming Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu, talks to Mass Democratic Movement leaders Cas Sololoe (left) and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa after hearing of her husband's pending release last night.

## Walter Sisulu

**WALTER Sisulu** is the man who led the African National Congress together after it was banned in 1960 and laid the foundation for the formation of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, according to former Robben Island prisoner Mar-Ramakgadi

He said Sisulu, the oldest of the Rivonia Treason Trialists, acted as a guide and mentor to Nelson Mandela when he first came to Johannesburg

Sisulu is said to be a warm personality, deeply interested in new developments

A former kitchen worker, bread delivery man, mine-worker and estate agent in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, his full name is Walter Max Ulyate Sisulu and he was born into a peasant family in

## Andrew Mlangeni

He met his wife Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a nurse, through his involvement with the ANC and they were married in 1944

At the wedding, where Nelson Mandela was best man, were ANC luminaries such as Anton Lambete, Oliver Tambo and Govan Mbeki

Lambete told the bride "You are marrying a man who is already married to a nation"

Prophetic words indeed because the Sisulus have lived as husband and wife for only five of their 45 years of marriage

Mrs Sisulu, one of the United Democratic Front's national presidents, has been banned for 18 years, spending 10 of those under house arrest. She has been restricted

## Ahmed Kathrada

He was allegedly involved in hiding recruits and sending them abroad as well as in procuring armaments

Mlangeni, a founder member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, joined the ANC Youth League in 1961 and four years later became the Johannesburg branch secretary of the organisation

Born in Prospect township, Johannesburg, in 1929, he carried golf bags as a caddy to put himself through his Junior Certificate which he completed in 1946

He worked as a clerk and later as a bus driver

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

**FIVE** of the men sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia treason trial, a Pan African Congress leader and a veteran trade unionist are among eight political prisoners who will be freed unconditionally

However, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is not one of them

In a statement last night President F W de Klerk, said that "discussions were held with him (Mandela) and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda"

Due to be released as soon as the "necessary formalities" have been dealt with are Pan African Congress leader Mr Jeff Masemola, African National Congress members Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Walter Sisulu, Elias Mokoaleli, Wilton Mkwayi, Ahmed Kathrada and Oscar Mpehla

Mr de Klerk hoped that releases would contribute to the spirit of reconciliation evident in the country

"Most South Africans are tired of confrontation and wish to speak to one another about the road of prosperity and justice for all

"The search for peaceful solutions is the key to a safe future for South Africa and I make an appeal to all South Africans to become a part of this process"

Mlangeni, Mhlaba, Sisulu, Mokoaleli and Kathrada were charged with Mandela in the Rivonia treason trial in 1964 and sentenced to life imprisonment

Mpehla was convicted of terrorism in the Cape Town

Supreme Court and sentenced to five years. His appeal failed and he was arrested at his Nyanga Home on June 26, 1985

President de Klerk said when he took up office he had given the assurance that the release of security prisoners would be looked into on an ongoing basis

He said that the test the Government had laid down in such cases was that, all the surrounding circumstances should be considered, good order should be maintained and the search for peaceful solutions should preferably be promoted by such a release

Within the following framework it has now been decided to release the following prisoners unconditionally as soon as the necessary formalities can be dealt with, which can take some time"

Mr de Klerk said in the statement that Nelson Mandela was fully apprised of the proposed releases

"In fact, discussions were held with him and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda"

The release of the prisoners had been preceeded by a thorough investigation and a series of administrative processes, Mr de Klerk said

"All relevant factors were brought into consideration, including the fact that most of these prisoners had already served many, many years of their sentences, and are already advanced in years

"It was decided that, taking good order into account, a favourable climate currently exists in which the release can take place"

sponds regularly with Kathrada, said even the most trivial family matters interested him

"What hurts us most is having to give him news of deaths in the family. He has to suffer the burden all alone"

Close friend Mr Yusuf Saloojee said after seeing Kathrada two years ago "Kathy is a man of calibre. He was so

## Wilton Mkwayi

He served many years in prison since police seized him, Mandela and other ANC leaders during a raid on their headquarters at Rivonia, Johannesburg in 1963



member and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) leader was detained in August 1964 and was imprisoned at the Robben Island and later Polismoor.

#### Mkwazi

The son of a Port Elizabeth ANC member, Mkwazi left school in 1938 at the age of 15 and worked in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town as a stevedore, labourer, factory worker and clerk.

In 1947 he joined the SA Railways and Harbours Workers Union. From there on he played a leading role in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) and later in Sactu organising workers in railways textiles, tin and iron and steel industries.

In 1952 he was elected Eastern Cape volunteer-in-chief of the ANC's Defence Campaign. Over the next

18, 1912, less than three months after the formation of the ANC.

Sisulu left school at the age of 15, but the man, regarded as an intellectual giant by his peers, became an attorney and was at the centre of the ANC's activities from the 1940s until his arrest in 1963.

Elected ANC Youth League secretary in 1949, the bespectacled Sisulu was one of the key leaders of the 1952 Defence Campaign which led to the 1966 Treason Trial where all 156 accused were acquitted.

#### Mkwazi

He was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and detained under the first State of Emergency in 1960.

Early in 1960 he fled from his Orlando West home after being placed under house arrest. He was arrested on Llesleaf Farm, Rivonia, on July 11, 1963 with 16 others, charged in the Rivonia treason trial and sentenced to life imprisonment.

When emergency was declared in 1960 he narrowly escaped arrest, slipped out of the country and represented Sactu at the World Federation of Trade Unions. He later received military training and returned to South Africa to become a member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe High Command (MK).

He escaped arrest at Rivonia in 1963 and from there on led the new MK high command. In August 1964 he was arrested and was tried together with Lalloo Chiba, Mac Maharaj, Johan Matthews.

In 1967 Mkwazi married his 63-year-old fiancée of 20 years, Irene at the Polismoor Prison. Mkwazi's wife died in December last year, a year after they had married. They had two children.

## Elias Motsaedi

Elias Mathope Motsaedi is a member of the banned South African Council of Trade Unions (Sactu) and was one of the leading figures in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Charged in the Rivonia Treason Trial, he was not called upon to give evidence, but was imprisoned for life. He served most of his sentence on Robben Island before being transferred to Polismoor prison.

The son of a migrant labourer, he was born near Middelburg in Sekhukhuland in 1924.



## Raymond Mhlaba

The first physical contact Raymond Mhlaba had with his "common law" wife, Dideka, since he began serving his life sentence in 1964 took place 22 years later when they were married at Polismoor Prison.

Nelson Mandela, first accused in the Rivonia Treason Trial, was their best man.

## Jeff Masemola

Rings were exchanged at the ceremony, but Mhlaba was not allowed to keep his or any presents given to him.



## Jeff Masemola

PAN AFRICAN Congress stalwart Jeff Masemola, South Africa's longest serving political prisoner after Nelson Mandela, was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963.

He was held at Robben Island before being transferred to Diepkloof prison near Pretoria.

They are not the only members of the Sisulu family who have paid a heavy price for their involvement in the "struggle": their son, journalist and trade unionist Zwellake was freed after almost two years in detention in 1988 and served with a restriction order which made it impossible for him to return to his job as editor of the weekly "alternative" newspaper, New Nation.

One son, Uiyate-Max, and his sister Ayande are in exile.

The sacrifices of Sisulu have not gone unnoticed and the family was awarded the Carter-Menl Human Rights Prize for giving "hope to all in South Africa who oppose and suffer under this unjust system of apartheid".

In 1985, Sisulu and two fellow Rivonia treason trialists, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni, followed the example of Nelson Mandela in rejecting an offer of conditional release from President P W Botha.

U-CAR Mpehtha turned 40 this year — the same year in which one of his sons, Karl, was killed in a car accident.

He was refused permission to attend his son's funeral as well as that of his wife, Roselyn, who died three years ago.

Serving a five-year sentence for terrorism, Mpehtha turned Mpehtha back on conditional freedom three years ago, according to his son, Mr Themba Mpehtha.

Former Food and Canning Workers' Union leader, Mpehtha is said to be South Africa's oldest political prisoner. Returned 60 in hospital on August 26 in that year and taken to Polismoor prison.

Mpehtha was found guilty of taking part in terrorism activities and not guilty of two further charges of murder by Mr Justice Williamson on June 6, 1983.

Mr Williamson sentenced him to the mandatory minimum five years in jail.

Passing sentence, the judge said "Mpehtha is old and very ill. He is suffering from diabetes and its complications and is due to have a leg amputated."

"His life expectancy is limited and at best he has only a couple of years to live, even with the best medical treatment in the world."

Mpehtha's appeal failed in 1985, he was arrested in a police raid on his Nyanga home on August 26 in that year and taken to Polismoor prison.

charged with treason in 1956 and finally sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Treason Trial in 1964. He was 34 then and he turned 60 on August 12 this year.

Known as Kathy to his friends, Kathrada, a former general secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was born in Western Transvaal.

He had his first contact with his family in 1986.

"The family was overjoyed to see him. Although we hope that he will be released some day, this was far from imminent," said his sister-in-law Mrs Zohra Kathrada afterwards.

The Kathrada family believed that life in jail had not changed one of the leaders of the 1952 Defence Campaign.

"We are proud and respect and admire him for his beliefs, principles and steadfastness," she said.

Mrs Kathrada, who corresponds of the Rivonia Treason Trial to appreciate the type of person he is."

Mr Lalloo Chiba, who spent 18 years on Robben Island with Kathrada, described him as a very modest man.

He did not think that Kathrada would have wanted people to "make a fuss" about his 60th birthday, he said.

Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and Andrew Mlangeni turned their backs on an offer of conditional release from former State President, Mr P W Botha, in 1985.

Kathrada was banned for two years in 1952, charged with treason with 149 other Defence Campaign leaders in 1956, detained for five months during the State Emergency in 1962 and placed under 12-hour house arrest in the same year.

The South African Communist Party leader went underground in the same year, joining the high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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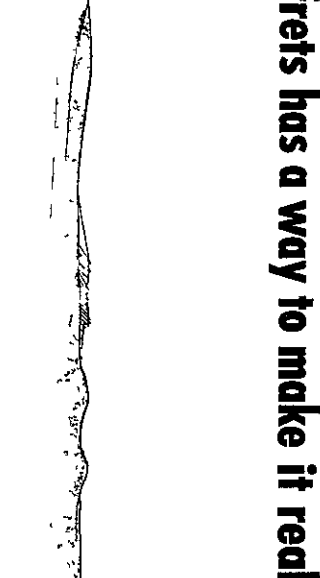
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# These are the elite men who are going to get us free

Walter Max Uyate Sisulu (77) was secretary-general of the ANC when sentenced with Mr Nelson Mandela on June 12, 1964 to life imprisonment at the end of one of the most sensational trials in South Africa's history.

## TRAIN SCUFFLE

In 1940 he joined the African National Congress and later became Treasurer of its Youth League. During World War 2 he campaigned against Africans joining the army.

# Walter Sisulu

against the Government programme to intensify apartheid, and was tried that December with Mr Mandela under the Suppression of Communism Act for leading the campaign.

That month Sisulu was re-elected ANC secretary general and in 1953 spent five months touring China, the Soviet Union, Israel, Rumania and Britain.

Following the banning of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Sisulu was placed under house arrest. He was held at least six times during 1962, but charged only once.

In March 1963 he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC, but released on bail and placed under 24 hour house arrest pending appeal.

the ANC headquarters in Rivonia, was raided by police and Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and others were captured.

After his conviction in June 1964, he, Mr Mandela and the other convicted members of the ANC were sent to Robben Island.

He and Mr Mandela were later moved to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town.

They were great friends, and Sisulu was said to have missed Mr Mandela sorely when the ANC leader was moved to the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

## BIRTHDAY VISIT

The men met again in July this year when Sisulu was taken to Mr Mandela's bungalow in the prison grounds at Pollsmoor for a rare visit just days before Mr Mandela's 71st birthday.

Sisulu's wife Albertina, a nurse at a township clinic, is co-president of the banned United Democratic Front.

His son Zwelakhe was detained without trial in December 1986 then released without any explanation two years later.

Oscar Mpehla (60) is said to be the oldest political prisoner in South Africa.

He was born at Mount Fletcher in the Transkei on August 5 1909 and went to Cape Town in 1935.

Regarded as the father of African Food and Canning Workers Union (now part of the Food and Allied Workers Union) in 1947 while working at a fish factory at Laaapok on the West Coast.

He became the union's secretary general in 1951.

He joined the ANC in 1948 and became its Cape chairman in 1958 - two years before the organisation was banned.

Mpehla was served a number of banning orders and spent four years in jail from 1960 after being convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC.

## Jaftha Masemula

Jaftha Masemula was born on December 12 1928.

He was sentenced for sabotage on July 2 1963 to life imprisonment.

# Oscar Mpehla

He was sentenced to five years jail in July 1983 for terrorism in connection with an incident in 1980 in which violence near the Crossroads squatter camp claimed the lives of two motorists.

The ailing Mpehla had effectively spent three years in jail from 1980 as an awaiting trial prisoner and while on trial. The State spent vast sums on his medical treatment before he was sentenced.

The judge Mr Justice Wil Hamsom said he would not have jailed Mpehla had he not been bound to do so by the now repealed Terrorism Act which laid down a minimum five-year sentence.

Mpehla was then released on R1 bail - the only person to be released for early release.

As a diabetic, he has received frequent treatment at Groote Schuur Hospital to keep down his blood-sugar level. He passed his time there knitting jerseys. In 1983 he lost a leg from gangrene. His other is also said to be in danger.

Mpehla's wife, and his son Karl, died while he was imprisoned at Pollsmoor. On both occasions he was refused permission to attend the funerals.

His wife Rose Nomabunga who died in 1986, was active in the Federation of South African Women and was said to have suffered from depression since her husband's conviction.

Mpehla was chosen as one of the first presidents of the UDF which was formed in 1983. He is now a patron of the movement.

He was also made president of the Release Mandela Campaign established in 1987.

# Elias Motsaedi

Elias Motsaedi, a former ANC and South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) activist first became politically active as a factory worker in Johannesburg in the early 1940s.

Born on July 26 1924 in Sekhonduniani (now Lebowa) Motsaedi joined the Leader Workers Union and in the late 1940s he served as an executive member of the Committee of Non-European Trade Unions.

During this period he also joined the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa. In 1952 shortly after the Defiance Campaign he was banned but nevertheless remained politically active.

# Raymond Mhlaba

Born in the Eastern Cape 69 years ago, Raymond Mhlaba (former Eastern Cape ANC and Communist Party leader) and a member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe High Command was one of the eight Rivonia accused sentenced to life imprisonment 25 years ago.

Mhlaba's political activities began in the trade union movement in the early 1940s. He came from a Port Elizabeth family and was employed as laundry worker until 1947 when he was hired a member of the Council for Non-European Trade Unions, he was a leader of the historic month-long strike.

From the mid-1940s he was active in the Communist Party and the ANC, serving as Port Elizabeth Communist Party branch secretary and ANC Chairman from 1946 to 1953. In 1949 he led the Eastern Cape Bus Boycott Action.

# Andrew Mlangeni

Andrew Mlangeni (61) was one of the ANC leaders jailed after the Rivonia Trial in 1963/64.

Mlangeni was born on May 3 1926. He completed his Sid 8 in Johannesburg and then worked as a clerk, bus driver and gold candidate to earn money to further his education. He also worked as a journalist for the now banned *Nouv Age* newspaper.

Mlangeni joined the ANC Youth League in 1951 and was involved in the 1952 Defiance Campaign. In 1958 he was elected secretary of the ANC's Soweto Region.

In 1964 he went underground and, according to Rivonia trial evidence, he and Elias Motsaedi joined the Johannesburg command of Umkhonto we Sizwe and were responsible for explosives for sabotage.

He was one of the founder members of Umkhonto.

## ANC and PAC call for intensified sanctions

(24/10) The Star's Africa News Service (11A)

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have both called for an intensification of the sanctions campaign against South Africa despite the Government's decision to release eight political prisoners.

In a statement released here, the ANC described the release of the eight prisoners as "an important victory brought about by the struggle of the South African people and the international community".

### Sisulus are unsure about freedom date

By Stan Hlophe

The Sisulu family are in the dark about when the ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and seven fellow prisoners will be freed.

This emerged in an interview yesterday with a family spokesman after the family returned from Cape Town, where it had visited Mr Sisulu in Pollsmoor Prison.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the former ANC general secretary, was among the family members who spent three days with him.

The eight who the State President Mr F W de Klerk announced would be unconditionally released are: Mr Sisulu, (77), his fellow Rivonia trialists, Mr Ahmed Kathrada (60), Mr Elias Motsoaledi (65), Mr Kgalabi Jafta Masemola (61), Mr Andrew Mlangeni (63), Mr Raymond Mhlaba (68), Mr Wilton Mkwayi

(65) and the ailing Mr Oscar Mphetha (80).

The ANC said that for negotiations to take place the South African Government should meet the provisions of the "Harare Declaration" which calls for the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of all organisation and ending the state of emergency.

"It is of vital importance that at this critical moment, the international community, including the forthcoming Commonwealth summit and the general assembly of the United Nations, should impose more sanctions to bring about a speedy end to the apartheid system," the statement said

The PAC, in a statement released in Dar es Salaam, said the release of the eight prisoners could not be "a source for jubilation" because it was not an indication of Pretoria's change of heart but simply a strategy to ward off intensified economic sanctions"

# May Day victory

NA  
Sowetan  
11/10/89

THE Government's belated approval of May Day as a public holiday was a realisation of the weak state of the economy and that it was no longer necessary to dodge the international workers' day.

This was said by prominent trade unionist Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe yesterday

"Because black workers did not give in to PW Botha's so-called workers' day and also unilaterally declared May Day for themselves, it became an economic problem in terms of the losses that would accrue every year when they had to maintain May 1 while workers had an option of taking a holiday declared by the Government," Nefolovhodwe said

## Crisis

Meanwhile, many black union leaders hailed the Government's decision as a victory for workers

National organiser of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA Mr Enobongwana said the recognition of May Day reflected a crisis facing the black class

He said FW de Klerk wanted to gain acceptance into the international community, particularly with the Commonwealth conference around the corner

Numsa would contin-

ue to press that the Labour Relations Amendment Act be scrapped and the Government would eventually back down

The first assistant general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, said

"The concession by the State on May Day is basically a victory for the workers. It must be remembered that this concession is not a gift from FW de Klerk but a result of the struggle they have waged over the years"

The president of the

National Union of Wine, Spirit and Allied Workers, Mr November Nkosi, said the concession showed that the African working class had won its battle against the Government

His union therefore saluted the African working class for their efforts in forcing the Government to concede to their demands

The general secretary of the SA Black Municipal Workers' Union, Mr Phillip Dlamini, said the granting of May Day came as a result of pres-

sure from the workers and not because of the kindness of the regime

"For Sabmawu this represents nothing new," he said

In 1986, more than 1500000 workers throughout South Africa marked May Day with a stayaway - one of the most extensive national general strikes by black workers in the country's history, he said

Sowetan was not able to get comment from Cosatu as the federation's leaders were said to be in a meeting

Nefolovhodwe

11/10/87

# UWC hails news with reservations

Staff Reporter 117 ~~117~~

NEWS of the impending release of eight security prisoners has been welcomed by more than 1 000 students at a meeting at the University of the Western Cape.

The guest speaker last night, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, urged the state to release all political prisoners.

The people wanted all their imprisoned leaders "here and now", he said.

## "SAME MESSAGE"

Time was running out for reform.

Dr Boesak said he would deliver the "same message" at discussions today with the State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, said he believed it was no good releasing prisoners if they were then placed under restrictions.

● Picture, page 3.

# Thatcher is 'jubilant', Washington applauds

From CHRIS WHITFIELD in London and DAVID BRAUN in Washington

## The Argus Foreign Service

THE government's decision to release Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners has been greeted with applause and enthusiasm in Britain and America

From London it was reported that the British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher and her government last night enthusiastically welcomed the decision

American reaction reported from Washington was generally one of applause and encouragement

Mrs Thatcher, who heard the news direct from President F W de Klerk in a telephone call to the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool, said it was a "major step in the right direction".

"I very much welcome the decision. Naturally, we all hope it will lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and open the way to negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa," said the Prime Minister.

A spokesman for Mrs

Thatcher said she had been "jubilant" on getting the news

Foreign Secretary Mr John Major, tipped to succeed Mrs Thatcher as party leader, said: "Well, I very much hope that good things are now going to happen. It was perfectly clear from the election results that the South Africans were in a mood for reform. This movement within a very brief period of the elections is very helpful indeed. I hope it will be the first of many."

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, an outspoken critic of apartheid, said "This is great news. Surely now the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela cannot be delayed."

The announcement of the releases has been strongly featured on television news programmes and in newspapers here

BBC television news last night featured clips from SABC-TV in which newsreader John Bishop announced the release

The BBC also showed Mr Zwelake Sisulu getting the news that his father's was to be released from the teleprinters

at his newspaper offices. However, it could not record his response because the newspaper editor is banned from giving interviews.

The BBC's reporter pointed out that the timing of the announcement was carefully chosen just ahead of next week's Commonwealth conference, where Mrs Thatcher will again defend South Africa against mandatory comprehensive sanctions

In the United States a spokeswoman for the State Department said the decision was a step the Administration had long called for.

"We feel certain this will be a step towards creating the proper climate for negotiations," she said.

Republican Congressman Dan Burton said in an interview he applauded Mr De Klerk

"Positive steps such as this are really helpful right now for those of us in Congress who oppose sanctions. Following the news that Johannesburg has become desegregated, this is very welcome

# Pupils march to celebrate for freed 'comrades'

Staff Reporter

NR645 11/10/87

MORE than 200 pupils in uniform marched through the streets of Khayelitsha today chanting "Viva Sisulu" in apparent response to the announced release of eight ANC leaders.

The pupils alighted from a train at Khayelitsha station about 8am and headed towards A section. Their spokesman, who refused to give his name, said they were celebrating the release of what he called their "comrades in the struggle."

Pamphlets distributed in Khayelitsha under the MDM and UDF banner said: "Today we celebrate the release of Sisulu, Kathrada, Mhlaba, Mkwazi, Mlangeni, Motsoaledi, Masemola and Mpetha. We salute your courage and commitment over these long years. Welcome home."

## STRUGGLES FREED THEM

The pamphlet went on to say the release was a victory made in the streets, townships and factories. "It was not made in Tuynhuys or the apartheid parliament. It was not made by Margaret Thatcher or Bush. It is our struggles and defiance that have freed our leaders. We must not let them rob us of this victory. We must demonstrate to the world our strength and our power."

However, the pamphlet said: "While we celebrate let us remember that apartheid remains, LRA and gutter education remains. There are many hundreds more in apartheid jails. We must release them."

● There was no indication this morning of the impending release of the seven senior political prisoners, including former ANC secretary Mr Walter Sisulu.

Local and foreign media were at the prison gates from 8am but only the presence of the large Press contingent gave any indication that today could see the historic release of the Rivonia trialists.

Two smartly dressed young men outside the prison were asked to comment on the release.

One was looking for work and said he had never heard of Sisulu. The other came to visit his brother serving a nine-year sentence for assault. "I've never heard about these guys," he said.

### Wilton Mkwayi

# Concessions to freedom receive a wide welcome

By Kevin Udemans and Toni Youngusband

Wilton Zamisile Mkwayi, former ANC member and South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) leader, was detained in August 1964, imprisoned at Robben Island and later Pollsmoor

The son of a Port Elizabeth ANC member, Mkwayi left school in 1938 at 15 and worked in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town as a stevedore, labourer, factory worker and clerk

In 1947 he joined the SA Railways and Harbours Workers Union. From there on he played a leading role in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) and later in Sactu, organising workers in railways, textiles, tin and iron and steel industries

In 1952 he was elected Eastern Cape volunteer-in-chief of the ANC's Defiance Campaign. Over the next eight years he was arrested five times for his role in strikes and ANC campaigns. In 1956 he was one of 165 people charged with high treason and was acquitted in 1961. He was Sactu national treasurer from the late 1950s until his arrest in 1964

When emergency was declared in 1960 he narrowly escaped arrest, slipped out of the country and represented Sactu at the World Federation of Trade Unions. He later received military training and returned to SA to become a member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe High Command

He escaped arrest at Rivonia in 1963 and from there on led the new high command. In August 1964 he was arrested and was tried, together with Lalloo Chiba, Mac Maharaj and Johan Matthews

In 1987 Mkwayi married his 63 year-old fiancée of 20 years, Irene, at the Pollsmoor Prison. Mkwayi's wife died in December last year. They had two children

The announcement of the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other security prisoners was welcomed by many organisations last night

The national chairman of the Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Jules Browde, said his organisation was delighted

'We can only hope that this is a forerunner to the release of all political prisoners and persons detained so that the day in which negotiation can take place will become very much nearer

Mrs Caroline Motsoaledi, wife of Mr Elias Motsoaledi, due to be released, said she was overwhelmed and felt his release was long overdue

'I will start making arrangements to fly to Cape Town to meet him on his release. The children are also very happy'

Mrs Motsoaledi last saw her husband in December

Dr Zach de Beer, co leader of the Democratic Party, said the releases seemed to be part of the process which the President had defined as 'the creation of a climate in which negotiation can take place'

He said it was noteworthy that Mr Nelson Mandela had not been included. Without

whom, he believed, negotiation could not start

'Equally, if Mr Mandela were to be released before negotiations were possible, that would entail certain dangers. The whole episode therefore simply serves to emphasise the urgency of beginning the process of negotiation

Five Freedoms Forum publicity secretary Ms Gael Neke said it welcomed the expected releases

### Propaganda

The question of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela remains. All of these political prisoners should have been released years ago. Despite massive propaganda the Government has not been able to take away the legitimacy of these leaders'

Ms Neke said the imprisonment of political leaders was a crime against South Africa's development and a waste of political contribution and spirit

Mr Mandela and the others have not been allowed to fulfil their roles in South Africa's development. They have been prevented from participating, adapting and being tested

The many years of the lives of some of South Africa's most valuable people have been wasted. We need leaders from all spectrums of our community who can lead

our country to becoming a more just South Africa'

The chairman of the Transvaal region of the Black Sash, Ms Judith Hawarden, said the organisation welcomed the prisoners' release and hoped it would happen as speedily as possible

'We urge the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners so that the process of negotiation can be facilitated'

Sapa reports that the Transvaal Indian Congress has expressed "great joy" at the pending release of the eight security prisoners announced by President de Klerk

We view this as a victory for the struggling masses of our country," the TIC said in a statement

The congress expresses the hope that this historic event will be accompanied by the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, and the return of exiles

We also hope this will be followed by the unbanning of the ANC and all other banned organisations, it said

We await our leaders' return so that they will be able to take their rightful place in the struggle for national liberation and guide us all in establishing a just democratic South Africa, as espoused in the Freedom Charter



Flashback

### Ahmed Kathrada

Ahmed Kathrada (60) was one of the ANC leaders sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial of 1963/64

He was born in Schweizer-Reneke in the Transvaal on August 21 1929, became politically involved at the age of 11 and became known as "Kathy" in his community

He was a member of the SA Communist Party in the 1940s and became chairman of the Indian Youth Congress

He was later elected general secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress. He was one of those who forged closer links between the ANC and the TIC

During the 1950s and 1960s he was tried, jailed and detained several times

In October 1962 he became the chairman of the first Free Mandela Committee

In 1963 he went underground and joined the Umkhonto High Command after he being placed under house arrest. He was 34 when he was arrested at Lihesleaf farm and sentenced in the Rivonia trial. He was charged on one of the four counts in the trial

Kathrada is in Pollsmoor and, while in prison, has completed a BA and two honours degrees



# Eight to go free

ARC us 11/10/89  
(Cont from page 1)

talking about to create a climate for negotiation, then it certainly had value, he said

But clearly the important thing was that negotiations for a new South African constitution must begin and this, in the end, could not happen without Mr Mandela, Dr De Beer said

University of Cape Town vice-chancellor and principal Dr Stuart Saunders welcomed the releases and said he hoped these would help in the "resolution of the pressing problems South Africa faces"

UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel said it was necessary to build on the principles for which the soon-to-be-released prisoners had fought

"We have not won the victory yet — but we are winning," he said

The Western Cape branch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) said while it welcomed the announcement, the releases were "merely one step on the road to a truly united, non-racial and democratic South Africa" and it could not understand why the leaders had not been released many years ago

## "GREAT VICTORY"

"The unconditional release of our leaders suggests to us that the system has unofficially unbanned the ANC. For this reason we call for the immediate unbanning of our peoples' organisations, the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the immediate release of all other political prisoners, trialists and detainees, and the free and safe release of all our leaders in exile."

Mr Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the restricted United Democratic Front and spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement, said the news of the releases was "most welcome" but that it was "unacceptable" for Mr Mandela to remain in prison

Speaking today from Umtata — where, he said, a number of political prisoners had also been released — Mr Omar said: "The release of Walter Sisulu and others is undoubtedly a great victory for the struggle of our people, and for our in-

ternational friends who have been agitating for the release of the eight

"Now it is unacceptable that Mr Mandela should remain in prison. It is not good enough to say he himself says his release is not an issue at the moment.

"For the people of this country it is a major issue, and it is the height of cynicism to keep him in prison for virtually no justifiable reason"

The MDM has called a snap mass rally at Athlone Stadium today which will be followed by a march to Mr Mpetsha's home.

According to a MDM pamphlet distributed to commuters early today, the release of the eight was a victory for the people.

## "IN THE STREETS"

"This release is our victory, this release was made in the streets, townships and factories of our land

"It was not made in Tuynhys or the apartheid parliament. It was not made by Thatcher or Bush"

Extra-parliamentary organisations such as affiliates of the UDF and Cosatu today described the announcement as a "massive victory" for the people of South Africa

A joint statement said "Our leaders will be reunited with their people and their families after a long and painful separation. Their release is also a victory for the international solidarity movement, the sanctions campaign and the campaign to isolate the regime

## "TESTED LEADERS"

"These are tried and tested leaders of our people. Through many long and lonely years they have remained unflinching in their refusal to be separated from the liberation movement and their people"

While Mr Mandela said that his release was "not now on the agenda" and he could not plead for his own release, this had to be ensured by increased pressure from the mass of the people and internationally, the statement said.

The release has been welcomed by leftist organisations. National chairman of the Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Jules Browde, said: "We can only hope that this is a forerunner to the release of all political prisoners and all persons who have been detained so that the day in which negotiation can take place will come very much nearer"

According to one minister the President's move can be seen as the beginning of a process of removing obstacles to negotiation.

Mr Coetsee and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, had talks with Mr Nelson Mandela in his house at Victor Verster prison in Paarl yesterday.

Other considerations were the fact that the British Conservative Party is holding its annual conference and that the Commonwealth conference starts in Kuala Lumpur on October 18.

This afternoon Mr De Klerk is meeting three churchmen, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Alan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane in Pretoria.

Mr De Klerk said in his statement last night that Mr Mandela had been fully apprised of the proposed release.

It appeared as if he stood by his earlier attitude that his release was not an issue at present

According to Mr Murphy Morobe of the UDF, one of a delegation that visited Mr Mandela yesterday, he was "greatly satisfied" and hoped that the move would benefit the people, but thought that more should be done.

The African National Congress was "delighted" at the news, an official in London said. The release had been "long overdue"

## "UNDER PRESSURE"

She said "What we are now witnessing is the importance of pressure. There is no doubt that De Klerk is now acting under domestic and international pressure and is desperately trying to stave off new sanctions at the Kuala Lumpur summit for the Commonwealth heads of government."

Dr Zac de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said today the fact that Mr Mandela's release was not on the agenda would seem to imply that there was some agreement between him and the Government.

If the release of the prisoners could be seen as part of a process Mr De Klerk had been

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government last night announced that eight of South Africa's most prominent political prisoners, including former African National Congress secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu and four others sentenced to life imprisonment with Mr Nelson Mandela 25 years ago, are about to be released unconditionally.

In addition to the 77-year-old Mr Sisulu, Rivonia trialists to be released are Mr Andrew Mlangeni, 63, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, 68, Mr Elias Motsaedi, 65, and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, 60.

The other three are Mr Jafta Mesemula, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, 65 — who briefly took over the reins of Umkhonto we Sizwe after the Rivonia arrests and also was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 — and Mr Oscar Mpetha, 80, who is serving a five-year sentence for "terrorism".

### 'Poor health'

Hospital sources said the ailing Mr Mpetha, who is a diabetic and described as in poor health, was moved to an unknown place from Groote Schuur Hospital earlier yesterday by security police.

President De Klerk said in a statement broadcast on the 8pm news that Mr Nelson Mandela had been "fully apprised of the proposed release". Discussions had been held with him and he "confirmed that his own release was not now on the agenda".

Mr De Klerk was quoted as saying the eight prisoners would be released "as soon as the necessary formalities could be dealt with" and that these "could take some time".

He said the decision had been

## Major step, says jubilant Mrs Thatcher

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher last night hailed the prisoner releases as a "major step" forward for South Africa.

"I very much welcome the decision which has just been announced by President De Klerk. It is a major step in the right direction.

"Naturally, we all hope that it will lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and open the way for negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa," she said.

Spokespeople for Mrs Thatcher said she was "jubilant" after being given the news.

Government officials seemed confident that the release of such eminent prisoners was epic enough to remove the immediate threat of new sanctions.

Senior ANC officials here said the news was "good" but they were awaiting further detailed information, such as whether the men would be free to travel and to participate unrestricted in political activity.

They said they suspected that banning orders would not be lifted till the new year when, it is expected, Mr Mandela will be released.

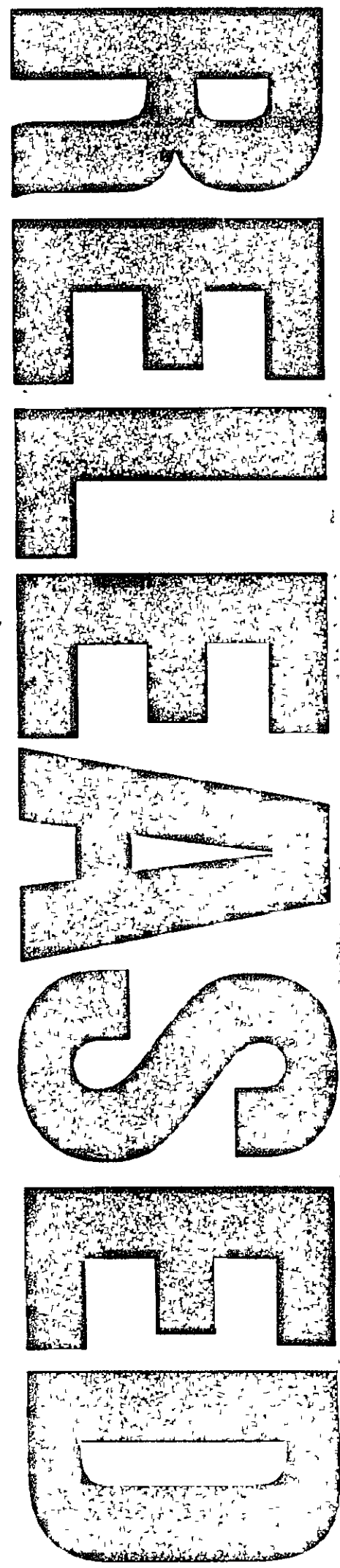
taken against the background of representations from various sources over a long period.

The views of "moderate black leaders, including the leaders of the self-governing territories, carried special weight", he said, adding that he hoped the releases would "contribute to the spirit of reconciliation which is presently evident in our country".

The announcement comes a week before the start of the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur, where further punitive

CHN 7/11/87 11/10/87 in 1/1000

# Rivonia 5, Mpetha to go free



measures against Pretoria will be discussed, and hours before the Union Buildings meeting between Mr De Klerk and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane. A Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria said President De Klerk yesterday personally conveyed the decision to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

He said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had conveyed the decision to the President of Portugal, Dr Mario Soares, shortly before his departure to Lisbon last night.

Mr Botha also conveyed the news to the US Secretary of State, Mr Howard Baker, and French President Francois Mitterrand.

Meanwhile, UPI reports that activist sources said Mr Mandela held talks yesterday at his prison residence with two groups, including the five Rivonia trialists.

### 'Great joy'

Prominent anti-apartheid activists in the other group included Mr Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front, Mr Cas Coovadia, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, of the National

Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Eliza Barayi of Cosatu.

The parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, last night welcomed the impending release as "a step on the road to creating a climate for negotiation".

However, he warned that negotiation of importance could begin without Mr Mandela.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the Transvaal Indian Congress expressed "great joy" at the impending release. "We view this as a victory for the struggling masses of our country," the TIC said in a statement.

It hoped the "historic event" would be accompanied by the release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners and the return of exiles.

"We also hope that this will be followed by the unbanning of the ANC and all other banned organisations."

# Freedom for eight

**WALTER SISULU**

WALTER Max Ulyate Sisulu (77) was secretary-general of the African National Congress when he was sentenced with Nel-

son Mandela on June 12 1964 to life imprisonment at the end of one of the most sensational trials in South Africa's history

Born in the Transkei in December 1912, Sisulu was raised by his mother and an uncle and attended an Anglican missionary institute, but had to leave school at 15 to work after his uncle died.

After working as a miner and in a bakery, his militant politics were shaped by strikes and clashes with white author-

ities His dissatisfaction with various employers led to the establishment of his own estate agency, but it closed down after two years



*Soweto*

*1971/10*

cused were sentenced to nine months' jail, suspended for two years

That month Sisulu was re-elected ANC secretary-general and in 1953 spent five months touring China, the Soviet Union, Israel, Rumania and Britain

Banning orders forced him to resign from the ANC in 1954, but he secretly continued to work for the organisation, joining its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation)

In December 1956 he was among 156 people arrested for high treason, but eventually acquitted in 1961

## Banning

Following the banning of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the ANC, Sisulu was placed under house arrest. He was held at least six times during 1962, but charged only once

In March 1963 he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC, but released on bail and placed under 24-hour house arrest pending appeal

On July 11, Liliesleaf Farm, the ANC headquarters in Rivonia, was raided by police and Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others were captured. Sisulu spent 88 days in solitary confinement

After his conviction in June 1964, he, Mandela and the other convicted members of the ANC were sent to Robben Island. The total of 20 ac-

He and Mandela were later moved to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town

Sisulu's wife Albertina, a nurse at a township clinic, is co-president of the United Democratic Front

His son Zwiakhe was detained without trial in December 1986, then released without any explanation two years later

## OSCAR MPETHA

OSCAR Mphetha was sentenced to five years' jail in July 1983 for terrorism in connection with an incident in 1980 in which violence near Crossroads squatter camp claimed the lives of two motorists

The ailing Mphetha had effectively spent three years in jail from 1980 as an awaiting-trial prisoner and while on trial.

The State spent vast sums of money on his medical treatment before he was sentenced. The judge, Mr Justice

To pa ( )

# THE GREAT HOMEcomings

IA South 5/10-11/10/89

A HUGE homecoming is being planned for ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners whose unconditional release was announced by the government this week.

As excitement mounted in townships, the leadership of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) have been meeting in major centres throughout the country since Tuesday to plan receptions which are likely to include mass rallies and marches.

## Special focus inside

At the same time the families of Sisulu, 77, Ahmed Kathrada, 60, Oscar Mpehla, 80, Andrew Mhlaba, 69, Elias Motosaledi, 65, Wilton Mkwayi, Jaftha Masemola, 60, and Andrew Mlangeni, 63, are making feverish domestic arrangements to ease their return to society

In New Brighton township near Port Elizabeth, Mrs Dideke Mhlaba spoke of the "longest day in her life" since the announcement of her husband's release on Tuesday night.

## Homecoming

FROM PAGE 1

"I was hoping with all my heart that Tuesday night was going to be my last night alone," said Mrs Mhlaba.

In Johannesburg, a reception committee comprised of representatives from community organisations, trade unions and churches was hastily formed on Tuesday morning.

The committee is likely to be co-ordinated by National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, who co-ordinated the reception committee when ANC leader, Govan Mbeki, was released at the end of 1987

Similar committees have been established in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

As the news of the releases leaked out, hastily-convened reception committees swung into action

Their rapid reaction was fuelled by a request from Nelson Mandela for urgent talks with the MDM leadership and Oscar Mpehla's "noon disappearance" from Groote Schuur hospital

The reception committee in Cape Town has announced that it intends to hold a "victory march" when South Africa's oldest political prisoner, Mr Oscar Mpehla, 80, is released from Groote Schuur Hospital

There are rumours that Mpehla, who suffers from diabetes, will be booked into the private Gatesville Medical Centre but other sources said he had asked to go straight home to Nyanga and that arrangements were being made for him to have a private nurse

On Wednesday afternoon about 3 000 people — mainly high school students — gathered at the Vygieskraal stadium in Athlone despite a heavy police presence

In Port Elizabeth, reception committee members this week visited the home of Mrs Mhlaba where they discussed the release of her husband

The homecoming arrangements were discussed by the four-person MDM delegation, which included Mrs Albertina Sisulu, that met Mandela at his house at Victor Verster prison, outside Paarl on Tuesday

P.T.O.



**NOW FOR MANDELA'S RELEASE:** Trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, whose release was announced this week, wears a broad grin and a "Free Mandela" T-shirt

Soweto - 12/10/89 - 18/10/89

## Death of ANC, PAC stalwart

CHRISTOPHER Mlokothe, a former ANC and PAC member who was crippled after an injury while imprisoned on Robben Island, has died in Cape Town at the age of 63.

Mlokothe, a member of the ANC Youth League until 1959 when he joined the PAC, died at his sister's home, Mrs Nombulelo Mlandu, in Khayelitsha on Monday while waiting for a kidney donor. He had spent several months in Groote Schuur Hospital.

# Human rights award for Cassiem

JOHANNESBURG — Achmad Cassiem, jailed leader of the Cape-based Qibla movement, and pressure group Actstop were named joint winners of the The Indicator Human Rights Award 1989 at a function attended by more than 600 people in Lenasia, near here, last weekend.

The Lenasia-based newspaper announced the winners voted by its readers

The banned African National Congress (ANC) was given a standing ovation after being named The Indicator Newsmaker of the Year 1988/9.

TIC vice-president Mr Laloo "Isu" Chiba, who was jailed for 18 years on Robben Island, read the ANC's acceptance message sent from Lusaka.

The Indicator also gave its first Honorary Human Rights Award to retired non-racial sports chief Hassan Howa.

Howa was taken ill shortly before he was to leave Cape Town for the function. His award was accepted on his behalf by Dr Gulam Karim, president of the Cricket Association of the Transvaal.

There was an outpouring of emo-

tion as the audience gave a standing ovation to the family of a winner of last-year's award, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, who was gunned down in January.

Professor Fatuma Meer delivered the inaugural Abu-Baker Asvat Memorial Lecture on Justice and Peace, and caused a small stir by calling for a radical rethink of anti-apartheid strategies.

The editor of The Indicator, Ameen Akhalwaya, described the annual awards as "the poor people's Nobel Prize".

Cassiem, jailed for six years in the

PAC-Qibla trial last year, was a "symbol of our leaders who are in jail without hurting or harming anybody", said Akhalwaya.

Akhalwaya traced Cassiem's treatment by the authorities since he was first detained at the age of 18, 1964, said "murderers and Mandrax pushers" sat in parliament while popular leaders were in jail.

Cassiem's award was received by his wife, Mrs Fatma Cassiem and was presented to her by Mrs Barbara Manthata, wife of Tom Manthata who was jailed with several others in the historic Delmas trials last year.

(11A)  
Soutw 12-18/10/89



NATIONAL

# Students launch new 'congress' in Athlone

By HENRI du PLESSIS *AKG's*  
and DALE KNEEN *12/10/89*  
Staff Reporters *11A*

THE Athlone Student Congress has been officially "launched" at the Vygieskraal Stadium during a dramatic mass meeting

Pupils from student representative councils throughout the Peninsula yesterday addressed a crowd of about 5 000 pupils who sang, danced and played sports on the field from 9am to 3pm

A planned march to the home of United Democratic Front leader Mr Oscar Mpetha to celebrate his imminent release was thwarted by police who gathered outside the stadium

A constant stream of pupils — some led by school principals — from as far afield as Nyanga flowed into the stadium throughout the day until police closed off access

An open field next to the stadium was set alight by burning teargas canisters and a fire engine was called to put out the blaze

Congress officials claimed that buses with more pupils were released

from Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha were prevented from going to the stadium

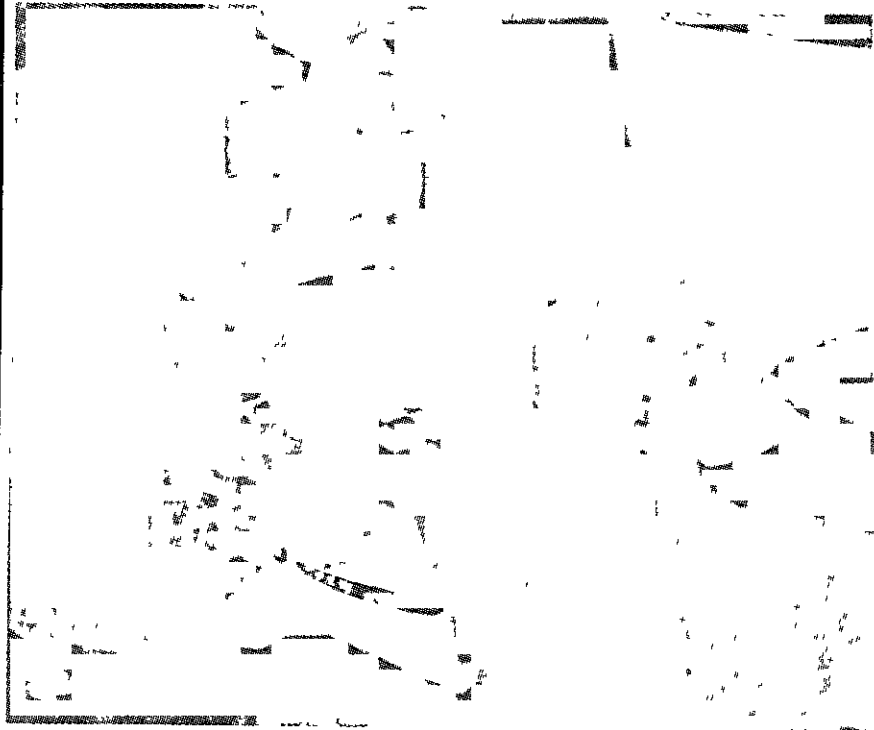
Pupils inside the stadium toyi-toyed, held banners and displayed the ANC flag

An official addressing the meeting lauded the freeing of Mr Mpetha and the Rivonia trialists, but warned that "the people" would not rest until Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were freed as well

The crowd was also informed of other marches and demonstrations planned for the weekend, including a demonstration by members of Cosatu against the Labour Relations Amendment Act and a march in support of striking workers at a Bellville electronics firm

A congress spokesman said "We aim to organise student representative councils in all schools in Athlone and to address school stayaways, gangsterism, sexual harassment and other problems experienced at schools"

Before being allowed out of the stadium in groups the crowd was told to save its energy for a march which would be held on the day Mr Mpetha was released



ALCAMP/DEKA

Pupils sing at yesterday's rally



# After 26 years ... an unbearable wait!

11A  
South 12/10-18/10/89

From MONO BADELA

**JOHANNESBURG.** — When Mrs Dideka Mhlaba laid her head to rest on Tuesday night she hoped with all her heart that it was going to be her last night alone.

But when the sun set again 24 hours later she was still alone in her home in the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton, while her husband, Raymond Mhlaba, was still in Pollsmoor maximum security prison outside Cape Town

"It was the most disappointing and the longest day in my life," Mrs Mhlaba, 65, and a mother of two daughters and a son told SOUTH in an interview on Wednesday night.

Wednesday proved to be a distressing day

Her husband is one of the eight long-term security political prisoners who are agonisingly waiting for their release after more than a quarter

I don't easily give up hope but now it seems these people are playing games with our people," she said

She said friends had been coming to the house, some helping with the cleaning, hoping to be there when Mhlaba arrived home

Like her husband, Mrs Mhlaba took part in the defiance campaign in 1952 and had spent two months in jail

The same predicament was experienced by two other "political widows" in Soweto

### Disappointing

Mrs June Mlangeni, wife of Andrew Mlangeni, said "It has been another disappointing day for me and my children

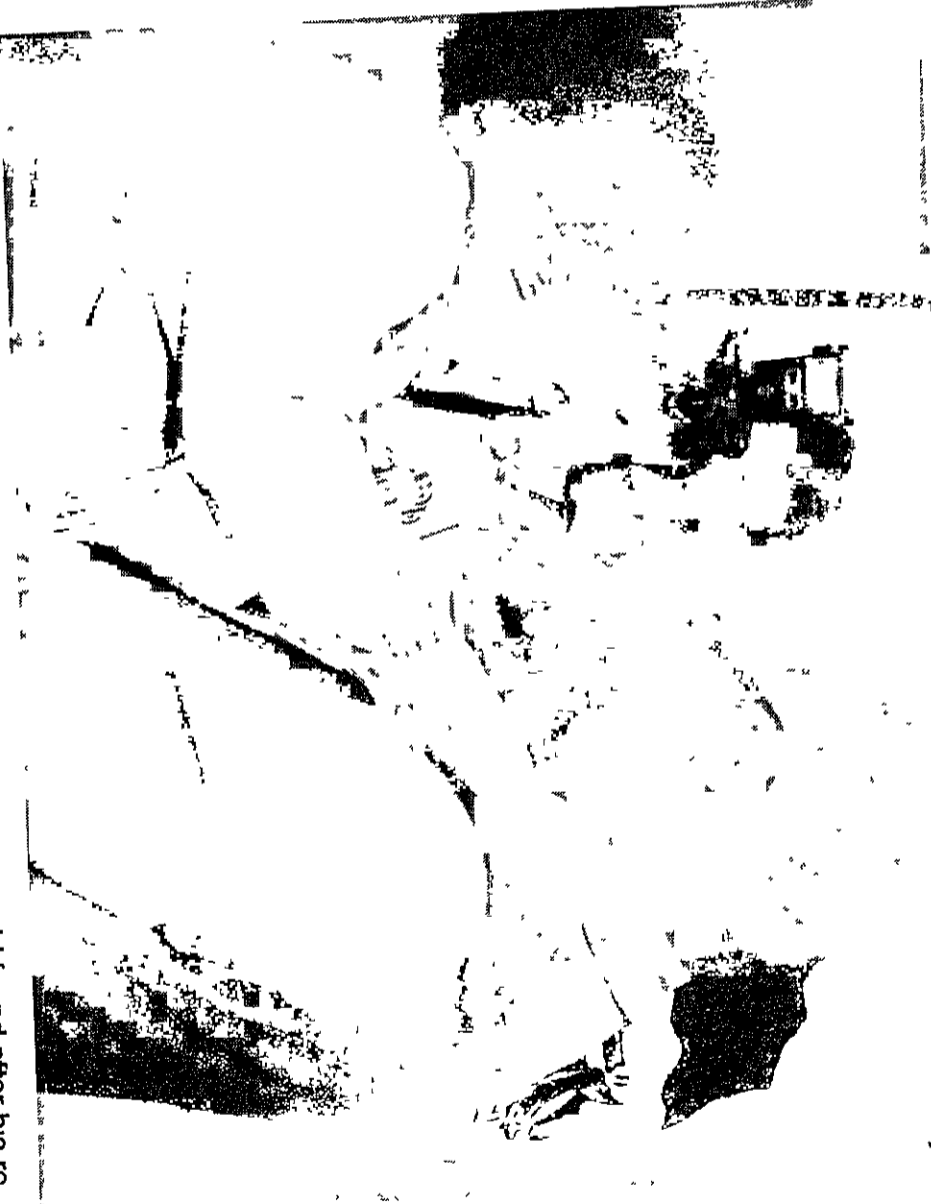
"I've been waiting all year to hear the news of his release but the authorities have not officially informed me I've only heard it on television"

Mrs Mlangeni is the chairperson of the Federation of Transvaal Women (FedTraw) and last visited her husband, Andrew in August

"We are used to this type of threatment," she said

Wednesday was also a disappointing to Mrs Caroline Motsosaledi who had high hopes of being with her husband, Elias Motsosaledi, a top official of the MKhonono we Sizwe high command when he was arrested in 1963

She had not been informed officially



FLASHBACK: Rivonia trialist Govan Mbeki is welcomed by an old friend after his release from Robben Island

century behind bars

"It's the same as happened last year when at more or less the same time there were very strong rumours that Ray was coming home

### Overjoyed

"We prepared special meals and other things only to be greatly disappointed"

When SOUTH broke the news to her mid-afternoon on Tuesday that at least five Rivonia trialists would be released, Mrs Mhlaba was overjoyed

Later she phoned after the announcement on the television news and said "It seems that's official I can tell you that I'm very excited and overjoyed"

Mrs Mhlaba, who married her husband in prison, said she found it difficult to imagine the future with her husband freed

"It's difficult to believe that we are going to share the same roof"

The couple, who first married under customary union, were married in 1986 and have three children Nelson Mandela was best man at their Pollsmoor wedding

### Dejected

Their son, Mpho, was 10-years-old when Mhlaba was arrested at Rivonia

Mrs Mhlaba said she spent Wednesday cleaning the house and the garden

"My children looked dejected when they heard of the delayed release of their father

"I think it's inhuman to keep them after De Klerk made his announcement on TV on Tuesday night

"You know, I'm a devout christian,

South

## ANC's Gwala, Tambo meet

DURBAN — Two ANC veterans, president Oliver Tambo and Harry Gwala had a chance to exchange views recently

Gwala, the restricted Communist Party veteran, and the exiled Tambo met in a private house in London recently, according to Gwala's lawyer Linda Zama

"Cordial greetings" were exchanged, said Zama. The lawyer, who also met Tambo, refused to discuss particulars of the visit

Both men are receiving medical help. Tambo is reported to be recovering well from the stroke which felled him in August

Gwala, 69, will remain overseas until mid-November receiving medical treatment for the incurable motor neuron disease which prompted his release from prison in December last year on humanitarian grounds.

The former teacher began two decades in prison, separated by a five-year banning order, in 1963.

STAR 12/10/89 (11A)

# Releases will alter political scenario

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The pending release of eight top political prisoners has set the scene for the *de facto* unbanning of the African National Congress or, as one foreign observer put it, the emergence of an "internal ANC"

Seven of the eight prisoners whose imminent release was announced by President de Klerk fall clearly within the ANC camp. The only exception is Mr Jeff Masemola, a stalwart of the rival Pan-Africanist Congress.

The unconditional release of the eight men will take place in the midst of a groundswell process in which the outlawed ANC and PAC are gradually resurfacing from underground.

The ANC's re-emergence as a political force was foreshadowed in the talks in July between jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and former President P.W. Botha. It gained momentum with each public display of the black, green and gold ANC flag during protest marches through South African cities last month.

The PAC's partial reappearance from its subterranean existence into the publicly observed political arena started with release late last year of its president, Zephania Mothopeng.

Since he was freed, Mr Mothopeng has been freely quoted by the press as the PAC president, indeed, he was the author of an article in the Sunday Star last weekend on the futility — as he saw it — of the protest marches.

By allowing the PAC to articulate its views through no less a person than its ailing but tough-minded president, the authorities were indirectly but unmistakably signalling their willingness to allow the PAC to emerge from its existence as a proscribed organisation.

## Freedom Charter

The implications for the now widely expected release of Mr Mandela are obviously important, it establishes a precedent for him to talk as the leader of a formally outlawed organisation.

The unconditional release of the eight political prisoners — who include five of the men sentenced to life imprisonment with Mr Mandela in 1964 — implies that they will be free to speak out politically, with the exception of Mr Masemola, their statements will propagate the ideas of the 1955 Freedom Charter, the ideological linchpin of the ANC and the UDF.

Reading between the lines of Mr de Klerk's statement announcing the release of the eight, it is clear that their freedom is a prelude to Mr Mandela's. Mr de Klerk said in part "Mr Nelson

Mandela is fully apprised of these proposed releases. Discussions were held with him and he confirmed that his release is not now on the agenda."

The unmistakable inference is that Mr Mandela's freedom will be on the agenda once his co-prisoners are freed and provided their return to the political arena does not lead to violence. The purpose in freeing the eight is to facilitate the smooth and non-violent return to political life of Mr Mandela.

As a diplomat put it, the hope is that the ANC leaders will, on their release, act as a collective stabilising influence, a great deal of weight is being attached, it seems, to the belief that Mr Walter Sisulu, the former ANC secretary general, will, in particular, use his immense authority to keep the atmosphere as calm as possible.

## Negotiated settlement

But the freeing of Mr Mandela is a means to an end, a negotiated settlement to South Africa's conflict.

As Mr de Klerk and his chief constitutional negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, are only too aware, the release of all political prisoners — including and especially Mr Mandela — has been set as a fundamental precondition to negotiations by a wide range of political forces, stretching from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the exiled leaders of the ANC and PAC.

Thus, the scheduled freeing of the eight, and the expected emancipation of Mr Mandela after more than 27 years as a prisoner, sets the stage for initial talks between the Government and a wide range of anti-apartheid forces, barring some unforeseen development, the anti-apartheid camp at these "talks about talks" will include representatives of an "internal ANC" or an "ANC tendency", if not the ANC as such.

The meeting in Pretoria yesterday between President de Klerk and the trio of anti-apartheid clergymen — Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane — can be seen as a step in that direction.

In 1981 Mr Ton Vosloo, the perceptive managing director of Afrikaans publishers, Nasionale Pers, warned his white compatriots that the day would come when the Government would have to sit around the same table as the ANC (and by implication the PAC).

The pending release of the eight political prisoners will mark the largest simultaneous freeing of political prisoners since the process was started by P.W. Botha in 1985. It will also move the day referred to by Mr Vosloo from the distant horizon to the near future.

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# Releases a 'victory for MDM'

By CHIARA CARTER

THE release of eight of South Africa's most prominent political prisoners announced this week has been hailed as a victory for the Mass Democratic Movement and its allies abroad

But a range of observers have cautioned that the releases do not necessarily mean that "liberation is around the corner".

There is general consensus that the timing of the releases to coincide with the Commonwealth Conference in Kuala Lumpur is intended by the De Klerk government as a signal to the outside world that South Africa is set on a reformist path.

It also provides British prime minister Margaret Thatcher with a counter to calls for further sanctions against South Africa

According to sources, everyone in the Cabinet agreed that the men should be released

What they differed over was how to ensure that the releases did not mark the beginning of an unstoppable revolutionary tide

That the government decided to unconditionally release the eight is indicative of just how deeply sanc-

tions have bitten and how desperately the government wants to regain international stature

A statement released by the MDM said the unconditional release of "these stalwarts of our struggle" was a "massive victory for the people of South Africa, the international solidarity movement, the sanctions campaign and the campaign to isolate the regime"

Bulelani Ngcuka, a member of the UDF interim committee in the Western Cape, said the releases were a vindication of the MDM's approach to the anti-apartheid struggle

"The government has been forced to release these prisoners because of the struggle we have waged on the ground and the support we have won abroad

"One of the pillars of our struggle has been international support and this has been an important factor in securing the release of the eight," Ngcuka said

He said the way the eight were being released "piece-meal" showed the government feared the reaction of the people and did not want the MDM to mobilise

"One can see how frightened they are by the way they are staggering

the releases to gauge reactions. They hope this will defuse people's enthusiasm," he said

The releases had "immense potential" for the MDM and would "fuel the momentum of the struggle", Ngcuka said

While there can be little doubt that the government is hoping to keep the lid on popular response, judging from the euphoric response to the announcement of the releases there is equally as little doubt that people will flock in their thousands to greet the eight

The MDM hopes that this enthusiasm coupled with the presence of leaders of the stature of the eight will enable it to mobilise more people and intensify the struggle against the state

The president of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu), Chris Dlamini, said the return of a leader like Oscar Mpetha to the community would give direction not just to Fawu but to the MDM as a whole

"The release of Oscar and the seven others means an unprecedented taking forward of the mass democratic struggle in our country," Dlamini said

There is certainly a strong possib-

lity that the releases, coming as they do after the MDM has regained considerable confidence from the Defiance Campaign, could start a new momentum in the anti-apartheid struggle including an effective unbanning of the African National Congress and other banned organisations

The government cannot help but be aware that the releasees are seen as leaders of banned organisations and represent these organisations

It would be very difficult for the state to place restrictions on the men's political activities and indeed the releases raise questions about the continued restrictions placed on the oldest of the Rivonia trialists, Govan Mbeki, who was released at the end of 1987

While the consequences of the releases might snowball beyond the government's worst nightmares, the MDM has been at pains to emphasise that the releases do not mark the end of the anti-apartheid struggle

The unbanning of organisations, the lifting of restrictions on political prisoners, the return of exiles, troops out of the townships and the lifting of the state of emergency remain the basic demands of the MDM before it is willing to enter into negotiations

MDM spokespersons all pointed out that the releases do not even approximate these demands and warned that gestures made with the international community in mind should not be confused with a genuine intention on the part of the government to negotiate the future

The secretary of the South African Clothing and Textile workers' Union, Lionel October, said the releases were the result of pressure at home and abroad

But he cautioned that the releases were not sufficient indication that the government was serious about en-

tering into negotiation

UWC rector Jakes Gerwel said the release of all political prisoners and detainees was a "constant demand of the MDM"

"We can only begin the reconciliation process when all bannings and restrictions are lifted, when troops get out of the townships, when the state of emergency is lifted and when political executions stop," Gerwel said

With South Africa's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, still in prison the state is far from meeting these demands

Indeed there are some who think that Mandela's release will only take place when negotiations are about to begin

## Low profile

Ngcuka said he felt the chance of an imminent release for Mandela was "remote"

But the releases will have emboldened the MDM to intensify pressure for Mandela's release

Mandela's continued imprisonment might mean that those released will try to maintain a low profile for fear of jeopardising his freedom

Given the euphoria that broke out at the news of the releases, this does not seem a realistic prospect

However hesitant and unwilling the state is about the releases there can be little doubt that they mark a new era in the South African struggle

The government and the Mass Democratic Movement have both entered new terrain

Community leader Johnny Issel said an obvious situation of dual power was developing in the country

"The release of our leaders will definitely assist in consolidating that and lead to the transfer of power to the people"

## Jubilation and celebration

By REHANA ROSSOUW

"OUR government has been released," was the triumphant message at the University of the Western Cape on Tuesday night

Hundreds of cars and streamed into the university where 4 000 people packed the students centre for a "celebration" rally to mark the news of the releases

While the spirit was high and the mood celebratory, speaker after

speaker warned that the struggle was not over.

There were other political prisoners to be freed, they said.

"We will march to Victor Verster to free Nelson Mandela," youth speakers vowed.

After a day of speculation and mounting excitement, Cape Town residents flocked to the university to hear the plans for the reception of their leaders.

Rumours and counter-rumours flew as information changed hands. Mass Democratic Movement activists posted lookouts at Groote Schuur Hospital, Pollsmoor Prison and Victor Verster

Numerous speakers representing the MDM, the church and community organisations then outlined their reaction to the news.

The release of the leaders of the people is a significant and meaningful development which is welcomed by the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa.

This step raises great hope that the new State President is serious about fundamental change and is willing to go through the right steps to achieve a situation where true negotiations can commence to work out a new constitution for South Africa.

The State President's sentiments are echoed that South Africans are tired of confrontation. Now is the time for all peace-loving democrats to throw off the Apartheid albatross completely and decisively. We pray that the State President will surge ahead and will not falter before sheer crucial decisions awaiting him with the release of Nelson Mandela, unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the State of Emergency, but that he will continue to keep alive the spirit of hope and optimism that has been kindled.

WELCOME HOME COMRADES

FRANKLIN SONN

on behalf of

UTASA: 26 000 strong  
Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa



South 12/10-18/10/89

**south FOCUS**

11A

**Sisulu the 'father figure' of trialists**



Sisulu



Mlangeni



Kathrada



Mkwayi

**WALTER MAX ULYATE SISULU** was a key leader of the ANC during the years of its transformation from a pressure group to a mass movement

He was secretary-general from 1949 to 1954, and, with Mandela, a founder of the ANC Youth League

He is as old as the ANC itself — born on May 18, 1912 in Engcobo, Transkei, the year of the ANC's formation

He went to the Witwatersrand, aged 17, first to work in a dairy, and then later on the gold mines

He then worked as a "kitchen boy" in East London, where he came into contact with Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)

He returned to Johannesburg in the early 1930s where he took a series of factory jobs to finance his high school education

In 1940, he joined the ANC and was elected treasurer of the Orlando branch in 1943

At the 1943 ANC national conference, Sisulu raised the implementation of the previous conference decision to form a youth league

He was elected on to a provisional committee and in 1944, the ANC Youth League was established with Anton Lembede as president, Oliver Tambo as secretary and Sisulu as treasurer. Other executive members were Nelson Mandela, AP Mda and V Mboob

He was elected to the Transvaal executive of the ANC in 1946 and in 1949 was elected secretary-general. During this period, he served on the Joint Planning Council which planned the defiance campaign and the National Council which organised the Congress of the People

Sisulu's second brush with the police came during the Defiance Campaign when he was sentenced to a nine months' suspended sentence in 1952

Already prohibited from attending gatherings, in 1954 he was ordered by the government to resign from the ANC

His involvement continued behind the scenes and in 1956 he was charged with 155 others in the Treason trial following the adoption of the Freedom Charter. They were acquitted three years later

The Sharpeville massacre followed in 1960, and the ANC called for a day of mourning. A week later, Oliver Tambo left South Africa to

set up the external mission of the ANC. On March 29, a state of emergency was declared and hundreds were arrested.

Before the state of emergency was declared, the ANC executive met and decided to make preparations to "go underground" — to function as though it was banned

On April 8, the ANC was banned but had already set up its illegal machinery. Sisulu and Nelson Mandela organised a nationwide strike for May 29, 30 and 31 to protest against the decision to form a Republic without consulting the majority of the people

Mandela was to remain underground permanently. Sisulu and others emerged after the strike. Mandela was given the authorisation to launch Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing and was sent abroad for training and financial assistance

In August 1962 Mandela was arrested, with Sisulu arrested two days later. Both were charged with organising the national strike

Sisulu was also charged with participating in the activities of a banned organisation and attending an illegal gathering (his mother's funeral)

He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment but the Supreme Court released him pending an appeal

In October 1962 Helen Joseph became the first South African to be placed under house arrest. A week later house arrest orders were issued against Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada. Before the order could be served on him, Sisulu left the country for Botswana, to attend an ANC conference

When he returned, his house arrest order was changed from 12 hours to 24 hours. In April 1963, he defied his order and went underground

He continued his ANC work underground and was also political commissar in

Umkhonto we Sizwe

He also made the first broadcast on Radio Freedom, which operated from within South Africa

He was eventually arrested by police when they raided the Rivonia farm headquarters and detained the Umkhonto High Command on July 11 1963

Throughout his years on Robben Island and Pollsmoor, Sisulu has been regarded as a father figure — universally loved, respected and admired

Sisulu's family have always shared his political commitment and his suffering. In 1944 he married Albertina, a nurse, who was active in both the ANC Women's League and the Federation of South African Women

She is now one of the four presidents of the restricted United Democratic Front

They have five children — Max (in the external mission of the ANC), Lindi (in England), Lungisi (in Johannesburg), Zwelakhe (editor of the New Nation and currently restricted after spending two years in detention without trial) and Nkululeko (in Johannesburg)

They also have two adopted children Beryl, his sister's daughter, and Jongumzi, who is serving five years on Robben Island

**ANDREW MOKETE MLANGENI** was nicknamed "Robot" by the ANC leadership, because he was reportedly so efficient. He was the ANC regional secretary in Soweto from 1958 to 1960, and a key figure in the 1961 All-in-Africa conference at Pietermaritzburg

Mlangeni was born in Prospect township in Johannesburg in 1926 into a working-class family

In 1944 he went to St Peter's Secondary School where his maths teacher was Oliver Tambo. He participated in founding the Pimville Students and ex-Students League, which gave political lectures at house meetings and picnics

He joined the ANC Youth League in 1950, and in 1956 became the branch secretary in Dube

He participated in organising for the Congress of the People in 1955, and, as secretary of the Dube branch, led their delegation to the Congress

He was elected regional secretary in 1958 and during his term of office, branches sprung up in 29 of the 30 Johannesburg townships

After the ANC was banned, Mlangeni ran messages for Umkhonto. He was appointed to the National High Command in 1963 and toured the Republic until his arrest on June 24 1963

At the Rivonia Trial, the State alleged that Mlangeni had stored dynamite in his home and had recruited youths to leave the country for military training

He admitted that he had agreed to carry messages for Umkhonto but denied that he was a member of the organisation. He was sentenced to life imprisonment

Mlangeni is married and has four children

When **RAYMOND MPAKAMISI MHLABA** led a group of black protesters through the "Europeans Only" entrance at New Brighton railway station in Port Elizabeth, he became the first ANC leader to be arrested in the Defiance Campaign

For Mhlaba, though, it marked a decade of intense political activity. In 1943 he joined the Communist Party and was district secretary for Port Elizabeth from 1946 until the party was banned in 1950

He was also local chairman of the ANC between 1947 and 1953 and a leader of the Eastern Cape bus boycott in 1949. Govan Mbeki, his fellow Rivonia trialist, was a particularly close colleague of Mhlaba's

Banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Mhlaba was nevertheless elected to the Cape Executive of the ANC in 1954

He defied a later banning order by slipping out of the country for military training. When he returned, he worked underground in Johannesburg until his arrest in 1963

The son of a policeman, Mhlaba was born in Fort Beaufort in 1920. He completed ten years of schooling, the last two at Healdtown, before dropping out for financial reasons

His first job was in a drycleaning factory in Port Elizabeth, where he was introduced to his first trade union, the National Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers' Union

"Trade unionism became my religion," he said later. He had never worked full-time for a

union but worked closely with unionists

Mhlaba has six children, three from his late wife, Joyce, and three from his current wife Dideka Heliso, whom he was eventually given permission to marry in 1986

**AHMED MOHAMED KATHADRA** was just 17 when he went to prison for the first time

Arrested while participating in the passive resistance campaign of 1946, the young "Kathy" lied about his age to avoid being released as a juvenile. However, he ended up sharing a cell with Pat Poovalingham, former MP in the House of Delegates

Kathrada was born in the Western Transvaal in 1929, into a scholarly Muslim family. He was sent to school in Johannesburg when he was nine, and soon became active in political work

Kathrada left school to become a full-time worker in the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council and was sentenced for civil disobedience

He joined the Young Communist League when he was only 12 years old and the Communist Party when he was 14

In 1952 he became a key figure in the Defiance Campaign and, with other Congress leaders, was tried and sentenced to a nine months' suspended jail term

He was banned two years later, and was one of the 150 Congress leaders charged with treason in 1956. He was detained for five months during the state of emergency and in 1962 was placed under 12-hour house arrest

In 1963, just before the passing of the 90-day detention law, many house arrested people left the country. Kathrada vehemently argued against suggestions that he leave the country despite the fact that he was virtually a prisoner in his flat

He was taken to Rivonia and disguised as "Pedro the Portuguese" by Arthur Goldreich. He was arrested in the police raid on the farm

At the age of 35, he was sentenced to life imprisonment

Kathrada, who describes himself as a "driver and a doorman" for the ANC, says he is extremely unhappy about being included in the "first team" together with Mandela and Sisulu

**ELIAS MOTHOPE MOTSOALEDI** was one of the major trade union leaders in the ANC. Born the son of a migrant labourer in Sekhukuni in 1942, Motsolaledi began to work in Johannesburg as a domestic worker when he completed his primary schooling

Later, as a worker in a boot factory, he joined the Leather Workers' Union and the Communist Party

In 1949, as a furniture factory worker, he became chairman of the African Furniture, Mattress and Bedding Workers' Union. He was also active in both the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and the South African Congress of Trade Unions

As ANC branch secretary in 1950, he helped organise worker stayaways in the Denver Men's Hostels

During the 1950s, Motsolaledi was plagued both by ill-health and the police

He was first banned in 1952, while in hospital with tuberculosis. He was detained for three months under the 1960 emergency, and again, under the 90-day solitary confinement law, in 1963

Later that year he was found guilty under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts in the Rivonia Trial and sentenced to life imprisonment

Motsolaledi is married and has several children

**WILTON ZIMASILE MKWAYI** escaped arrest when the police raided Liliesleaf farm. ... Rivonia in July 1963 — he was out organising at the time

He also escaped detention in the 1960 Emergency while he was appearing with 149 other Congress leaders in the Treason Trial

He left the court building during a tea-break, and returned to find that the police had thrown up a cordon. In spite of his explanations that he was one of the accused, the police refused to let him in

While he was arguing with the cops outside, the security police were inside detaining his fellow trialists

So, instead of going to detention, he went underground. After military training abroad, he slipped back into South Africa where he operated for Umkhonto we Sizwe until his arrest in 1964

Mkwayi was born near Middelburg in the Cape in 1923, the eldest son of a member of the Zihlahleni village council of elders. He left school in Standard Four to work as a labourer, a clerk, and later as a stevedore in Port Elizabeth

He was a union organiser for the African Textile Workers in Port Elizabeth in the 1950s, and later the treasurer of Sactu

In 1987, Mkwayi was given permission to marry his long-time companion, Irene Khumalo — 21 years after first applying to do so

**TAHLIL**

Tahlil means an affirmation of Oneness when one says 'La ilaha illallah' (There is no God but Allah), and it also signifies the negation of power, guardianship, rulership, ownership and all else from other than Allah, thus affirming that all belongs to the sacred Essence of the One God. Belief of this nature is the very peak of monotheism since it suggests a correlation and belief in the unity of Allah's Essence, attributes, names, worship and action. This definition of the unity of Allah is pure monotheism glorified and separate from polytheism in any form.

In order to establish on a firm foundation the pillar of monotheism, one first has to deny partnership to the Divine in any shape or form, both in word and action, and we do this best when we speak out and express resentment at the polytheists and engage in relentless struggle against them with the object of eradicating the root factors which engender the proliferation of such polytheism

Hence, Jihad and opposing polytheists is a prerequisite to belief in the unity of Allah for without a battle against polytheists and polytheism, monotheism can never find its most perfect expression

The Ka'aba around which the axis of monotheism revolves is also symbolically a centre for battle against the polytheists. The holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) too, commenced his fight against the polytheists from the Ka'aba. Hajj is ritual which emphasises the aspects of true monotheism; this implies antipathy towards infidels and the erection of the solid pillars of monotheism

**TAKBIR**

Takbir is the sacred call, the word meaning that God stands above all, that He alone is the Greatest and Divinity is in His Divine Essence. Takbir calls on men to be humble and submissive before His Sublimity and Majesty alone and no other. Surrender to the Majesty and Power of Almighty God serves as the ground for human perfection. In the social arena, too, this belief implies a denial of belief in our submission and prostration before arrogant human beings. This contradiction results in the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed. In this battle, arrogant and aggressive powers will be defeated at the hands of the oppressed and righteous people who will establish a government of their own in the light of Divine sovereignty. The oppressed shall conquer the oppressors, as is stated in the Qur'an

**HOT SPICE**



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# Mixed feeling over release of political prisoners

11A  
Sowetan  
12/12/89

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE  
and SY MAKARINGE

THE possible release of eight political prisoners serving life terms in South Africa's jails, was met with mixed reaction by anti-apartheid organisations yesterday.

The Pan Africanist Congress said the announcement of the release by President FW de Klerk on Tuesday, was a strategy to ward off the intensification of economic sanctions by Commonwealth countries.

The PAC said the announcement could not be a source of jubilation.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) said the unconditional release of the "stalwarts of our struggle" was a victory for the international solidarity movement, the sanction campaign, the campaign to isolate the Government and for the people of South Africa.

The MDM said international pressure should be accelerated to secure the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees.

It said pressure should be applied for the unbanning of organisations, the

lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of all repressive laws and the return of all exiles.

"Once a climate of free political activity has been created, Sisulu, Mandela and Tambo will be able to play their rightful roles in leading the process of bringing about a democratic transformation in our country," the statement said.

A spokesman for the Black Consciousness Movement, Muntu Myeza, said black people welcomed the release of the men.

## Events

"FW de Klerk must realise that he acts at a time when his Government has been overtaken by events and demands by black people.

"The release of political prisoners cannot be viewed as the sanctification of an unjust social order," he retorted.

Myeza said: "The release, welcome as it is, only serves to show that the Government's in-

transigence is uncalled for."

He said De Klerk's credibility "stands or falls on whether he will meet the demands of our people".

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Movement viewed the possible release as a conspiracy between South Africa and Britain in the light of the forthcoming Commonwealth summit on October 18.



# Oscar - born to organise



FEVERISH preparations are underway to welcome home the "father of South African trade unionism", Oscar Mpetha

The Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) has established a committee which will assist 80-year-old Mpetha in his new life of freedom

Their plans include building a house for the veteran trade unionist.

British trade unions have also set up a trust fund to support Mpetha's return to normal life.

Mpetha's involvement in trade unionism dates back almost 60 years

His first strike was over a sixpence increase in wages

At the time, Mpetha was working as a deputy-foreman of a road gang in Malmesbury

He became angry when he discovered that Italian prisoners of war were being paid more than the African labourers in the gang

The strike resulted in the workers winning wage parity, but Mpetha was moved to a job where he was not in contact with other workers

This was the beginning of a lifelong battle for workers' rights which led him to play a leading role in the Industrial and Commercial Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union the South African Congress of Trade Unions and community organisations

### Servility

Mpetha was born on August 5 1909 in the Mount Frere district of the Transkei

After matriculating from Adams High School in Natal, he came to Cape Town where he found work as a domestic servant.

But the servility did not fit well with the young Mpetha's character and he soon found another job as a general assistant at Grootte Schuur-Hospital, where he became involved in a night school project.

His first contact with the Food and Canning Workers' Union came as a result of a letter he wrote to the then Native Representative in Parliament

Mpetha's letter was referred to the general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, Ray Alexander, who sent him information about the union.

He distributed this among his co-workers at Laaplek Fisheries on the West Coast.

The Laaplek workers had several grievances and soon the factory inspectors were asked to intervene in a labour dispute.

The dispute was eventually resolved but Mpetha, who by then had become a voluntary organiser for the union, was fired.

His dismissal resulted in a strike to demand his reinstatement.

Although management agreed to reinstate him, Mpetha decided to work full-time for the African Food and Canning Workers' Union.

He became general secretary of the union after Ray Alexander was banned in 1951

Among the many disputes which he



Before his arrest, Mpetha at a Worcester rally with community leader David Petersen

handled were the Wolseley strike of 1954, the Spekenham strike of the following year and the boycott of Langeberg products

Not only did Langeberg have to withdraw their threat, but they were also forced to agree with the union's wage demands

The boycott was indicative of the close co-operation between the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, its parallel union the Food and Canning Workers' Union and community organisations within the Congress Alliance where several unionists held prominent positions

Mpetha himself was very active in political organisations and in 1958 was elected Cape chairman of the African National Congress (ANC)

His election was not without controversy because it was opposed by Africanist dominated branches of the ANC which refused to recognise him.

As the government crackdown on opposition increased Mpetha, like many other activists, was banned first under the Suppression of Communism Act and then under the Riotous Assemblies Act

His first banning order did not prevent him from continuing to work in the union but forbade him to convene meetings

He was sentenced to six months hard labour for contravening the order after he and other union officials attended a report back meeting, but the sentence was commuted on appeal

His five year banning order in 1959 restricted him to the Wynberg magisterial district, which seriously affected his work as a union organiser

### Traditions

But a year later he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC and spent the next four years in prison.

After his release there followed more than a decade of quiet, during which he was not involved in trade unions

He had difficulty finding jobs because of his political record and worked for a while as an agent for a drycleaner.

But old traditions die hard and while working as a watchman at a paper factory, Mpetha could not resist organising the workforce

In the mid 1970's Mpetha was Western Cape regional chairman of the Transkeian Democratic Party and stood for election in the Transkei elections

As the flames of the 1976 rebellion swept across South Africa, old friends persuaded Mpetha to return from the Transkei to Cape Town, where he became chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association.

His work in the association meant he played a prominent role both in mobilising Crossroads residents to fight demolition of the camp and in the 1980 bus boycott

While working at an ice-cream factory in Salt River he met up with Liz Abrahams, who felt he should return to African Food and Canning which was in a state of disarray.

Mpetha played a leading role in reviving the union, travelling to various parts of the country to reorganise factories, recruit new members and set up structures

He was appointed national organiser in 1979 and was a key figure in the Fattus and Monus strike of the following year

Mpetha was re-establishing the Johannesburg branch of Food and Canning, when he met Neil Aggett, whom he persuaded to work as a full-time branch organiser

He heard the news of Aggett's death in detention while he was in hospital

According to fellow unionists, Mpetha was "deeply grieved"

A born organiser, Mpetha did not restrict his organising work to his union, alone, but assisted in establishing other unions and community organisations.

During his travels, Mpetha worked closely with organisers from the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), including Thozamile Botha and Sam Kinne, and spent time helping them recruit members for Saawu

Fawu organiser Lizzie Phike, who travelled with Mpetha on trips to Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, describes him as a "very strong" leader who encouraged people to be both

union members and members of community organisations

He believed it was vitally important to build women's organisations

"He used to say he wanted to wear an apron and attend women's meetings," recalls Phike.

"He always believed that South Africa would one day be free because of the unity of workers"

By the time Mpetha was detained in August 1980, he was already in poor health

He appeared in court the following year charged with two counts of murder and several terrorism charges arising from a road block in Nyanga in August 1980, in which two motorists were attacked and killed

### Marathon trial

After a marathon trial he was found not guilty of murder but convicted of terrorism and received a mandatory sentence of five years imprisonment.

While awaiting an appeal hearing, he was elected one of the presidents of the United Democratic Front (UDF)

He also became president of the now restricted Release Mandela campaign.

He was jailed in 1985 after his appeal failed, but has spent most of his sentence under armed guard at Grootte Schuur Hospital

Mpetha was South Africa's oldest prisoner

He is a frail old man whose leg was amputated a few years ago. He suffers from severe diabetes and has recently had infections of his kidney and lungs

Both his wife or more than 50 years Rose, and his son, Karl, have died while he has been imprisoned, and on both occasions he could not attend the funerals

Another son, Harold, died several years ago and his only remaining son, Themba, lives in Britain.



Mpetha in Grootte Schuur Hospital

# Mpetha's lunch with Mandela

(11A)

South

12/10/89

VETERAN trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, 80, held a secret meeting last week with jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

The visit by Mpetha was considered to be a prelude to his release announced by the government on Tuesday.

Mpetha disclosed the meeting to his family when they visited him at Groote Schuur hospital, last Friday, according to his daughter-in-law, Nonkosana Mpetha, 30.

The meeting took place at Mandela's prison house at Victor Verster.

Mpetha did not divulge the content of the discussions, his daughter-in-law said.

## Mpetha

South  
12/10-89

FROM PAGE 1

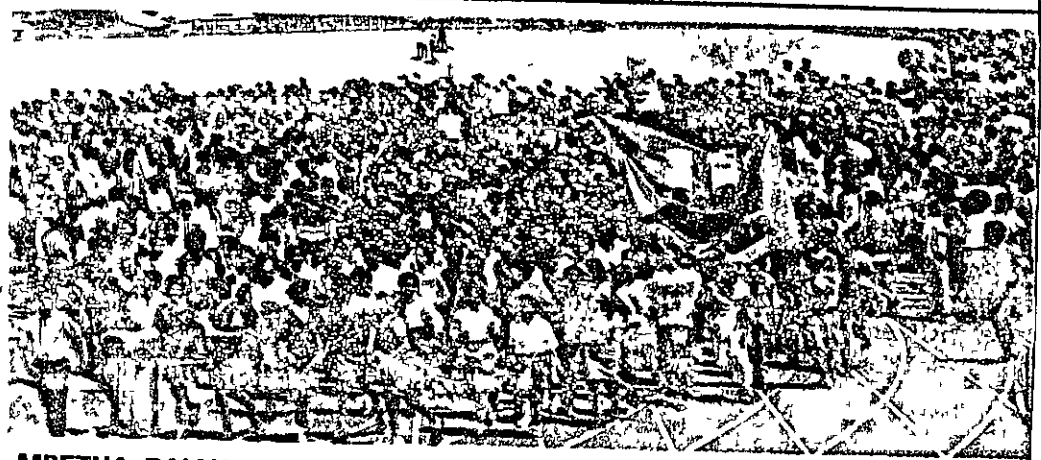
Mpetha had lunch with Mandela who was in a "jubilant" mood.

His daughter, Esther Mpetha, confirmed the meeting between the two leaders but declined to give further information.

Mpetha, South Africa's oldest political prisoner, has spent most of his prison term at Groote Schuur hospital because of poor health.



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**MPETHA RALLY ...** Part of the crowd in Athlone yesterday to celebrate the imminent release of trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha. ● Report — Page 3

# Prisoners may be free by weekend

*Cape Times 12/10/89 (11A)*

**Political Correspondent**

**THE** eight political prisoners earmarked for "unconditional" release by the government — including five Rivonia trialists — appear set to receive their freedom "in the shortest possible time"

Five could be released in the Johannesburg area and two in the Eastern Cape, while South Africa's oldest security prisoner, 80-year-old Mr Oscar Mpetha, is expected to be released in Cape Town

A government source yesterday said it was highly unlikely that the prisoners would be released "in a group" at the same place and at the same time

However, the Prisons Service cautioned last night that "it is still too early to give details as to where, when and how each prisoner will be released"

A government source said yesterday that the eight could, before finally being released, be transferred to a prison closest to a site of the individual prisoner's choosing

The prisoners would be released "as soon as formalities are finalised" and all eight could have their freedom by the weekend

A prison spokesman emphasized yesterday that the prisoners, once released, would not be on parole but simply subject to the laws of the country "as is the case with any member of the public".

The spokesman added: "There will be no restrictions of any kind on any of these gentlemen upon release"

The prisoners most likely to be released in the Transvaal are Mr Walter Sisulu (former ANC secretary-general), Mr Ahmed Kathadra (former general secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress), Mr Elias Motsoaledi (former ANC branch secretary and member of the ANC's Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee), Mr Andrew Mlangeni (former Johannesburg branch secretary of the ANC) and Mr Jeff Masemola (the only PAC member serving a life sentence)

The prisoners who could be released in the Eastern Cape are Mr Wilton Mkayi (former Eastern Cape volunteer-in-chief of the ANC's Defiance Campaign) and Mr Raymond Mhlaba (former Port Elizabeth chairman of the ANC)

● More reports — Page 3

# Family waits in vain for release

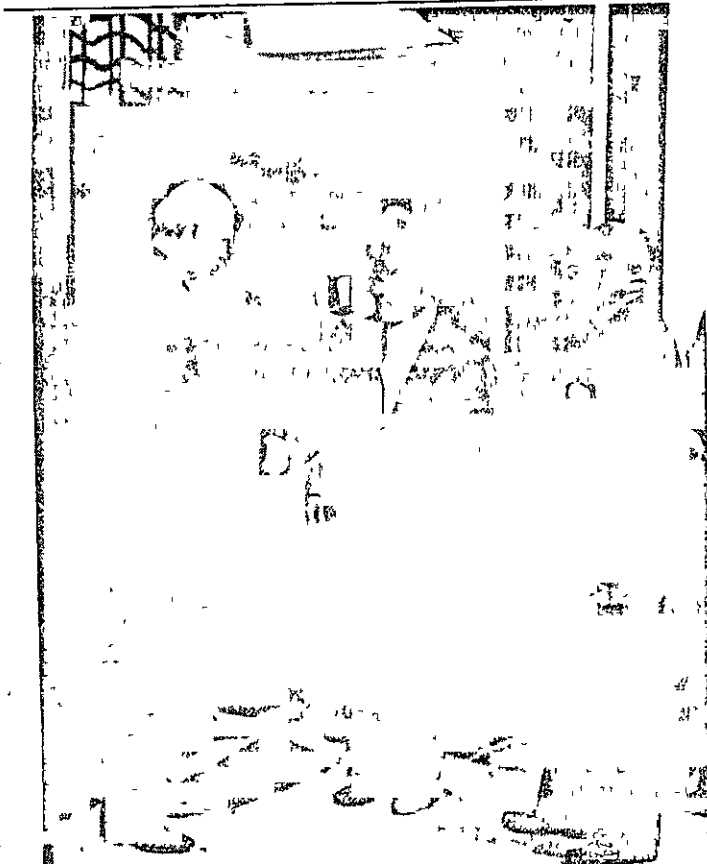
# MPETHA:



Mr Oscar Mpetha.

# COPPS STOP DEMOS

11A Sowetan 12/10/89



State President FW de Klerk shakes hands with the Reverend Frank Chikane outside at Union Buildings yesterday. Bishop Tutu is on the right

By THEMBA MOLEFE and ISSY LARGADIEN

TWO rallies and a march to welcome ailing veteran UDF leader Oscar Mpetha from prison were stopped by police as more than 5 000 people thronged venues in the Western Cape yesterday.

However Mpetha whose family waited in vain for him at Groote Schuur Hospital was not released.

It also remained uncertain as to when the other seven security prisoners including Walter Sisulu and Jell Masemola would actually leave the prison.

### Police

At the time of going to press last night a spokesman for Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said they had not received reports of the incident.

Government sources were in the dark and said

● To page 4

## Oscar Mpetha rallies halted

● From page 1

the decision to release the prisoners had been taken and the matter was now in the hands of the Department of Prisons. A spokesman for the department could not indicate when they would be released yesterday.

Police used teargas to disperse the thousands of people, mostly pupils, who began filling two stadiums - in Nyanga and Athlone - from as early as 10am. A fire brigade tender was called in after a veld fire was started by teargas canister at the Vygiekraal stadium in Athlone.

The police, who surrounded the townships and patrolled the area by helicopters in the afternoon ordered people to disperse in small groups. They prevented the rally at Nyanga - Mpetha's home town - when they fired teargas.

A spokesman for the Mpethas told Sowetan the family had been waiting at Pollsmoor prison and Groote Schuur Hospital because they were told he would be released yesterday.

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Sowetan 12/11/89

# FW gets a memo

11A

## ● From page 1

and unbanning, political organisations;

5. Releasing all political prisoners; and

6. Reprieving all those sentenced to death.

Chikane told the conference: "We made it clear we need results. Without results we can't have negotiations."

If the Government failed to show results after Wednesday's meeting, it would "discredit the method of talking," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said there had been a "far better atmosphere" than during his last encounter with De Klerk. While Mr de Klerk showed concern, he did not come up with specific undertakings.

The three had not met

President de Klerk as negotiators, but had gone to "help create a climate conducive to negotiations by identifying key items the Government might undertake."

Meanwhile, State President FW de Klerk last night said South Africans needed, through dialogue, to get away from talking past each other.

Addressing a Press conference at the Union Buildings after almost three hours of talks between him, the Minister of Constitutional Development and of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and three prominent church leaders, he said one of the biggest problems in the country was mistrust.

The time had come for

the bona fides of his Government to be accepted, the President said.

His Government was committed to building a new South Africa in which all would have full rights, with protection for minorities.

The three church leaders - Archbishop Desmond Tutu, archbishop of Cape Town; the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches - last week asked Mr de Klerk for yesterday's meeting.

Archbishop Tutu and Mr Chikane held a separate Press conference at St Laban's Cathedral after the talks, which lasted almost three times as long as originally scheduled.

# 'Bridging the gap of mistrust'

## The President

By ALAN DUNN  
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has announced a series of consultations with South African leaders, declaring his door open to all those who sought peace. But he refused last night to be pinned down to timetables and specifics.

He said after almost three hours of his first major talks in office with black church leaders at the Union Buildings yesterday that no government embarking on changes of this magnitude could adhere to specific timetables.

"We are involved in a step-by-step process. Each step must be carefully considered," he said at the end of talks with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane originally scheduled to last about 45 minutes.

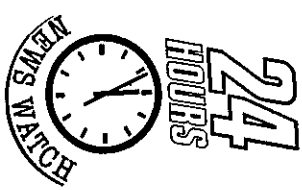
One step would determine the next, he said. "We will be meeting with black leaders on the widest possible spectrum," he said, listing black businessmen as well.

Mr De Klerk accompanied to the meeting by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said he would take the six point memorandum given him by the clergyman as "an input" amongst others in the phase of dialogue in which South Africa was now involved.

Yesterday's meeting would be one of a series, he said, there were many others in the South African community with viewpoints. The government was not prepared to consult just one or two, and would canvass the views of political and church leaders.

This process would involve Dr Viljoen and himself on occasions, and would be addressing the obstacles to negotiation stipulated in the churchmen's memorandum, concerns which had been raised in many other quarters.

Government would be seeing church leaders of various denominations in the "not too distant future".



LEADERS MEET: President De Klerk with the three church leaders Mr. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev. Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

### 'We want an end to crisis'

WHILE the release of the prisoners was a dramatic act, it is going to be determined in its significance by the people not being free agents, by not being able to consult, Archbishop Tutu said yesterday.

"Our concern is that genuine negotiations should get off the ground. "Why we took the unilaterals there was no need to kick it down. What is necessary now is constructive involvement in negotiations as a way of resolving the crisis of our country," Archbishop Tutu said.

Responding to a query on what would happen to those who disagreed with government, he said that as a demerit, he wanted to issue the assurance that the right to disagree was an important one, and would remain so.

"The mere fact that you don't agree with the government is not a sin. It is your right to do so," he said.

Turning to the futures of laws like the Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act, he said the government was not married to any particular method or any act, "but through dialogue we must decide what to put in its place," he said.

## The Churchmen

From ESTHER WAUGH  
Argus Correspondent

A high-powered church delegation said President De Klerk's "open door" policy would not work unless he provided concrete results.

In a memorandum handed to Mr De Klerk at yesterday's historic meeting, the three church leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Frank Chikane and Dr Allan Boesak demanded the government should immediately:

- Lift the State of Emergency;
- Lift restriction orders served on people in terms of the emergency regulations, and other legislation;
- Release detainees held without trial;
- Lift restrictions imposed on organisations and urban political organisations;
- Release all political prisoners and declare a moratorium on the death penalty.

In addition, the church leaders demanded that the following steps be taken in the next six months (the period leading up to the next parliamentary session):

- Allow exiles to return to South Africa;
- Repeal all regulations and laws which enable the government to prohibit or inhibit free political activity;
- Repeal the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act; and
- Embark on negotiations with liberation movements, including the ANC.

Addressing a press conference at St Albans Cathedral in Pretoria, Mr Tutu said they had "intensive talks" with Mr De Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development.

Mr Tutu said the church delegation made it clear that they were not negotiators but saw themselves as facilitators of negotiations by helping to create a climate conducive to negotiations "by give to negotiations".

"Nor is it going to facilitate a process of negotiation as long as the representatives of the majority of the people are under chains. Their hands are tied."

"You cannot talk about negotiations when people are restricted, those who are in exile can't participate and their organisations are restricted or banned. They won't be able to consult with anybody after they have had such talks."

"We made them understand that their 'open door' policy excludes the majority of the people unless they meet those first six points that we have stated. Their policy of negotiation is a non-starter until they have actually met those particular conditions," Dr Chikane said.

"If their negotiation is that of consultation with people it is not going to resolve our problems," he added.

According to Dr Chikane, the government has restricted its commitment to negotiations and the abolition of apartheid.

"That is what the State President has said in his inaugural speech but they have not moved beyond rhetoric. We have said we would like to see movement to meet those conditions. Then we can say to our people: 'Now we have arrived'."

"The church leaders said they were given no indication when the eight political prisoners would be released."

Handwritten scribbles and initials, including "IA" in a circle.

## Security police believe Dobson 'cracked' when asked to inform

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Security police have ruled out the possibility that former Bureau for Information employee Mrs Sue Dobson, 27, now in London with her computer expert husband, was seeking to defect to the Soviets or is an ANC agent.

It is also believed that police investigators probing her flight from Windhoek to London now believe she cracked under mental strain after being asked to be an informer for the South West African Police (Swapol).

The possibility that Mrs Dobson, a former journalist who worked for The Star, The Citizen and the SABC, had any secrets to hand over to South Africa's enemies has also been dismissed, a high-level security source said yesterday.

It appears as if Mrs Dobson had cracked mentally from fear after being approached to spy on Swapo and on the ANC.

### VISIT TO SOVIETS

It appears too that her visit to the Soviets in Windhoek was to tell them she had been approached by Swapol and an attempt to convince them she was not spying on Swapo and the ANC.

Mrs Dobson, who has undergone psychiatric treatment on the Reef before, was apparently frightened that Swapo and the ANC would believe she was spying on them and take retributive action against her.

The security source said it was not expected that she would be

arrested if she returned to South Africa.

She would, however, probably be interviewed by security agencies to find out what she had told the Soviets.

"As a security problem she is no longer an issue," said the source.

Mrs Dobson left Windhoek on September 24 and went to Botswana, where she boarded a plane to London. Her husband Peter joined her.

Mrs Dobson was on secondment to the Administrator-General of Namibia's office at the time.

The Swapol officer who tried to recruit Mrs Dobson has been transferred to the Narcotics Bureau in Windhoek.

The attempt to recruit Mrs Dobson is now seen as a mistake.

CMT TUIS 12/10/89

11A

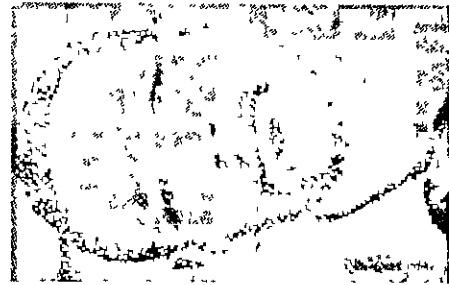
Due for release



Walter Sisulu



Andrew Mlangeni



Wilton Mkwayi



Elias Motsoaledi



Raymond Mhlaba



Ahmed Kathrada



LOOKING BACK ... Oscar Mpetha with a legal representative at Crossroads in 1981

*Mr Tutu 12/10/87*

# March to Mpetha's house abandoned

Staff Reporter

A MARCH involving about 5 000 pupils to the Nyanga home of Mr Oscar Mpetha was abandoned yesterday

The march organisers decided on the move to avoid a possible clash between pupils and police at the Vygieskraal Stadium. Police fired tear-gas at people trying to join the rally.

Earlier several hundred Langa pupils briefly disrupted traffic as they crossed the N2 on their way to the Athlone rally.

In Nyanga hundreds of township residents gathered on Mpetha Square near Mr Mpetha's modest family home.

In Khayelitsha a march by several hundred pupils to celebrate the impending eight releases went off without reported incident.

At the Athlone rally, confrontation was avoided after clerics, including

the Rev Syd Luckett of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility, Dean Colin Jones of St George's Cathedral and the Rev Chris Ahrends, chaplain to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, negotiated with riot police officers.

Mr Luckett said police promised not to take any further action as long as the stadium crowd dispersed without marching, dancing or carrying flags.

● According to Mr Mpetha's lawyer, Mr Hymie Bernadt, his 80-year-old client wanted to "come home" rather than be transferred on release to Gatesville Medical Centre in Athlone. Mr Mpetha has spent most of his six-year jail term in Groote Schuur Hospital and needs continuous medical attention for an acute diabetic condition. He has also had one leg amputated during his jail term. He is expected to be admitted to Gatesville Medical Centre.

REACTION, mainly positive, continued to flood in yesterday to the government's decision to release eight prominent security prisoners

However, political groupings on the left of the political spectrum sounded notes of caution, arguing that further steps were necessary, while those on the far right slated the move

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said the tragedy was that the eight were being released into a country which was under a state of emergency and where the organisation to which they belonged was banned.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse credited President F W de Klerk for his courage in releasing the prisoners, but urged him to go further.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the eight prisoners about to be released unconditionally were still members of banned organisations and had not renounced violence.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap

COPY 11-76 12/10/87

Positive  
response  
to FW's  
decision  
to free  
prisoners

(113)

Marais slammed the releases as a "resounding victory for outside pressure concerning internal resistance".

In Harare, spokesmen for the ANC and the PAC cautiously welcomed the announced release of the eight prisoners, hailing it as a victory after 25 years of campaigning for their freedom. But they also said the move was a ploy by Pretoria to ease international pressure on the SA government —  
Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter-AP



MDM plans big welcome for 8

JOHANNESBURG — A national reception committee formed by the Mass Democratic Movement to arrange a welcome for Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners has called on the government to allow the people to express their joy without interference from the police

Announcing the formation of the committee yesterday, MDM spokesman Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the MDM saw the release of the leaders as a massive victory for the people of South Africa

He read a statement on behalf of the MDM calling on the government not to impose any restrictions on the eight, as had been done to Mr Govan Mbeki

The committee will arrange for the former prisoners to be given a welcome befitting their status and stature in the struggle for freedom Every effort will be made to ensure the receptions are well-organised and peaceful

Tomorrow's marches by trade unions against the Labour Relations Amendment Act will now also serve to celebrate the release of the prisoners. — Sapa

JOHANNESBURG — The decision to release eight political prisoners was taken after weeks of investigation into whether South Africa's stability would be affected by the release, President F W de Klerk said in an interview with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation this week.

He also said the decision to release Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Oscar Mpetha and six others was not an opportunistic move planned to coincide with the Commonwealth Conference next week, but had been taken from a humanitarian point of view

Referring to the re-

'Stability' a major concern in freeing 8

lease of Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk said the matter was constantly being reviewed.

Mr De Klerk said he was not worried that the release of prisoners would unleash forces that he could not control. "I believe in what I am doing" — Sapa

# Eight join visit to ANC in Lusaka

11/10/89

11/10/89

THE eight political prisoners who are to be released soon intend to travel to Lusaka as soon as possible to report to the African National Congress.

This was said in Johannesburg yesterday (THURS) by trade union leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, one of several Mass Democratic Movement spokesmen.

Mr Ramaphosa said the eight men, some of whom have spent more than 25 years in jail, were to apply for passports as soon as they could after their release.

If the government refused to grant them passports, this would indicate it was insincere about negotiations, he said.

Meanwhile, it has been reported from London that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela believes his release from prison should be part of a package that includes unbanning the ANC and allowing free political activity.

## Pointless

Quoting one of the leaders who visited Mr Mandela in prison this week, the South African correspondent of The Times of London said Mr Manjela believed it would be "pointless for him to be released unless the government met certain conditions

These included the lifting of the ban on the ANC and allowing its supporters free political activity.

The report followed the announcement by the South African government that it was to free eight prominent political prisoners, among them former ANC secretary-general and Rivonia trialist Mr Walter Sisulu.

According to the report, the eight are expected to spend some time with their families before conferring with the ANC leadership-in-exile.

In a long editorial, the newspaper heaped praise on President F W de Klerk for "moving with surprising and commendable speed to change South Africa's political landscape"

It cautioned, however, that

Mr De Klerk's "lack of any perceivable grand strategy at present exposes him to legitimate doubts about his ultimate intentions".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Johannesburg that Mr Walter Sisulu might be released as early as today.

The Sisulu family in Johannesburg has been asked by a high-ranking member of the police not to visit him in Cape Town today, a family spokesman told Sapa last night.

A member of the family had telephoned Pollsmoor Prison to make arrangements to visit Mr Sisulu and had been given the go-ahead.

A spokesman for the family said the change might mean Mr Sisulu's release in preparation for the weekend.

It could also mean he might be flown to Johannesburg and released today or over the weekend.

According to people who have seen him recently, Mr Sisulu has not lost his revolutionary fire or zeal.

Unlike the others who are to be released, Mr Sisulu is kept in isolation. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa.

**W**HILE we stand today on the brink of our political freedom we do so bearing certain liabilities. And if we do not confront these liabilities honestly and frankly they may snatch away from us the fruits of our inter-generational freedom struggle.

Repeated states of emergency have driven our political organisations into secrecy and this in turn has seriously affected our ability to exercise democracy, to consult effectively with our constituencies.

Initially, we welcomed the secrecy and saw it as protecting our leaders from being picked off one by one. We even considered the secrecy necessary for the survival of our resistance, and indeed it has secured that survival, but at a very heavy price.

We have paid a heavy price — we have almost lost the democratic content of our political organisations. Secret control also means manipulations. The fact that a great deal of our funding today comes from abroad exacerbates secret control.

**O**n the one hand the state precludes democratic consultation, on the other foreign funding relieves dependence on the constituency.

There is a fear that things are being done for people, that there is not sufficient consultation, and at times too there is the feeling that decisions are imposed on people erratically and the sources from which they come are questionable.

These feelings may be unwarranted, but they are there and they can erode the kind of commitment necessary today to dislodge apartheid.

Secrecy also manifests itself in petty tyrannies, in vilifications and justification of persons basically on personality differences.

Our liberatory movement does not have any organ where the persecuted can expect a just appraisal of the

# Let's rethink past divisions and look at black co-operation

*p/Par 12/10/89*

New notes are being sounded on the left. Natal sociologist **FATIMA MEER** suggests the ANC should change its attitude towards black leaders spurned as "collaborators".

problems that led to his/her vilification.

Divisions have always characterised our political life, but the liberatory ethos managed in the past to maintain these on a rhetorical level and the political integrity of dissent was respected.

Nonetheless a divisive tendency was contributed by what can be seen today as vulgarised Trotskyism which preached the doctrine of irreconcilable conflict and classified people into "collaborators" and "liberators".

This categorisation — in a sense name-calling — has been affixed today to all incumbents of apartheid institutions, homeland governments, community councils, the members of the two inferior Houses of the tricameral Parliament, and these incumbents in most cases deserve the stigmatisation.

Yet the fact remains that they represent it. And particularly in Natal, we find that this kind of stigmatisation and

distancing of people have reached enormous proportions and have resulted in conflict and in mass bloodshed that seems today to be uncontrollable.

We have tried to bring to the negotiating table the opposing factors in the conflict in the Natal region without success.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha are particularly resentful of being placed outside of the liberatory fold and this in part frustrates all attempts at peace.

**F**inally, our political struggle suffers from a generational gap. Sharpeville and the sudden cessation of extra-parliamentary activity in the 1960s caught the disenfranchised off guard and they retreated into silent fear.

The new generation, not having experienced a free ANC and democratic participation under Nelson Mandela, Albert Lutshah and Oliver Tambo, could not sympathise with

the numbness of their parent generation and rejected them as cowards and as irrelevant people.

For us to be truly strong today against the wavering Nats — and the Nats are just waiting for the first little opportunity to move out of this reform mode that is being thrust upon them — if we then are going to succeed in forcing them to the negotiating table, then to me it seems imperative that we must rethink our politics of irreconcilable conflict and seriously consider the alternative of co-operation.

We must try to gather together all our forces, be they homeland governments or community councils.

Our reasoning ought to be that we need the widest and the strongest black resistance against the Nationalist government.

And in order to gain this it would be suicidal if we now continued to maintain and nurture internal conflicts — internal, that is, within the black ranks.

We must try to find ways and means whereby we deprive the Na-

tionals of every black ally. I know that this is something that is very difficult to achieve, but I think that if we are going to succeed at the negotiating table and draw the best benefits for ourselves, then we must go there in the strongest possible kind of confrontation.

If there are any weaknesses, and if on either side of the black flanks we have dissenting voices, then that in itself may deprive us of this historical opportunity which is now at our doorstep.

And of course the aftermath is also there. If we are not able to unite our black people then we will find that after we have managed to develop some kind of a new constitution, we may still be confronted with black forces which are arraigned against black forces as has been the experience in Mozambique and in Angola.

These are the experiences, or the lessons of history, from which we should try to draw our own planning.

I'm not so sure that I myself would have considered these thoughts a year ago, but I think times are changing and in these changed times we should consider the thoughts

**S**o my message is simply this. We should try to do away first with the inter-generational gap that has emerged and which is weakening the fabric of our liberatory movement, we should also do away with the kind of petty name-calling or divisive or puerile politics, which only result in hurting and distancing people, and instead try to strive, work out ways and means whereby we can draw all disenfranchised blacks, together with all democrats of whatever colour they may be, so that we may force the hand of the Nationalists.

□ This is an extract from Prof Meer's address to The Indicator Human Rights Award function in Lenasia last week. The award was presented to the ANC.

## Top-level attempts to end violence

THREE top level attempts at intervention into Natal's political violence were made this week.

On Monday the new deputy minister of justice, Pietermaritzburg advocate Danie Schutte, met with Inkatha leaders, members of the police and other officials in his office.

Afterwards Inkatha representative V Mvelase said everyone was sick of the violence and that it was necessary for the police to take action against troublemakers from whichever side they came, and bring them to court.

This was followed on Tuesday by a visit to Mpumalanga by a party of 20 prominent Natal figures who had talks with both sides in the conflict.

Later they said it is essential that top-level and local peace initiatives continue at the same time and that neither could work without the other.

They said people from both sides expressed a deep desire for peace and that a local peace attempt with five representatives from each side had been about to take off when the current wave of violence hit the township.

However, the group felt the initiative was promising and "needed support and space to operate".

They said people expressed the need for efficient, professional and neutral policing, and it "was not clear this was always the case".

A third top-level meeting dealing with Natal violence took place at police headquarters in Durban on Tuesday when six Democratic Party MP's met with senior police officers including the regional commissioner of police in Natal, Major General Johann van Niekerk.

Afterwards Democratic Party MP Peter Gastrow said the police had given the MP's their view on the conflict and violence in Natal.

Both sides agreed it would be helpful if the MP's had good lines of communication with police.

## Passports wanted for Sisulu group

SEVEN ANC members among the eight political prisoners to be released soon would apply for passports to travel to Lusaka to report to the ANC, NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said at an MDM Press conference yesterday.

He said he hoped government would grant them passports because, as members of the ANC, they were accountable and needed to report to the leadership in exile *Monday 13/10/89*

If they were refused passports, it would be a clear indication government was not serious about engaging in negotiations to bring about a peaceful SA, Ramaphosa said

The Press conference was held to announce the formation of a National Reception Committee by Cosatu and the UDF to welcome the seven on their release.

SA Youth Congress president Peter Mokaba said government had to look at unbanning the ANC as the political prisoners

EDYTH BULBRING

were leaders of the organisation and could not be released into a vacuum.

Ramaphosa said Mandela had told him and his three companions he could not, as a prisoner, enter into negotiations with government.

After talks with government before its announcement that it was releasing the prisoners, Mandela said his release was not on the agenda

At no stage during his talks with the authorities about the release of his fellow prisoners did Mandela ask for his own release, Ramaphosa said *(IA)*

Mandela told the four he had urged government to talk to the ANC leadership.

The release of the eight political prisoners in the immediate future would probably be staggered, Ramaphosa said. However, it was expected it would happen during the next two weeks. *(20)*

# Release... and how it happened

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

**24 HOURS**  
THE release of eight political prisoners by President De Klerk is the culmination of years of behind the scenes negotiations following a move by former President Botha in 1985

Speaking at the beginning of a new session of Parliament on January 31 of that year he came with an offer which was aimed at finding a formula to release political prisoners, especially Mr Nelson Mandela, who had been in prison for many years

He said the government was willing to consider the release of Mr Mandela provided he unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument

The offer would also be extended to other political prisoners

Mr Botha said on that occasion that the government was not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others had spent a long time in prison even though they were duly convicted in open court

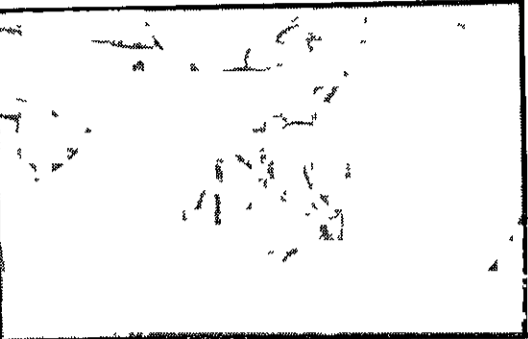
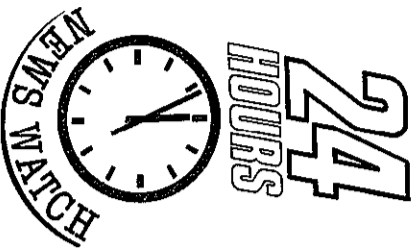
Apart from the undertaking to abandon violence Mr Mandela would also have to give the commitment that, if released, he would not conduct himself in such a way that he would again have to be arrested

Four political prisoners accepted the offer and were released, but Mr Mandela and five others who were sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial in 1964 refused to do so

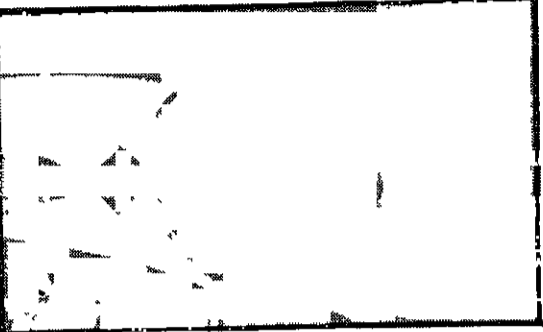
Announcing this on February 14, Mr Botha said their continued imprisonment must now be contributed to their refusal to renounce their commitment to violence

The matter did not end here. It now moved on to a level about which the public never heard

Since 1986 Mr Mandela became involved in serious dialogue with senior mem-



P W Botha



F W De Klerk

bers, the unbanning of the ANC and moves to provide for black political rights. In 1988 he was admitted

meet him at the house. One of those who continued his regular visits was Mr Coetsee. He was later joined by Dr Gerrit Vallyo, the Minister of Constitutional Development.

For many months the government figures tried in vain to persuade Mr Mandela that he and the ANC should abandon some of the cornerstones of their strategy as a precondition for possible future negotiations with the ANC.

In order to prevent the talks from ending in deadlock or from breaking down altogether discussions then began on the issue of releasing Mr Mandela's jailed ANC colleagues.

This led to the release of Mr Govan Mbeki at the end of 1987 and later some PAC figures.

After statements by Mr Mbeki at a press conference soon after his release to the effect that he stood by his old marxist principles he was banned and restricted to Port Elizabeth soon after his release.

The release of Mr Mbeki had been a calculated risk from the government's point of view and Nationalist politicians said later that it had been bungled.

Overseas pressure for the release of Mr Mandela continued.

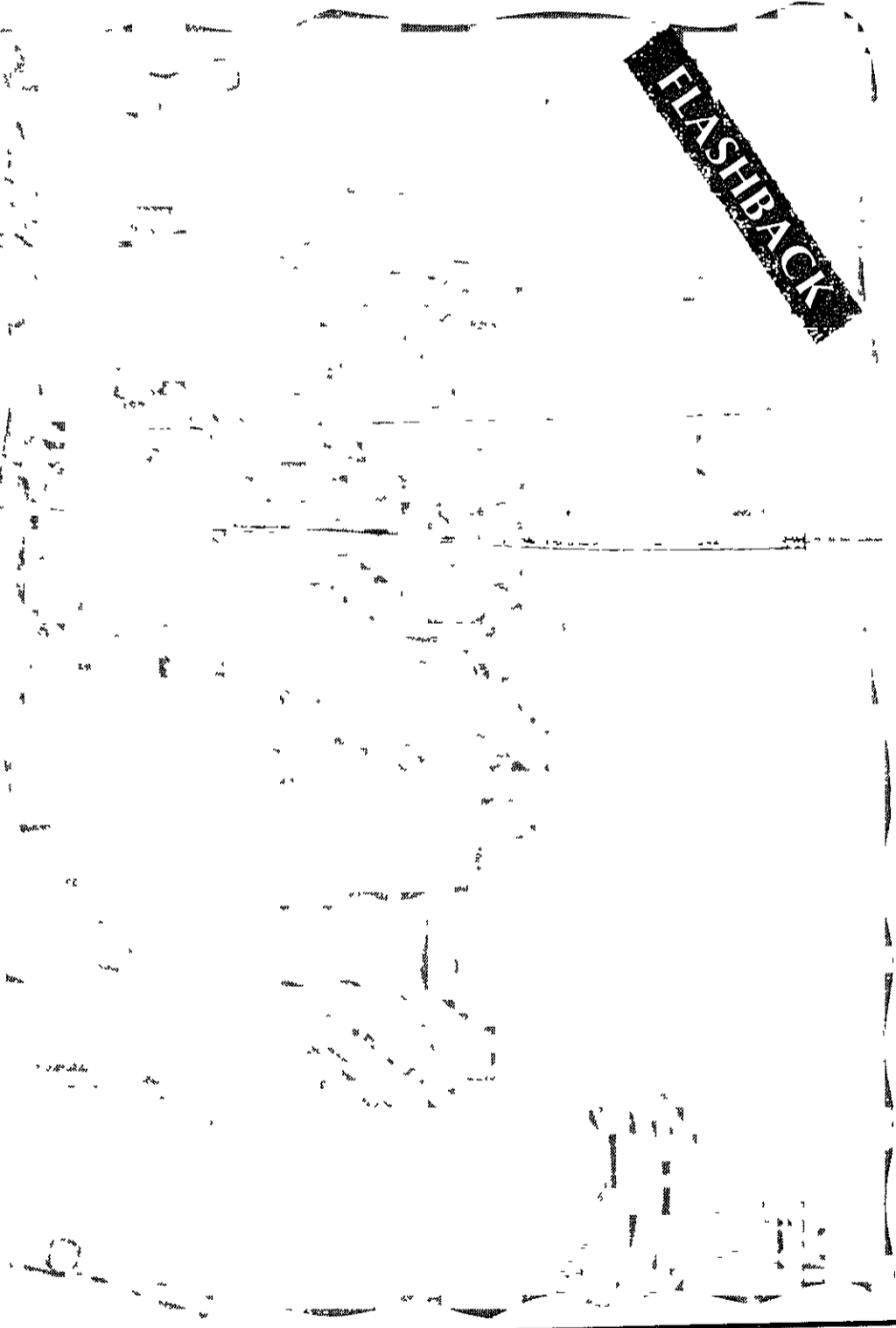
On April 17 Mr Botha again referred to the Mandela situation when he spoke in Parliament.

He then urged Mr Mandela to play a role in creating an environment which could facilitate his release.

He noted that Mr Mandela's case was being treated "with circumspection" by the government.

He said it ought to be clear to everyone that it would be futile if his release led to his rearrest and even heightened the conflict.

On this occasion the government even went out of its way to get a copy of Mr Botha's speech to Mr Mandela as the president was



**FLASHBACK:** The joyous moment of release for ANC chairman Mr Govan Mbeki as he meets walks into the blaze of international TV and press acclaim alongside Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, outside Pollsmoor Prison

peaceful development in South Africa," according to Mr Coetsee.

On July 12 Mr Mandela confirmed Mr Coetsee's version.

He said he would like to confirm that his release was not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement he would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which promote peace in South Africa.

This has clearly remained his intention but, while he is said to be "highly satisfied" with the decision to release some people he appears to be sticking to some of his

## 'Release... only for a package'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

**NELSON MANDELA** went to prison because of an ideal and he will not dream of leaving it without a "package", his wife Mrs Winnie Mandela has said.

She gave this reply after being asked when her husband will be freed.

"Our expectations have been whipped up over the past 26 years. You don't expect a man to leave prison without a package. I don't

on July 18 when the African National Congress leader "made it clear" to his family visiting him on his 71st birthday that "we shouldn't expect his release very soon", according to his son from his first marriage, Mr Makgatho Mandela.

Speaking from Umtata he said his father "wants the government to move a lot further than it has done. The situation must be a lot closer to the ideal he went to prison for before he'll step out of prison."

De Klerk has suddenly decided to release them.

Mrs Cachalia said Mr Mandela had told her "was seeing Minister of Justice Kobbie Coetsee".

Mr Makgatho Mandela said his father had told him in August he was negotiating with the government for the release of his co-accused in the Rivonia Treason Trial.

"He said he was speaking to the government on their behalf thereafter they could discuss his release."

"He said he was negotiat-

think he'll dream of coming home without a package. It's like a father returning home from shopping empty-handed," she said.

She disclosed that Mr Mandela had been negotiating with the government since August 1986 for the release of his co-accused in the Rivonia Treason Trial.

"At first he had regular contacts with Mr Kobie Coetsee (Minister of Justice) and from 1987 he started having contacts with other ministers as well."

Mr Mandela told life-long friend Mrs Amma Cachalia as early as June that his "colleagues" would be freed from prison this year.

However, he said his release from captivity was "not going to happen this year", she said.

This message was repeated

What would have been unthinkable not so long ago happened this week when Mr Coetsee and Dr Viljoen visited Mr Mandela in Paarl to discuss with him the release of the eight As Mr De Klerk put it in his statement Mr Mandela had been "fully apprised of the proposed release".

Significantly Mr De Klerk has stated that the prisoners are being released unconditionally and Mr Coetsee has added that no restrictions are being imposed on the men.

In way the release is meant to test the water for the release of Mr Mandela at a later stage but there are no indications of when this could happen.

According to top government sources that speech indicated significant nuances in Mr Botha's approach to Mr Mandela's release.

While in the past Mr Botha had referred to conditions under which Mr Mandela could be released he now invited him to become constructively engaged himself.

Government thinking had shifted from the insistence on the renunciation of violence to commitment to peaceful solutions.

On July 8 came the sensational news that Mr Botha and Mr Mandela had met at the Tuynhuys.

They had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for

to the Constantiaberg Clinic in Cape Town where he was treated for tuberculosis for a considerable time.

During this time Mr Botha said he hoped that Mr Mandela would make it possible for him not to be returned to prison. In government circles there was a speculation that there was a move to start a release plan for him in stages.

At the end of his treatment in the clinic he was moved to a house in the grounds of the Victor Verster prison in Paarl. From then on he was given much more freedom to receive visitors. His family was given virtually unrestricted rights to visit him and on occasion some of his old compatriots were taken to

bers of the government led by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

At the start of this he was in Pollsmoor where he was moved after having spent many years on Robben Island.

Apart from his family he was only allowed the occasional visit by an overseas politician — most of the requests for such visits were turned down — and occasionally by Mrs Helen Suzman MP.

She found that he was an old-style black nationalist, not a communist, who was in favour of peaceful solutions. It appeared, however, that he was strongly committed to certain principles such as the unconditional release of all political prison-

ing on their behalf with some cabinet ministers and he had no idea of when they would be released."

Mr Mandela said he was not "at liberty" to disclose the names of the cabinet ministers.

Asked about his father's prison conditions, he said that Mr Mandela was a prisoner in every sense of the word.

"It's just that his prison conditions have been made more civilised he's living in a modern house and not eating prison food. But warders still guard him."

Apart from his family, other visitors to Mr Mandela were carefully screened.

"All we have to do before a visit is to call Victor Verster prison and make the necessary arrangements. However, whoever else wants to see him must apply to prison authorities for permission."

Mrs Cachalia and her husband, Yusuf, saw Mr Mandela in his quarters at Victor Verster prison on June 8 this year.

"When I last saw him he said he was talking to people about releasing his friends. He didn't mention names. But said he was discussing the release of his colleagues."

At that meeting, Mandela had not given a date on which his "colleagues" would be freed neither did he say if it would be unconditional freedom.

"He just said he had seen Walter Sisulu twice before our visit. He mentioned that he had entertained all the Rivonia Treason Trialists in his quarters before Christmas."

She was not surprised at the impending releases.

"This thing has been going on for a long time. It's not that De Klerk (President F W

(b) in the Magisterial District of the Cape Wynberg including that portion of the Magisterial District of Somerset West which, prior to 9 March 1973 (Government Notice No 173 of 9 February 1973), fell within the Magisterial District of Wynberg, Simon's Town, Goodwood and Bellville in those portions of the Magisterial Districts of Malabar, and Stellenbosch which, prior to the publication of Government Notices Nos 171 of 8 February 1957 and 283 of 2 March 1962 respectively, fell within the Magisterial District of Bellville and in that portion of the Magisterial District of Kuils River which, prior to the publication of Government Notice No 661 of 19 April 1974, fell within the Magisterial District of Stellenbosch but which, prior to 2 March 1962, fell within the Magisterial District of Bellville and in that portion of the Magisterial District of Kuils River which, prior to the publication of Government Notice No 1683 of 7 August 1987, fell within the Magisterial District of Bellville.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subclause (1) the terms of this Agreement shall apply to apprentices and trainees only, in so far as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of the Manpower Training Act 1981 or any conditions prescribed or any notice served in terms thereof.

(3) For the purposes of this Agreement the weekly wage rate of apprentices prescribed under the Manpower Training Act 1981 shall be taken to be the weekly wage of such employees, and the hourly rate shall be the weekly wage calculated as above, divided by the number of ordinary hours worked in the establishment concerned.

PART II

2. CLAUSE 4 - SCHEDULE OF WAGES AND EARNINGS

Substitute the following for the existing table of wages:

	Per hour
Master electrician	975
Electrician and artisan	890
Installation operator	575
Installation operator trainee	380
Driver of a vehicle, the unladen mass of which is -	
(a) up to 3 500 kg	342
(b) from 3 501 to 9 000 kg	386
(c) 9 001 kg and over	440
Labourer	
(a) Grade I	380
(b) Grade II	300

3. CLAUSE 4bis - GUARANTEED MINIMUM INCREASES AND OFFSET

Substitute the following for subclause (1) and the table of rates:

(1) Every employee for whom wages are prescribed in this Agreement and who on 1 May 1988 is employed by an employer in the industry shall whilst in the employ of the same employer and whether or not his actual rate of pay immediately prior to the said date was in excess of the rate prescribed for him in this Agreement, be paid not less than the actual wage rate he was receiving immediately prior to the said date, plus, as a guaranteed personal minimum increase, an additional amount as follows:

	Amount per hour
Master electrician	90
Electrician and artisan	80
Installation operator	50
Installation operator trainee	40
Driver of a vehicle, the unladen mass of which is -	
(a) up to 3 500 kg	35
(b) from 3 501 kg to 9 000 kg	40
(c) 9 001 kg and over	46
Labourer	
(a) Grade I	40
(b) Grade II	30

(b) in the landdroststreek Die Kaap Wynberg (met inbegrip van daardie gedeelte van die landdroststreek Somerset West wat voor 9 Maart 1973 (Goewernementskennisgewing No 173 van 9 Februarie 1973) binne die landdroststreek Wynberg geval het, Simonstad, Goodwood en Bellville in daardie gedeeltes van die landdroststreek Malabar en Stellenbosch wat voor die publikasie van die ondervermeldde Goewernementskennisgewings Nos 171 van 8 Februarie 1957 en 283 van 2 Maart 1962 binne die landdroststreek Bellville geval het en in daardie gedeelte van die landdroststreek Kuilsrivier wat voor die publikasie van Goewernementskennisgewing No 661 van 19 April 1974 binne die landdroststreek Stellenbosch geval het maar wat voor 2 Maart 1962 binne die landdroststreek Bellville geval het en in daardie gedeelte van die landdroststreek Kuilsrivier wat voor die publikasie van Goewernementskennisgewing No 1683 van 7 Augustus 1987 binne die landdroststreek Bellville geval het.

(2) Ondanks subklousule (1), is hierdie Ooreenkoms van toepassing op vakleerlinge en kweeklinge slegs vir sover dit nie stryd met die Wet op Manne Kweekopleiding 1981 of met Voorwaardes of kennisgewings wat daartoe dienende voorgeskryf of bevestig is nie.

(3) Vir die toepassing van hierdie Ooreenkoms word die weeklikse loonskaal wat vir vakleerlinge kragtens die Wet op Manne Kweekopleiding, 1981, voorgeskryf is as die weekloon van sodanige werknemers aangeneem en is die uurloon die weekloon soos hierbo bereken gedeel deur die getal gewone ure wat daar in die betrokke bedryfsinstelling gewerk word.

DEEL II

2. KLOUSULE 4 - OPGAWF VAN EEN IN VERBOD NS'IES

Vervang die bestaande loontabel deur die volgende:

	Per uur
Meester-elektrisien	975
Elektrisien en ambagsman	890
Installasie-opeerder	575
Kweekling-installasie-opeerder	380
Drywer van 'n voertuig waarvan die onbelaste massa -	
(a) hoogstens 3 500 kg is	342
(b) van 3 501 tot 9 000 kg is	386
(c) 9 001 kg en meer is	440
Arbeider	
(a) Graad I	380
(b) Graad II	300

3. KLOUSULE 4bis - GEWAARBORDE MINIMUM VERHOOGINGS EN VERGOEDING

Vervang subklousule (1) en die tabel van tariewe deur die volgende:

(1) Elke werknemer vir wie daar in hierdie Ooreenkoms lone voorgeskryf word en wat op 1 Mei 1988 in diens is by 'n werkegewer in die Nywerheid moet, terwyl hy in diens van die werkegewer is en afgesien daarvan of sy werklou onmiddellik voor genoemde datum hoër was as die loon wat vir hom in hierdie Ooreenkoms voorgeskryf word, minstens die werklou loon betaal word wat by onmiddellik voor genoemde datum ontvang het, plus, as 'n gewaarborgde persoonlike minimum verhoging, die volgende addisionele bedrag:

	Bedrag per uur
Meester-elektrisien	90
Elektrisien en ambagsman	80
Installasie-opeerder	50
Kweekling-installasie-opeerder	40
Drywer van 'n voertuig waarvan die onbelaste massa -	
(a) hoogstens 3 500 kg is	35
(b) van 3 501 kg tot 9 000 kg	40
(c) 9 001 kg en meer is	46
Arbeider	
(a) Graad I	40
(b) Graad II	30



When the Iron Lady faces the Tory conference today her mettle will be severely tested. Insiders say she will come out fighting.

## Release of 8 only first step in long, hard road

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Observers here say Mrs Thatcher has received a terrific pre-Commonwealth summit morale boost from the news that South Africa is to release eight black political prisoners.

But they point out that this is simply one step along a hard road which must be travelled before South Africa is at peace.

The release of black political leaders is only one of the moves Mrs Thatcher has said she would like to see before she can contemplate a visit to South Africa.

Nevertheless, observers agree that the pressure has now been increased for the release of Nelson Mandela, and the freeing of his colleagues is being seen here as a trial run for that.

Many people believe it is international pressure — particularly on the financial front — rather than government goodwill which has prompted the release of the eight.

The ANC's Dennis Goldberg said the South African Government was "at sixes and sevens, unable to maintain the brutishness of its police force... in debt to the tune of billions and unable to pay".

Mrs Winnie Mandela told the BBC in a telephone interview that there were "formidable problems" ahead.

Mr Jesmond Blumenfeld, a visiting research fellow of the Royal Institute for International Affairs believed Mrs Thatcher would now go to Kuala Lumpur in a much happier frame of mind.

He believed Mrs Thatcher would be keen to take a more active role in solving the region's problems, but she was aware of the very high stakes involved.

"If her efforts are successful, she will receive a lot of praise, but if not, she will be in severe trouble. I believe she will opt for a facilitating role and will avoid being too heavily committed.

"This is not another Rhodesia."



Thousands to march in celebration

# Govt faces big test on release of 8

(HA)

Star

13/10/89

Staff Reporters

The Government is facing an immediate test of its nerve and good faith with the impending release of eight prominent political prisoners, including ANC big gun Mr Walter Sisulu — possibly this weekend.

The test will be on two fronts.

● Seventeen marches, involving possibly as many as 250 000 people, are being arranged countrywide to celebrate the release of the prisoners. The way the Government handles the marches will be closely watched.

● The eight ANC prisoners are planning to travel to ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, as soon as possible after their release to consult ANC leaders in exile. The Government's decision on their application for visas could be critical to the political climate following their release.

A national reception committee to welcome the men "in a manner befitting the greatest of heroes" had been established and would arrange briefings as well as accommodation.

## Low police profile

More than 250 000 workers were expected to march under the banner of the Congress of SA Trade Unions and its allies, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said.

The marches would take place in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Pietersburg, Secunda, Nelspruit, Standerton, Witbank, Maritzburg, Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Welkom, Kroonstad and another Western Transvaal town still to be named.

Permission had been asked for most of the marches. A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said police would keep a low profile. However, marches for which permission had not been asked or granted would be stopped.

Mr Naidoo said the protests would also focus on the unions' campaign against privatisation, celebrate the imminent release of eight prisoners and the State's recognition of May Day as a public holiday.

Miners' union leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the eight men, some of whom have spent more than 25 years in jail, would apply for passports as soon as possible.

He added that Government refusal to grant the men passports would clearly indicate its insincerity about negotiations.

Mr Ramaphosa said jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had told the Government that once the prisoners were released, it would be necessary for them to report to the ANC in exile as soon as possible.

Government sources were quoted by Sapa-Reuter yesterday as saying the eight "would probably be freed quietly on Sunday", three days before the start of the Commonwealth summit. The Bureau for Information confirmed in Pretoria they would not be under any restriction orders.



What a beauty . . . Aquanaut for near yesterday. He has already at Turffontein tomorrow. Trainer (

Glorious weather and

...the greatest of heroes" had  
and would arrange briefings as well as accom

### Low police profile

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Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Welkom, Kn  
other Western Transvaal town still to be nam

Permission had been asked for most of  
Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said  
a low profile. However, marches for which p  
been asked or granted would be stopped.

Mr Naidoo said the protests would a  
unions' campaign against privatisation, cel  
nent release of eight imprisoned teachers and  
nition of May Day as a public holiday.

Miners' union leader Mr Cyril Ramaph  
men, some of whom have spent more  
jail, would apply for passports as soon as po

He added that Government refusal to gr  
ports would clearly indicate its insincerity.

Mr Ramaphosa said jailed ANC leader M  
had told the Government that once the  
leased, it would be necessary for them to re  
exile as soon as possible.

Government sources were quoted by S  
day as saying the eight "would probably  
Sunday", three days before the start of  
summit. The Bureau for Infor  
mation confirmed in Pretoria  
they would not be under any re  
striction orders.

The State President, Mr F W  
de Klerk told local and foreign  
journalists that he hoped it  
would not be necessary for the  
Government to place restric  
tions on the eight.

He said it was their responsi  
bility, and that of their friends,  
to ensure that restrictions would  
not be necessary.

And in an interview with Ca  
nadian TV Mr de Klerk said the  
release of the eight was made  
on humanitarian grounds after a  
thorough investigation as to  
whether it would affect stabili  
ty.

The Mass Democratic Move  
ment warned in a statement  
yesterday that the Government  
should not attempt to restrict  
the eight from regaining their  
active roles in the ANC.

During a meeting between  
members of the MDM and Mr  
Mandela on Tuesday, Mr Man  
dela had said he was involved in  
talks with the authorities about  
the release of his fellow pris  
oners — but at no stage had he  
asked for his own release. He  
believed this should be left to  
the Government.

Mr Mandela had also ex  
pressed concern over the contin  
uing violent conflict in the coun  
try, the statement said.

● Sapa-AP reports that Mrs  
Winnie Mandela said the prison  
ers viewed their impending re  
lease as a political ploy.

"We have nothing to cele  
brate," Mrs Mandela said "This  
is an exercise to give ammuni  
tion to Margaret Thatcher to  
fight sanctions"

● See Page 11.

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cularly significant in itself. And while he spoke of an eventual system he said as he emerged from the meeting room, "but no solutions were unanimous approach to his high-profile "enemies".

# Now Sunday is set to be release day (1A)

From PAGE 1

discussions this week in Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison between cabinet ministers and Mandela, who is the only Rivonia trialist excluded from this week's release list, and between Mandela and the six other ANC leaders

Mandela has met twice this week with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, twice with his fellow ANC leaders and once with MDM leaders

The government is pushing for the released prisoners to take a low profile — and are holding out the release of other prisoners, including Mandela, in return. They fear a threat to the security situation and are still concerned by the events after the release last year of ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

Ramaphosa yesterday did not spell out exactly how the men would be welcomed, saying the Rivonia trialists were members of the ANC and would have to report to their organi-

sation and consult with its "collective leadership".

Representatives of the MDM said they would give the lifers time to rest with their families and therefore did not know exactly what their political programmes would be.

But said Peter Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress, "They are members of the ANC. We will be expecting them to act like leaders of the ANC."

Ramaphosa warned the government not to refuse the men passports. He said the government would be indicating that it is not interested in reaching détente and resolving conflict if it barred the recently-released members of the ANC from crossing borders.

It is believed that the ANC leaders and the MDM are weighing up the possible gains to be made by the ex-prisoners leading mass marches and

public rallies against the implications for other prisoners and the likely Security Force response.

On the other hand, they have to take into account popular excitement being generated by the releases

The first signs of state reaction have caused some concern: Security Forces on Wednesday used teargas against youths gathering in Athlone Stadium, Cape Town, to welcome Mpetha, and broke up crowds that gathered at his house, saying they were "illegal gatherings"

Slamming all speculation that the MDM could go softly on campaigns around the releases in order to secure the release of Mandela, Mokaba said "The release of our comrades has to be unconditional. We are not aware of any condition that says the people must stop struggling in order that our leaders must be released. That is not what the comrades are asking us to do."

W Mar 13-19/10/89

# Eight lifers will soon be free. But who are they really?

WALTER SISULU, 77, is regarded as one the most notable intellectuals in the African National Congress' history. His quiet presence has been felt in the movement for almost half a century, in capacities ranging from young activist to policy-formulator, secretary-general to famous prisoner.

Born in Ngcobo in Transkei in 1912, he is the son of a peasant farmer, brought up by his mother and an uncle. He is largely self-educated, having attended a mission school until the age of 15.

He moved to Johannesburg and worked in a dairy before signing on as a gold miner. A spell as a domestic worker in East London followed, and Sisulu had his first taste of political activity as a member of Clements Kadane's Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.

He returned to Johannesburg as a factory worker and, in 1940, decided to join the ANC.

Four years later he married Albertina, a nurse, who subsequently became president of the United Democratic Front.

Sisulu's first position in the ANC was as a member of the militant Youth League, which played a pivotal role in re-invigorating the parent organisation. By 1946 he was elected to the ANC's Transvaal executive, rising to the position of secretary-general in 1949. He held this post until his banning in 1954.

Sisulu's contribution was crucial in the defiance campaign of 1952. In December that year he was convicted, along with Nelson Mandela and 18 others, under the Suppression of Communism Act, and received a suspended nine-month sentence.

He was among the 156 people charged with high treason in December 1956, being acquitted only in March 1961. In 1960 he had been detained for several months under South Africa's first State of Emergency, and in 1962 was arrested on no less than six occasions.

The following year he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC, and organising a work stayaway. Released on bail, he was placed under 24-hour house arrest. Sisulu had helped to found Umkhonto weSizwe in 1961, serving on its high command, and he decided to go underground on April 20 1963.

Less than three months later he was arrested in the raid on Liliesleaf farm, Rivonia.

● In his years of freedom RAYMOND MHLABA, 69, was a key figure in the

Colleagues remember him as being an enthusiastic teacher of younger activists. In 1949 Mhlaba played a leadership role in the Eastern Cape Bus Boycott Action Committee and in the national defiance campaign three years hence, was named volunteer-in-chief for Port Elizabeth. He was arrested and detained on several occasions in the 1950s and early 1960s, and found himself in the 1956 treason trial. In December 1961 he joined Umkhonto, becoming a member of the high command soon after.

Mhlaba was arrested at Liliesleaf and jailed for life at the Rivonia trial. He remained on Robben Island until his transfer to Pollsmoor in 1982.

**Eight men sentenced to life imprisonment are to be released. Some of them are household names but others have remained in grey anonymity behind prison walls. By GAVIN EVANS, SHAUN JOHNSON AND GAYE DAVIS**

the executive of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

Motsoaledi was centrally involved in the defiance campaign in the Transvaal, receiving a banning order in 1952 for his efforts.

He was detained for four months under the 1960 State of Emergency and shortly joined Umkhonto's underground structure.

Motsoaledi was arrested at Rivonia, sentenced to life imprisonment and has been on Robben Island since. He has a wife, Caroline, and seven children.

● ANDREW MLANGENI, 63, joined the ANC 36 years ago and became the movement's Johannesburg branch secretary.

campaign's volunteer-in-chief for the Eastern Cape, and by 1955 was involved in the Congress of the People and the launch of Sacru, serving as the latter's national treasurer from 1958 to 1964.

Between 1952 and 1960 he was arrested several times for his union activities, and in 1956 appeared in the treason trial. After the ANC's banning he narrowly avoided being detained and went abroad illegally as a representative for Sacru.

He received military training in China and on his return in 1963 became a senior member of Umkhonto's high command. After escaping arrest at the Rivonia raid, he led the high command for 13 months until his capture in August 1964.

Two-and-a-half years ago Mkwaya married Irene, the mother of his two children, in a ceremony at Pollsmoor Prison. She died last year, aged 65.

● AFTA MASEMOLA, 60, was a founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress. He has spent 26 years on Robben Island, making him South Africa's second longest-serving political prisoner after Nelson Mandela.



After more than two decades Walter Sisulu will be freed



Ahmed Kathrada during the trial. Pictures: Bailey's African Photo Archives

After a long struggle, Mhlaba was given permission to marry his common-law wife, Dúdaka Heliso, at a ceremony in Pollsmoor. She lives in Port Elizabeth.

● Four decades ago, AHMED KATHRA, now 60 years old, joined the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Com-

being appointed to the high command, and in October 1962 became secretary of the first Free Mandela committee. He still served on the executive of the TTC.

In late 1962 he was banned and placed under house arrest. Shortly afterwards he went underground, resurfacing among the 17 arrested in the Liliesleaf raid.

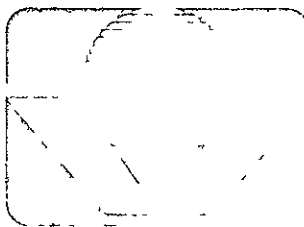
● Not even the judge who sentenced him in 1985 could see the point of jailing OSCAR MPETHA, now 80 years old. "The end of his life is too near for such punishment to be of any benefit either to him or to society," said Mr Justice DM Williamson — but the charge carried a mandatory jail sentence.

Mpetha's appeal against the "incitement" conviction failed. On August 26 1979, he was arrested in the

the 17 arrested in the Liliesleaf raid.

W.M. 13-19/10/89

the 17 arrested in the Liliesleaf raid.



CV.272

Vir hoeveel van ons mense is Suid-Afrikaans" kom? Hierdie van die Verbruikersraad, Mnr.

Volgens hom blyk dit asof baie van die Koop Suid-Afrikaanse-velde

„Volgens handelaars word onnodig omdat verbruikers daarvoor verweer dat hulle dikwels nie 'n aanbod aangebied word nie. Die Raad keuse maar dan moet dit nie te plaasvind nie.

„Dit is ongelukkig dat sommige nie positief genoeg ingesluit self produseer nie. Die idees en filosofie van self plaaslik vervaardigde goeder

Mnr. Verheem het voortgesê Die „Koop Suid-Afrikaans besig om te groei en die met versoeke vir inligting

„Die Pretoria Skou - nog 'n tema aangeneem het, begin vir die veldtog wees. Aangesien groot hoeveelheid hande werk belangriker as ooit om voedsel ons mense geproduseer word, aldus mnr. Verheem.

Unusually for the times, he joined the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa, as well as being an influential trade unionist. Mhlaba was born into a working class family in Port Elizabeth in 1920 and began his political education when, as a laundry worker, he joined a union. He became active in the Council for Non-European Trade Unions. Aged only 27, he was elected ANC branch chairman for Port Elizabeth, a position he held for six years. He served as branch secretary for the Communist Party up until his proscription in 1950.

Kathrada had joined the Communist Party in 1947, and was instrumental in the cementing of the alliance between the Indian congresses and the ANC in the 1940s and early 1950s. He was an important figure in the defiance campaign, and in the Congress of

Motsoaledi was born in Sekhukhune-land (Lebowa) in 1924, where he attended school up until Std Six. As a teenager, he moved to Johannesburg and became a factory worker. He soon assumed a leadership role in the Leather Workers' Union, and in the late 1940s was elected to

They have four children. WILTON MKWATI, 67, became, in his own words "what whites like to call an agitator" after his father signed him up for membership of the ANC in 1940. He was 17 years old then, still at school, and his involvement in political and trade union activity never diminished.

Born in August 5 1909 in the Mount Frere district of Transkei, he is thought to be the oldest of South Africa's political prisoners. He first started organising workers during the early 1940s, in the fish factories along the West Coast. In 1951, he became general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the first union to join the Sactu, and moved to Cape Town. In the same year he joined the ANC, rising to become regional secretary and

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11A B-10/10/89

## Islamic leader resigns over Rushdie affair, trips

MOULANA FARID ESSACK, executive member of the Call of Islam, resigned this week because of differences between him and the organisation.

"For the last few months there have been differences between the Call of Islam and Moulana Farid regarding the key issues of organisational discipline and accountability," the organisation said.

However, the most divisive issue between Essack and the organisation appears to be the Salman Rushdie affair. Rushdie, author of the contro-

By MUSA ZONDI

versial *The Satanic Verses*, had been invited to South Africa last year during the Weekly Mail Book Week. The Call of Islam said at the time they abhorred the banning of the book as it was another form of censorship.

However, according to the Call of Islam official, Essack's stand did not in fact reflect the feeling of the Islamic community.

Essack is also alleged to have taken a number of overseas trips without consulting the other members of the

executive committee.

"Essack did most of the things on his own," the official said.

Essack said his resignation was a "culmination of many months of wrestling with differing perceptions of my own role in the organisation and the community and in our incompatible understandings of organisational accountability."

He reiterated his belief in the organisation and the ideas it stands for.

The door was still open for Essack to come back, the organisation's representative said.

**BUSINESS**

THE salesman in the furniture section stepped forward eagerly as he saw a prospective customer admiring a hand-carved wooden bedstead. The price, he said, was 300 000 kwanzas. Or he added after a moment's rapid calculation, a dozen cases of beer.

Beer, Coca-Cola, Pepsi and soda water all serve as alternative currencies in Luanda's thriving, bustling Roque Santeiro market on the northern outskirts of the city, where another facet of the world-wide move of socialist countries towards market-oriented economies is taking shape.

Less than five years ago Angola still represented Africa's most serious attempt to implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Everything was nationalised right down to the taxis and barber shops.

But as the economy drifted closer to ruin under the combined effects of that system's failures and a debilitating civil war, the government began reassessing its policies and in 1987 embarked on Angola's version of *perestroika*, called the Programme of Economic Restructuring, or SEF by its Portuguese initials.

Two years later the programme is behind schedule and recovery is still a long way off, but the Angola government's commitment to converting to a market-driven economy is clear — as the hectic trading at Roque Santeiro illustrates.

On any weekday there are 10 000 or more people jostling their way through the maze of corrugated-iron stalls and piles of produce displayed on the ground that constitute a kind of Third World Harrods where you can buy anything from a pound of dried fish to a new Mercedes-Benz. On weekends the crowds are bigger.

Roque Santeiro — the name comes from a Brazilian soap opera that is popular here — is the biggest of five similar markets strung around the fringes of the city. Together they form the heart of the commercial economy.

Downtown Luanda, where the state stores are, is dead by comparison, the stores empty of goods and customers and the streets devoid of congestion. This though the city's population has exploded from 250 000 to nearly two million in the last 30 years.

To move from the city centre to the markets around the periphery is to have a visual impression of the new,

# For Luanda market mummies a ticket to Lisbon is 24 beers

**In Angola's parallel economies, a vigorous market system is draining the state subsidised stores. For \$15 — or two cases of beers — the traders fly to Portugal, fill their kitbags and return to Luanda's bustling markets. ALLISTER SPARKS reports**

more vigorous economy sucking the old one dry and leaving it an empty shell.

The economics of these markets is as varied and unusual as the merchandise on display. There always was a black market here, as in every other Marxist society, and in effect Roque Santeiro grew out of that, so that although it has now been legitimised by the government it still retains many of the black market's features — particularly its exchange rate.

The official rate for the kwanza currency is a wildly unrealistic 30 to the US dollar. The black market rate is between 2 500 and 3 000. The state stores operate at the official rate, Roque Santeiro at the market rate.

The result is that while Angola is in its present stage of transition, there are not only two parallel systems in operation but two parallel economies as well.

What happens is that people whose ration of goods from the state stores is more than they need take their surplus to Roque Santeiro, where they can sell it at the higher market price. Others, like the carpenter who made the carved bedstead, and a range of handymen, fishermen and farmers, take their produce and manufactured goods directly to the market.

Yet others stock their stalls by a remarkable exploitation of the state subsidy system.

Angolan citizens are able to buy tickets on the national airline, Taag, in kwanzas at a subsidised price. The economy class return fare from Luanda to Lisbon is 38 000 kwanzas. At the official rate of exchange that is a

reasonable \$1 266, at the black market rate it is a laughable \$15.

The result is that the daily flight to Lisbon presents an astonishing sight. Luanda airport is packed with market mummies clutching their \$15 tickets and carrying army kitbags and enormous luggage trunks. They are on their way to buy stock for their stalls.

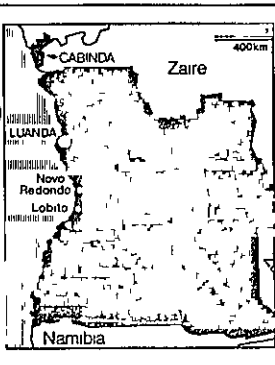
The Lisbon end of this trade route — and a similar one across the Atlantic to Rio de Janeiro — has an entire economic infrastructure ready to supply them when they land. The market

## A number of foreign companies have shown an interest in investing in what is potentially one of Africa's richest countries — if it can end the civil war that has wrecked much of its infrastructure

mummies do not have to leave the airport vans packed with goods are waiting there to meet them.

The mummies pack their trunks and kitbags with sandals, clothes, bolts of cloth, watches, transistor radios, oil lamps, sunglasses, medicines, anything that a starved consumer market is eager to purchase — but especially those items in particular demand in a steamy tropical climate, beer and soft drinks.

They cheerfully pay their excess baggage charges, again at the ridiculously low kwanza rate, and board



the government passed a package of laws that provided for foreign investment and the establishment of private banks, expanded the area of the economy that is open to the private sector and liberalized the basis on which public enterprises operate.

Roberto D'Almeida, a senior official in the ruling party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), explains that the laws are designed to establish a mixed economy consisting of three sectors — a state sector, a private sector in which both Angolan and foreign companies can operate, and a mixed sector in which private companies can enter into partnerships with state corporations.

"Nearly all sectors will be open to private foreign investment," D'Almeida said in an interview. "Only a few are closed, such as defence and security, long-distance transportation, broadcasting and a few others."

D'Almeida's apparent enthusiastic endorsement of the SEF programme is the clearest indication of the direction in which Angola is moving. He was long regarded as the chief hardliner in the MPLA and holds the position of Secretary for Ideology, Information and Culture.

He is defensive about the government's previous commitment to Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

It was forced to adopt such a highly centralized economic structure, D'Almeida contended, because the mass departure of the Portuguese population at independence in 1975 left Angola with a crucial shortage of managerial skills and commercial resources.

"The structure collapsed and the state had to step in. We had no other option," he said, though others who were here at the time say the flight of the Portuguese was largely due to their apprehensions about the MPLA's commitment to hard-line Marxism.

According to D'Almeida, a number of foreign companies have shown an interest in investing in what is potentially one of Africa's richest countries if it can end the civil war that has wrecked much of its infrastructure.

Angola has off-shore oil in its northern province of Cabinda, diamonds abundant, water supplies and some of the continent's best agricultural land.

Several American oil companies, notably Gulf Oil and Texaco, have been in Cabinda for years, and recently Maurice Tempelman's New York-based diamond company, Lazar Kaplan International, signed a contract with the state diamond corporation, Endiama, to begin mining here.

Two months ago Angola became a member of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and O'Brien predicts this will usher in the next phase of the SEF programme — devaluation of the currency and a further decontrolling of agricultural prices which have already had some subsidies cut.

That will set Angola firmly on the road being followed by a number of East European countries, and nearer at hand, Mozambique, which has gone through a similar cycle of zealous Marxism, civil war, disillusionment and now reform since becoming independent of Portugal in 1974.

Palmeri de Lucena, Brazilian-born director of the Catholic Relief Services in southern Africa, who travels extensively in the region and has watched the *perestroika* process get under way in both countries, believes it will in fact go further in Angola than Mozambique.

"It started slower in Angola, but once the market forces begin to operate fully Angola will change faster than Mozambique because it has a bigger resource base and the entrepreneurship is much stronger," Lucena said in an interview.

He believes the political changes will be greater too. "It is the economic *perestroika* that drives the political *perestroika*," Lucena said, predicting that Angola would make the leap from where it is now to being another Zimbabwe much faster than Mozambique can.

## Soviets act to curb runaway inflation

*13-19/10/89*

By SCOTT SPANE

US institutions might be able to offer advice as the Soviets introduce market relations.

Greenspan went out of his way not to offend his hosts declining to characterize the state of the Soviet economy, routinely called disastrous by Soviet officials themselves.

At the Supreme Soviet session, Ryzhkov showed no such restraint. He cited figures showing wages grew 15.7 percent between the third quarter of 1988 and the third quarter of this year compared to an increase in production of about one percent.

Pay for workers and service personnel in the state sector went up nine percent, for agricultural workers it more than doubled, and for employees of co-operatives, the private businesses booming under reform, it nearly quadrupled, he said.

The problem has become acute over the past two years as consumers with excess rubles have snatched up every item of reasonable quality the economy can produce.

Since most prices are more or less controlled the result has been what economists call 'repressed inflation' — too much money chasing too few goods. This produces long lines at state stores and feeds a thriving black market where goods are available for many times their official price.

Ryzhkov said he believed that to move too swiftly to a market economy before economic competition could be developed, would produce an 'explosion' of inflation — The Baltimore Sun

Greenspan made his three-day visit at the invitation of Leon Abalkin, a radical economist drafted last year for the post of deputy prime minister in charge of economic reform. Greenspan said "a new Marshall plan" of US aid for the Soviet Union was neither sought by the officials he had met nor logical under the present circumstances, since the Soviets were trying to restructure their economy.

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons until 20 October 1989 for appointment to the following posts

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Department of Private Law**

**Professor/Associate  
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Lecturer**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for a senior position in the Department of Private Law. The vacancy is for a three year contract period with the possibility of a subsequent permanent appointment.

The successful applicant may be expected to act as Head of the Department

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In addition to salary the University offers a 13th cheque membership of the pension group life and medical aid schemes, education and housing subsidy, removal allowance and generous leave benefits.

Applications with a detailed CV should be sent to: The Assistant Registrar (Staffing), University of Bophuthatswana, P.O. Box 83, Rooderod 2743, tel (0140) 21171 ext 2004, from whom application forms and further particulars may be obtained.

The University reserves the right not to make an appointment or to appoint at a lower or higher level. No correspondence and/or representation will be entered into after the official results of the interview have been released.

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**FOCUS ON THE PRISONER RELEASES**

with me now." And the slightly greying yet, according to Ramaphosa, still dashing handsome host, hugging the wife of his comrade, friend and prison mate, said. "Yes, I want to go home"

The realisation that the world's most famous prisoner would remain a prisoner is a measure of the desperate inability of the South African government to release Mandela

Mandela knew already that the list would exclude him and told the party his release was not an issue. He said he had seen his fellow Rivonia trialists the day before and they had discussed the releases

He told the party he had held dis-

**The man they left behind**

●From PAGE 1

cussions with representatives of the government about the release of the other lifers.

He said these discussions had been conducted mainly with Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee and other members of his department, according to Ramaphosa, and told the party these were just discussions and not negotiations.

He had never pleaded his own case, believing it should be left to others,

Mandela told the group He said he did not expect to see State President FW de Klerk in the near future and, by emphasising his concern that the other lifers be permitted to report to the African National Congress in Lusaka, indicated his concern for consultation and collective leadership in the ANC

Mandela told his visitors that he was very concerned about the continuing violent conflict in the country His view was that he could not enter into negotiations with the government because he believed that he could not

do this as a prisoner He said that in his contact with the government he had urged the powers that govern to talk to his organisation, the ANC.

His guests were amazed at his powerful intellect One remarked that he had a forceful voice and a powerful personal presence According to his guests, despite his age he was physically fit and had an upright gait

The delegation briefed Mandela about the Defiance Campaign, the Conference for a Democratic Future and other political matters affecting both the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement Mandela expressed support for the strategies and tactics of the MDM

**Clerics meet FW but the president steals the show**

By SHAUN JOHNSON

AS officials begin to make seating arrangements for next week's crucial Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur, they might as well set a symbolic place for FW de Klerk

By his extraordinary actions in the week preceding the gathering in Malaysia, De Klerk has succeeded in imposing his presence on the forum from which South Africa excluded itself in 1961 — and in stalling a widely-expected push for increase in pressure on the Pretoria government

South Africa's new president has succeeded in doing this by making two unexpected, innovative moves However, the strategy carries dangers for him in the longer term

This week, De Klerk breathed new life into his carefully-nurtured "reformist" image by announcing the unconditional release of all the Rivonia trialists still in jail (with the exception of Nelson Mandela), and by holding an extended and conciliatory meeting with three of the country's leading anti-apartheid clerics

According to diplomatic observers in Pretoria, there is no doubt this will be enough to ensure the sting is taken out of the Kuala Lumpur meeting The Commonwealth will not be subjected to the bitter splits over the South African question which it endured at Nassau in 1985 and Vancouver in 1987, when British policy came under virulent attack

This is, in part, because other issues have crept higher up the agenda But, although all sides deny the timing of the announcement that the six Rivonia trialists, along with Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress veterans Jafa Masemola and Oscar Mpetha, had anything to do with the imminent Commonwealth summit, it will have enormous bearing on the deliberations

The British would not be so gauche as to publicly claim any credit for the release. De Klerk himself has been at pains to emphasise that the views of "moderate black leaders, including the leaders of the self-governing territories (it is believed he was referring specifically to kaNgwane's Enos Mabuza and kwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi), carried special weight" He has also stressed that the timing had simply to do with the bureaucratic processes of review which are invoked in the cases of long-term "security" prisoners

Nevertheless, the political sophistication implied by the timing is self-evident

And the announcement had an additional, important, corollary it set the tone for De Klerk's audience on Wednesday with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the Reverends Allan Boesak and Frank Chikane.

What could have been a timeless and telling denunciation of Pretoria's new man as a reconditioned version of his predecessor, was necessarily turned into something different.

De Klerk was able, via a change in style and not much more, to emerge as a paragon of reasonableness and

openness He allowed a meeting which was scheduled to last 45 minutes to go on for close to four hours He emerged, smiling winningly, with a glowing report of the frank and cordial nature of the conclave Although he hoped the clerics would change their views on "certain issues" (for which, in particular, read sanctions), he made a concession that is difficult to imagine coming from PW Botha's mouth "My general impression (of them) was that, yes, there is a basic wish on their side that South Africa should get going on the road to negotiations I hope that today's meeting will become a milestone on the positive road ahead"

This has undoubtedly been De Klerk's week, and he has won the battle of Kuala Lumpur before the first shots have been fired While there will doubtless be strong denunciations of Pretoria from many delegates, these will not be translated into a stiffened policy

But it is worth noting that De Klerk's tactics will not result in a lessening of Commonwealth pressure, either In this fact resides the risk attached to his strategising

It will not take long before the state president's qualificatory comments about the "negotiation process" are properly digested In his press conference after the meeting with the churchmen, he made three low-key — but pivotal — points.

He would not be drawn into discussions about time-frames for his promised reforms. This extended to the church delegation's core demands for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unbanning of organisations and the repeal of discriminatory laws

He characterised the church delegation as only one of many, and not particularly significant in itself. And while he spoke of an eventual system

**Now Sunday is set to be release day**

●From PAGE 1

discussions this week in Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison between cabinet ministers and Mandela, who is the only Rivonia trialist excluded from this week's release list, and between Mandela and the six other ANC leaders

Mandela has met twice this week with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, twice with his fellow ANC leaders and once with MDM leaders.

The government is pushing for the released prisoners to take a low profile — and are holding out the release of other prisoners, including Mandela, in return. They fear a threat to the security situation and are still concerned by the events after the release last year of ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

Ramaphosa yesterday did not spell out exactly how the men would be welcomed, saying the Rivonia trialists were members of the ANC and would have to report to their organ-

in which all South Africans had "the vote", the inevitable rider of "minority protection" was added

What De Klerk had done was to agree on the sentiment, and not the substance, of the church leaders' concerns — which are, in essence, those of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement This is an excellent short-term strategy but, as Tutu indicated, would shortly be put to the test

The talks were "open and fruitful", he said as he emerged from the meeting room, "but no solutions were

reached" Later, at a press conference, he said De Klerk "had not given clear-cut responses to the demands.

It was these demands, he implied, that would be the true test of how serious De Klerk's "climate-building" was.

This is why the president's relief of Kuala Lumpur is in itself dangerous His ammunition has been the release of key political prisoners, and a magnanimous approach to his high-profile "enemies"



The president and the priest .. Two leaders hold talks on apartheid  
Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

**It's despicable but Rockman two go free**

●From PAGE 1

pie up "If we want change, why give wider powers to beat up people? It's not going to solve our problems, it just builds up hate against the police"

The prosecution was a direct result of Rockman's widely publicised claims of police brutality The haste with which the trial got under way — just four days after the decision to prosecute was announced — raised the eyebrows of legal observers

Rockman yesterday told the *Weekly Mail* he believed the trial was deliberately rushed to lay him open to an internal inquiry currently under way.

He said the Cape attorney general, Niel Rossouw, told him on their very first meeting that a court date had already been set "At that time they had no statements from any other witnesses, only mine," Rockman said

Rossouw was not available yesterday to respond to this allegation The fact remains that Rockman breached stringent police protocols by speaking to the press and in his evidence admitted he may have done so

Major-General Jaap Joubert, who led the police inquiry into Rockman's allegations, told the *Weekly Mail* that anything Rockman said in the witness stand could well be held against him in an internal inquiry

"I'll wait and see what they have in store for me," Rockman said yesterday "I'll stay in the police and if they want me out, they must kick me out"

Another question remaining is whether any action is intended against members of the riot squad found by the court to have acted unlawfully

In his judgement, the magistrate said he was "astomished" that they could not be identified — and said that if they could be, he wondered why they were not before the court

The beatings they inflicted on demonstrating schoolchildren and bystanders in Mitchell's Plain on September 5 were "not only unlawful but utterly despicable" — particularly the case in which a witness was struck across the breasts

The witness, a 17-year-old schoolgirl, acknowledged she was part of the demonstration, but had heeded the order to disperse The Criminal Procedures Act laid down specific guidelines for the use of corporal punishment, said McCarthy.

Members of Roos' platoon were guilty of unlawful assaults, McCarthy found. "The court cannot believe that such actions can be gamsaid"

Regulation 15 effectively protects security force members from civil or criminal proceedings arising from action taken in terms of the regulations, where they have acted in "good faith". And, said McCarthy, the state had not succeeded in showing that Brazelle and Roos were guilty of acting in bad faith

The order to use violence was not unlawful, said McCarthy "To the contrary" it is authorised by Regulation 2 of the Emergency regulations"

Of the state's witnesses, five said they had been beaten and their testimony was not crucised by the defence Thus it was not necessary to review their evidence in depth

Rockman, on the other hand, had been branded by the defence as a liar and for this reason it was necessary to "look at his evidence more closely and evaluate it"

Rockman impressed the court as "an intelligent person with an attractive system of values" In view of his statements to the press which put the police in a bad light, one would expect him to be prejudiced and should approach his evidence with caution

The court was aware of the contradictions in his evidence, but it didn't necessarily follow that his evidence was incorrect

"The court's opinion is that the contradictions do not necessarily affect the finding that he was on the scene and is basically an honest witness"

W. Mail 13-19/10/89

## FOCUS ON THE PRISONER RELEASES

EIGHT South African political prisoners are about to be released, but up to 3 500 others remain behind bars, including 15 serving life sentences.

Figures released in parliament by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee show that as of March 31 1989 there were 374 people serving sentences for "offences against the security of the state".

But this figure does not include political prisoners in the "independent homelands" or the 2 000 to 3 000 prisoners the Human Rights Commission says were convicted for "criminal" offences committed in "political circumstances" and were still being held at the end of last year. These offences include public violence, arson, murder and refusing to serve in the South African Defence Force.

According to HRC figures, 350 people were convicted in 248 political

# Who else remains inside? About 3 500 other convicts

N. Mail 13-19/10/89

trials between October 1988 and August this year.

On May 11 this year Coetsee told parliament there were 630 prisoners on Robben Island (325 in maximum security and 305 in medium security) — but not all are political prisoners.

The 14 serving life sentences on Robben Island for political offences are ANC members.

South Africa's longest serving political prisoner is Nelson Mandela who has been behind bars for a total of 27 years, two months and eight days (See Page 6)

**GAVIN EVANS** added up the figures for those convicted of different politically related offences, both in South Africa and the 'homelands', and reached a figure close to 3 500

Once Mandela is released attention is likely to focus on five political prisoners who, between them, have served over 100 years in prison

Anthony Mfene Xaba, 56, and Zakhele Elphas Mdalose, 65, have both

been behind bars for 25 years — over 14 of these continuous

In February 1963, 15 months after joining Umkhonto weSizwe, Xaba was arrested in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and deported to South Africa where he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island for terrorism. He was again detained and, together with Harry Gwala and others, sentenced to life imprisonment on July 25 1977

Mdalose, a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe, was

detained in 1963 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in 1964. He was released in February 1974 but 18 months later was sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1977

Msomu Mnyiniwa, 65, an ANC and Sactu member, has been behind bars for 22 years and six months. He was detained in July 1963 and on February 28 1964 was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. He was freed in 1972 but redetained on December 5 1975 and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Gwala trial in July 1977

Also sentenced in 1977 was Vusumzi John Nene, who has now been behind bars for nearly 15 years

Another long-term Island prisoner is Joseph Nduli, 50, who has spent nearly 14 years behind bars. A veteran of the ANC's Wankie campaign he was abducted from Swaziland on March 26 1986 and sentenced to 18 years jail the following year.

Others serving life sentences on Robben Island include Petrus Mashigo, Johnson Lubisi and Johannes Shabangu (all sentenced in 1982), D Moise (1963), Sanna Twala, Linda Hlopho and Daniel Mbokwane (June 1987 in the Duduza trial) and Lizo Ngqungwana (August 1987)

Other political prisoners on Robben Island include the Delmas trialists, all sentenced on December 8 last year

United Democratic Front national publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, 41, was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for treason, while UDF national general secretary Popo Molefe, 37, and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane, 41, received 10-year sentences for treason. All three have been behind bars since April 1985 when they were detained

South African Council of Churches worker and Soweto Civic Association executive member Tom Manthata, 50, was sentenced to six years imprisonment and Gina Malindi, 29, former Vaal youth and civic leader, to five years for terrorism

Former Soweto SRC president Khotso Seathlo, 32, was in March 1982 sentenced to 10 years jail for his activities in the South African Youth Revolutionary Council

Political prisoners, like all prisoners, are segregated on the basis of race and sex

Nine white political prisoners, five men and three women, are in Pretoria Central Prison, while two other white males are serving sentences in other prisons.

The two longest serving are ANC members Barbara Hogan and Rob Adam, both of whom have been in jail for eight years and one month. Hogan, 37, a trade union researcher, was detained in September 1981 and 13 months later was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for high treason. Adam, 34, an educationist, was detained on September 22 1981 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for offences under the Internal Security Act in June 1982.

Former Soviet spy and South African Naval Commodore Dieter Gerhard, 53, was sentenced to life imprisonment in December 1983 and his wife, Ruth, 45, to 10 years.

ANC member Marion Sparg, 31, was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for treason in 1986 while Carl Niehaus, 30, received a 15-year sentence six years ago. Also jailed for ANC activities are Steve Marais, 33, who was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in October 1986, and Eric Pelsner, 25, detained in July 1985 and sentenced to seven years imprisonment in February 1986.

Sentenced to six years jail for refusing to serve in the SADF are David Bruce, 27, who has served 15 months in Pretoria Central, and Charles Bester, 19, who has spent seven months in Kroonstad Prison. Saul Batzofin, 30, has served five months of an 18-month sentence at Zonderwater Prison for refusing to do a one-month camp. The three are not being held as political prisoners.

Among the political prisoners in the "independent homelands" are former UDF border secretary Reverend Arnold Stofile, 45, who was detained in Ciskei three years ago and sentenced to 12 years for terrorism

## Twenty five years later, where are they now?

N. Mail

*What happened to the others involved in the Rivonia Trial of 1964, the lawyers, the prosecutors, the witnesses?*  
**PHIL MOLEFE** reports

N. Mail 13-19/10/89

**WALTER SISULU** and the other Rivonia trialists will find many of their old associates — and their old adversaries — dead or in exile.

The Rivonia saga began on a Thursday night, 11 July 1963, when a bakery van and a dry cleaning van trundled up the driveway of a home in the suburb of Rivonia, near Johannesburg, the underground headquarters of the ANC.

Out leapt heavily-armed policemen, led by Lieutenant Willem Petrus van Wyk. Inside they found nine people: Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein, Bob Hepple, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi.

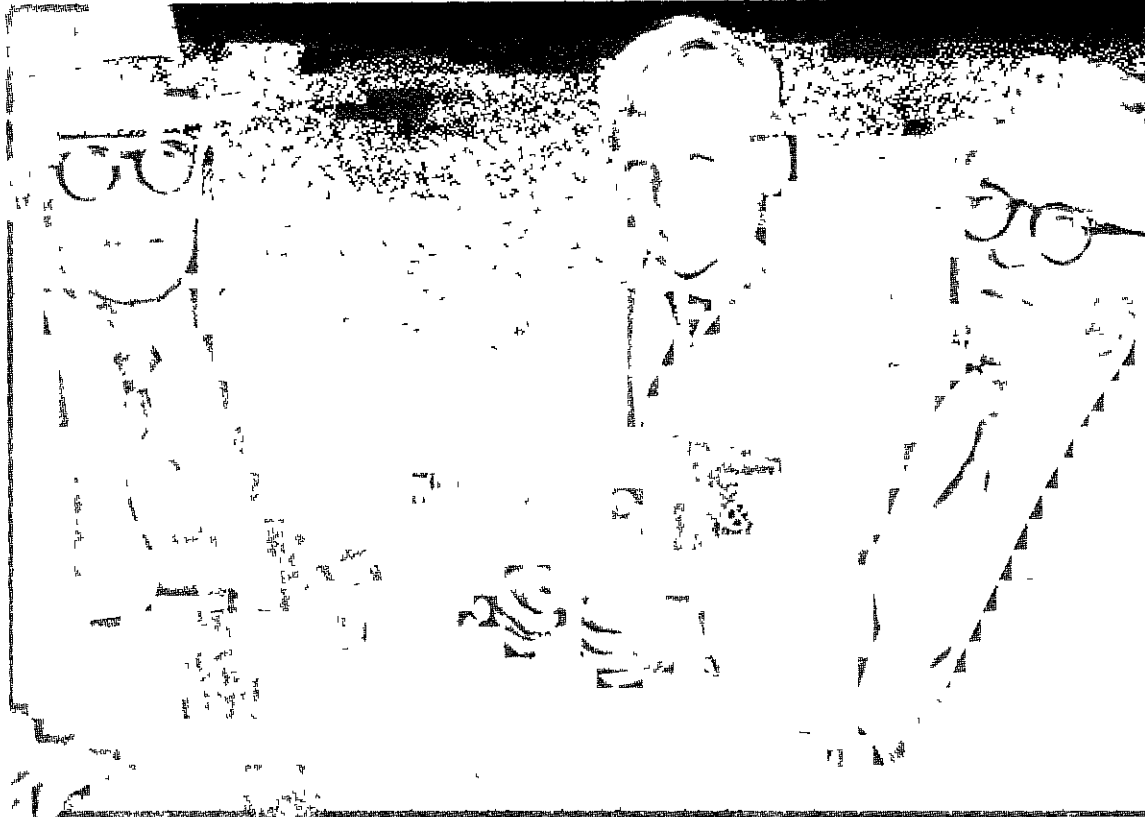
Arthur Goldreich, who had rented the farm and was also a member of the high command, was arrested later that afternoon when he returned home. Harold Wolpe, an attorney, was held days later after incriminating evidence found during the raid.

Goldreich and Wolpe, however, escaped from security police headquarters at Marshall Square shortly afterwards. They bribed a policeman, assumed the guise of priests and fled to Botswana with another common law prisoner.

Goldreich, an architect, is now living in Israel and is involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement there.

Wolpe is in London and is professor in sociology at Essex University.

His law partner, James Kantor,



Senior counsel Braam Fischer QC (right), whose father (left) was a judge president, died in jail in 1975

Picture Eli Weinberg

was arrested on suspicion of arranging the escape.

Van Wyk was promoted to the rank of captain "in recognition of the raid and its consequences". The South African Police public relations division this week refused to give further information about his subsequent career.

Of the 10 accused who finally appeared in court, Bernstein and Kantor were acquitted at the end of the trial on June 12 1964.

Bernstein, who left the country after his acquittal, lived in Wales with his wife, Hilda, where he continued to practice as an architect. According to a close source, he has now retired and is living in Mazimbu, Tanzania.

Hilda Bernstein's authoritative book on the trial was republished earlier this year, on the 25th anniversary of the event.

Kantor, who also left the country after his acquittal, died in London in the late 1960s.

The judge was Mr Justice Quartus;

de Wet, judge president of the Transvaal. He retired in 1970 but continued acting as a judge until 1981. He died two years later.

The prosecution was led by the newly appointed attorney-general of the Transvaal, Dr Percy Yutar. Yutar, now 77, was the first Jewish attorney general appointed in South Africa.

He was later involved in a number of other major political cases, such as the "Saso trial" of the mid-1970s.

He recently retired from government service and returned to the Johannesburg Bar as a senior counsel.

Yutar was this week not prepared to discuss the Rivonia trial.

The defence team was led by advocate Braam Fischer QC, assisted by advocates Vernon Berrange, George Bizos and Arthur Chaskalson and instructed by Joel Joffe.

Kantor, however, was represented by John Coaker, instructed by James Cooper.

Before Rivonia, Fischer had featured in other major political trials in-

were under way with police.

The Rev Sid Luckett, chairman of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility, said police refused to allow any procession, maintaining that the gathering was illegal

After lengthy negotiations, police agreed to allow people to leave the stadium on condition they did not do so in groups and that there was no dancing or displaying of banners, Luckett said

The crowd dispersed without incident, but Nyanga township residents later told the *Weekly Mail* police had taken action against residents at the Nyanga East stadium and in Terminus Road

Mpetha family members said police allegedly warned a group of people awaiting Mpetha's arrival in the yard of his home that they were forming an illegal gathering and ordered them to disperse.

## Police at snap Mpetha rally

By **GAYE DAVIS**,  
Cape Town

report of other incidents of police action reported by residents of Nyanga township — where Oscar Mpetha has his home — nor of allegations that police acted against pupils travelling to the stadium from Mitchells Plain, Heideveld and Vanguard Estate

According to an MDM representative, the rally was called in the belief that Mpetha was due to be freed on Wednesday morning — the day after State President FW de Klerk's announcement of the releases

As speakers addressed the milling crowds — mostly made up of schoolchildren — tense negotiations

WESTERN Cape police this week took action against exuberant township residents celebrating the impending release of Oscar Mpetha and seven other political prisoners.

*Toyi toyi-ing* youths at a snap rally called by the Mass Democratic Movement in Athlone were repeatedly dispersed by police.

As about 3 000 people marched, danced, sang and chanted inside the grounds of the Vygieskraal stadium on Wednesday, police fired teargas canisters in an apparent bid to prevent groups from getting into the stadium.

The overnight police unrest report said. "In Athlone coloured residential area in the Western Cape, coloured and black youths gathered illegally on four occasions. They were ordered to disperse. When they refused, teargas was used to disperse them. There were no injuries or arrests."

There was no mention in the unrest

N. Mail 13-19/10/89

# Sunday's release day

**Mandela's words as he watched the releases on TV: 'I want to go home'**

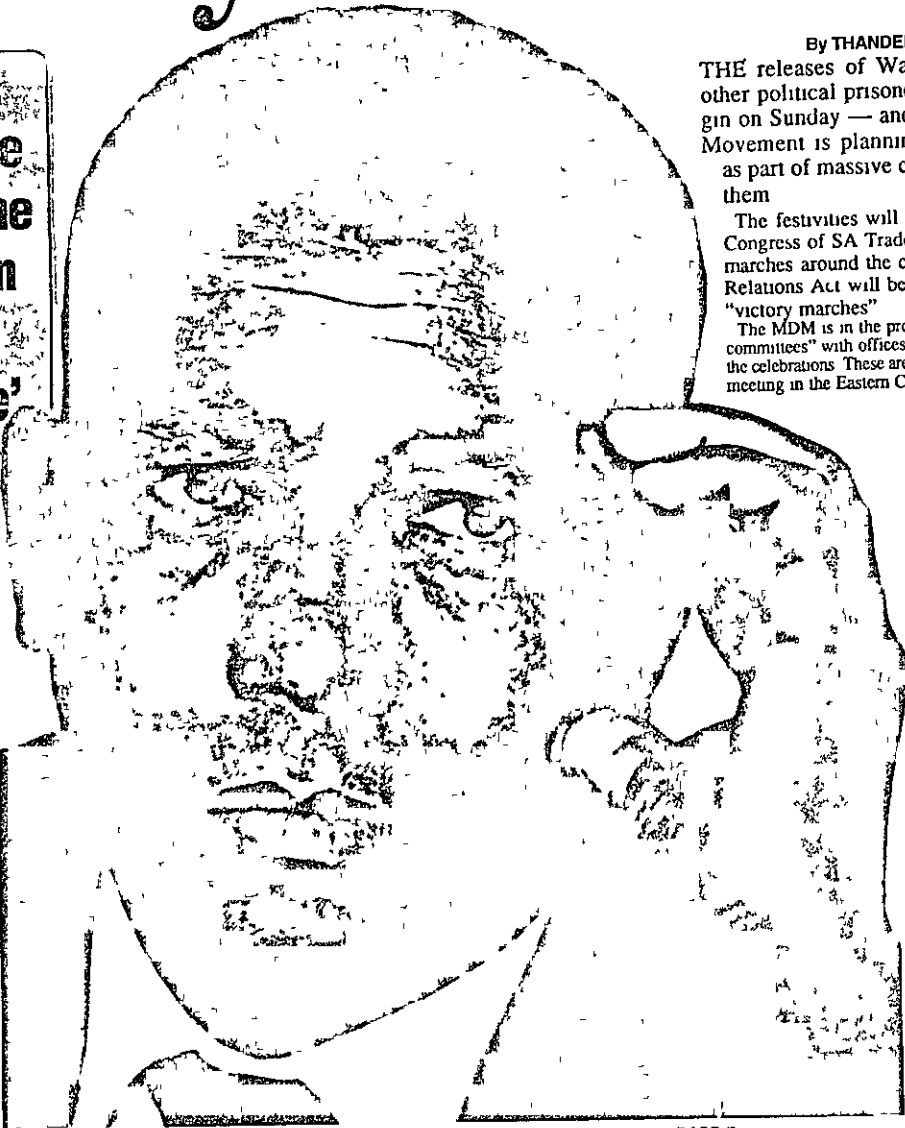
By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**  
**SITTING** watching an historic news bulletin on SABC television on Tuesday night at Victor Verster Prison was a most extraordinary party

Nelson Mandela, Albertina Sisulu, wife of Rivonia trialist Walter Sisulu, Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Cas Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the restricted United Democratic Front, listened attentively as the government announced it would soon release all but one of South Africa's most famous prisoners

As the names of those to be released were called out one by one, it was for all in the room a moment of victory, marred by an historic omission — the name of the host.

According to Ramaphosa, the five were overwhelmed with emotion. But the emotions were mixed. Albertina Sisulu was sitting next to Mandela. She told him, 'I am taking you home'.

●To PAGE 3



This is Walter Sisulu as he looked before his arrest. For a profile of him, see PAGE 5

By **THANDEKA GQUBULE**

THE releases of Walter Sisulu and seven other political prisoners are expected to begin on Sunday — and the Mass Democratic Movement is planning marches and rallies as part of massive celebrations to welcome them.

The festivities will begin tomorrow when the Congress of SA Trade Union's long-planned 17 marches around the country against the Labour Relations Act will be partially transformed into "victory marches".

The MDM is in the process of establishing "reception committees" with offices around the country to organise the celebrations. These are expected to culminate in a mass meeting in the Eastern Cape at which all of the released long-term prisoners will be present.

Speaking on behalf of a newly launched National Reception Committee at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, National Union of Mineworkers leader Cyril Ramaphosa said the Mass Democratic Movement would make sure the prisoners come home to a welcome "befitting their status and stature in our struggle".

The releases, which may be staggered over a number of days or even weeks, are expected to take place at police stations near the houses of the prisoners. Oscar Mpepha comes from Cape Town, Raymond Mhlaba and Wilton Mkwayi from the Eastern Cape and Jafsa Masemola from Pretoria, while the others — Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni — are all from Soweto.

However the key question is how high a profile the eight long-term prisoners — seven senior African National Congress leaders and one Pan Africanist Congress member — will adopt after their release and how the Security Forces will react.

It is believed that this has been the subject of intensive

●To PAGE 3

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Picture THE BAILEY ARCHIVES

**A CROWDED TRAIN: A DOZEN MEN JENTER, BRANDISHING KNIVES** PAGE 3

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The talks were "open and fruitful", he said as he emerged from the meeting room, "but no solutions were

of key political prisoners, and a unanimous approach to his high-profile "enemies".

# Now Sunday is set to be release day

(11A)

W Mar 13-19/10/89

From PAGE 1

discussions this week in Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison between cabinet ministers and Mandela, who is the only Rivonia trialist excluded from this week's release list, and between Mandela and the six other ANC leaders

Mandela has met twice this week with Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, twice with his fellow ANC leaders and once with MDM leaders

The government is pushing for the released prisoners to take a low profile — and are holding out the release of other prisoners, including Mandela, in return. They fear a threat to the security situation and are still concerned by the events after the release last year of ANC leader Govan Mbeki.

Ramaphosa yesterday did not spell out exactly how the men would be welcomed, saying the Rivonia trialists were members of the ANC and would have to report to their organi-

sation and consult with its "collective leadership".

Representatives of the MDM said they would give the lifers time to rest with their families and therefore did not know exactly what their political programmes would be

But said Peter Mokaba, president of the South African Youth Congress, "They are members of the ANC. We will be expecting them to act like leaders of the ANC."

Ramaphosa warned the government not to refuse the men passports. He said the government would be indicating that it is not interested in reaching détente and resolving conflict if it barred the recently-released members of the ANC from crossing borders

It is believed that the ANC leaders and the MDM are weighing up the possible gains to be made by the ex-prisoners leading mass marches and

public rallies against the implications for other prisoners and the likely Security Force response

On the other hand, they have to take into account popular excitement being generated by the releases

The first signs of state reaction have caused some concern. Security Forces on Wednesday used teargas against youths gathering in Athlone Stadium, Cape Town, to welcome Mpetha, and broke up crowds that gathered at his house, saying they were "illegal gatherings"

Slamming all speculation that the MDM could go softly on campaigns around the releases in order to secure the release of Mandela, Mokaba said "The release of our comrades has to be unconditional. We are not aware of any condition that says the people must stop struggling in order that our leaders must be released. That is not what the comrades are asking us to do."

# Time we stopped this name-calling

11A

W. Mail 13-19/10/89

WE are on the brink of a new society. Apartheid has exhausted itself.

The Nationalists have lost faith in their ideology and therefore in themselves. They have played all their cards and they have lost, as they were bound to.

The Afrikaner, the white working class and white lumpen proletariat of the 1930s has become the parasitic bourgeois of the 1980s, a constituency of civil servants, professionals and entrepreneurs linked to international capitalism and incapable of survival without the goodwill of that capitalism.

International capitalism in turn depends on the goodwill of South African black labour, as does internal capitalism.

It is these facts that are leaning on the National Party to negotiate a new constitution with disenfranchised South Africans.

For black people it has been a long struggle, but their strategies for sanctions against the South African government, internal resistance and military combat are at last paying dividends.

While the government controls the national budget and uses the bulk of it in violating the disenfranchised, it is primarily dependent on the disenfranchised for its revenue, derived from direct or indirect taxation.

And if black resistance moves skillfully into co-ordinated non-cooperative strategies, this revenue can be effectively cut off and the government brought to a standstill.

The existence of a strong labour movement in the last decade and the recent highly disciplined freedom marches indicate the capacity of the disenfranchised for decisive mass action.

It is the hope of all South Africans — and this hope is confirmed by numerous surveys — that the transition to the new order will be through peaceful negotiation, that the Nationalists will be forced by international pressure and internal realities to release Nelson Mandela, unban the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Communist Party and create the necessary climate for a new constitution so that we may begin our new society.

But we cannot live on hope alone. We must remain forever alert to any backsliding on the part of the Nationalists.

For though the Nationalists know that their days are numbered and their interests are best served by negotiating their future while they still retain initiative, they will withdraw into the apartheid mode on the slightest sign of relaxation on our part or on the part of those capitalist interests that have already applied various degrees of sanctions against them.

While we aspire towards a non-racial or even anti-racial democracy we have to acknowledge the racial reality and work through it.

Many of us want so badly to reach the non-racial society that we delude ourselves into thinking that we are already in a kind of non-racial existence. And the reality is that we are not.

Though we share a common disen-

In a provocative speech last week, Professor Fatima Meer argued that all black leaders — even so called 'collaborators' need to be pulled

into the struggle for freedom

By FATIMA MEER

Extracts from a speech at a human rights function hosted by the Indicator newspaper in Lenasia

franchised status we do not share common material conditions of life and thus in itself breeds tension and resentment.

The ANC Youth League, founded in the 1940s by Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, among others, identified its goal as African nationalism, placed priority on African rights and simultaneously admitted the rights of the three racial minorities.

The ANC, while highlighting African claims, emphasised at all times that it aspired to share power not monopolise it, and that its goal was a non-racial democracy.

Those are the values to which we adhere. And those are the values we hope the ANC, led by Mandela and Tambo, will resurrect in the new South Africa.

These values were clearly enshrined in the consciousness of the disenfranchised until at least 1960. The subsequent banning of liberatory organisations — more especially the ANC — intensified state repression, wholesale detentions and escalating violence, appears to have weakened these values in the mind of the disenfranchised.

Our youth have on the one hand been distanced from the democratic tradition of their forebears and on the other hand so brutalised by the state that the state appears to be reflected in them rather than the traditional values of the ANC.

Thus while we stand today on the brink of our political freedom we do so bearing certain liabilities. And if we do not confront these liabilities honestly and frankly they may snatch away from us the fruits of our intergenerational freedom struggle.

Repeated States of Emergency have driven our political organisations into secrecy and this in turn has seriously affected our ability to exercise democracy, to consult effectively with our constituencies.

Initially, we welcomed the secrecy and saw it as protecting our leaders from being picked off one by one by the government. We even considered the secrecy necessary for the survival of our resistance, and indeed it has secured that survival, but at a very heavy price — we have almost lost the democratic content of our political organisations.

Secret control also means secret manipulation. The fact that a great deal of our funding today comes from abroad exacerbates secret control. On the one hand the state precludes democratic consultation, on the other foreign funding relieves dependence on the constituency.

There is a fear that things are being done for people, that there is not sufficient consultation, and at times too,

there is the feeling that decisions are imposed erratically and the sources from which they come are questionable.

These feelings may be unwarranted, but they are there and they can erode the commitment which is necessary to dislodge apartheid.

Secrecy also manifests itself in petty tyrannies, in vilifications and rustication of persons based on personality differences. Our movement does not have any organ where the persecuted can expect a just appraisal of the problems that led to his or her vilification.

Divisions have always characterised our political life, but the liberatory ethos managed in the past to maintain these on a rhetorical level and the political integrity of dissidence was respected.

Nonetheless, a divisive tendency was contributed by what can be seen today a vulgar doctrine of irreconcilable conflict and classified people into "collaborators" and "liberators".

This categorisation — in a sense name-calling — has been affixed today to all incumbents of apartheid institutions, homeland governments, community councils, the members of the two inferior houses of the tricameral parliament, and these incumbents in most cases deserve the stigmatisation.

Yet the fact remains that they resent it. And particularly in Natal, we find that this kind of stigmatisation and distancing of people has reached enormous proportions and has resulted in conflict and in mass bloodshed that seems today to be uncontrollable.

We have tried to bring to the negotiating table the opposing factors in the conflict in the Natal region without success.

Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha are particularly resentful of being placed outside the liberatory fold and this in part frustrates all attempts at peace.

For us to be truly strong today against the wavering Nats, if we then are going to succeed in forcing them on the negotiating table, then it is imperative that we must rethink our politics of irreconcilable conflict and seriously consider the alternative of co-operation.

We must try and gather together all our forces, be they homeland governments or community councils.

Our reasoning ought to be that we need the widest and the strongest black resistance against the Nationalist government.

And in order to gain this it would be suicidal if we now continued to maintain and nurture internal conflicts. We must try and find ways and means to deprive the Nationalists of every black ally.

If we are going to succeed on the negotiating table and draw the best benefits, we must go there in the strongest possible kind of confrontation.

And of course the aftermath is also there. If we are not able to unite our black people then we will find that after we have managed to develop a new constitution, we may still be confronted with black forces which are arraigned against black forces, as in Mozambique and in Angola.

SAM Tuckers 14/10/89 (11A)

# Sisulu supporters teargassed



**SOWETO** — Police fired teargas at people gathered outside the home of Mrs Albertina Sisulu yesterday, and a child was injured in the leg when she was hit by a teargas canister, witnesses said.

Groups of mostly young people and journalists gathered outside the Sisulu household throughout the day in anticipation of the release of Mr Walter Sisulu.

Witnesses said a group of "comrades" arrived about 5.30pm. The comrades were singing and toying.

About 6pm members of the Soweto riot squad arrived in two trucks and soon three teargas canisters were fired at the crowd.

A warrant officer in charge of the police detail also ordered media representatives to disperse after the incident, citing

emergency regulations

A man who was standing next to the child who was injured said the victim — about seven years old — had been hit by a teargas canister.

She was taken to hospital. There were no immediate reports of arrests.

According to police on the scene, a senior officer or officers were expected soon to address journalists.

More than 30 vehicles belonging to foreign and local media packed the side of the street outside the Sisulu home during the day.

Three young activists acted as guards at the home's main gate.

Only members of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and other prominent people were allowed into the premises

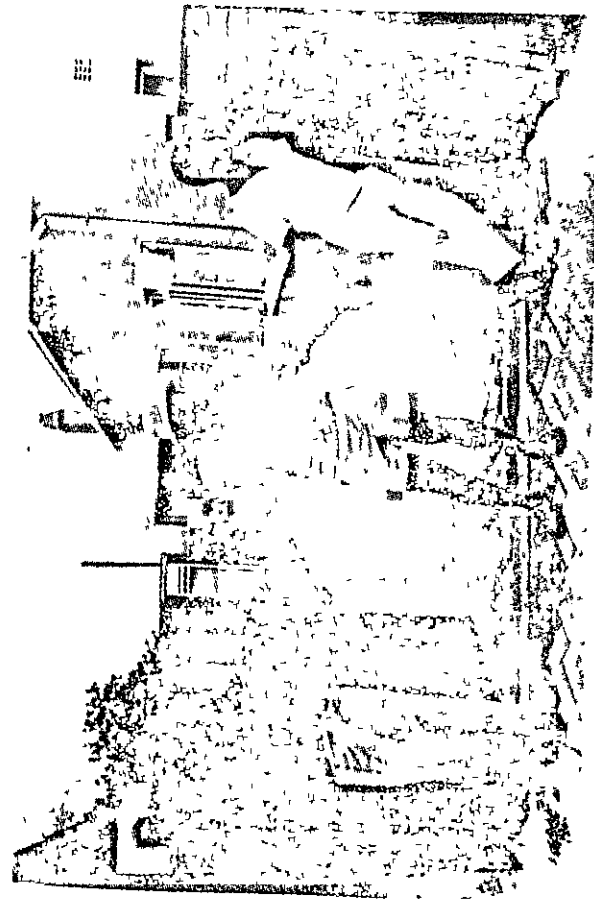
by the three guards. Meanwhile, a group of UDF-affiliated Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) sang freedom songs and chanted political slogans in praise of Mr Sisulu and the ANC.

Neighbours stood at the gates and watched while local shopkeepers came out of their shops and gazed in apparent disbelief.

Train passengers at the near-by Pheni railway station peered through the windows and watched.

At one stage, pandemonium broke out when Mrs Sisulu arrived and tried to sneak into her home through a small side gate.

Like a swarm of bees, news reporters and foreign television crews rushed to the small side gate and unintentionally nearly squashed it — Sapa



**ON GUARD** ... "Comrades" guard the Sisulu family's home in Soweto yesterday.

S.M.C. Text: 14/10/89  
1114

# Freedom suit for Mpetha

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MR Oscar Mpetha's family went shopping yesterday to buy the soon-to-be-released octogenarian a home-coming suit.

Mr Mpetha, 80, is one of the eight political prisoners whose release was announced earlier this week. The eight include five top members of the ANC, including Mr Walter Sisulu.

Relatives and friends of Mr Mpetha said yesterday that the ailing trade unionist was down in the dumps after three days of waiting for his release.

Friends have set up a 24-hour vigil at his Nyanga home near the squatter camp named after him.

His daughter, Ms Esther Mpetha, 46, and his widowed daughter-in-law Pearl, 30, said they visited him yesterday at his Groote Schuur Hospital ward, where he was still being kept under guard.

"He was a bit down — I think

he's been waiting too long now. It wasn't like other times we've been here when he was always far more cheerful," Ms Esther Mpetha, a Nyanga shop-owner, said.

They denied earlier reports that Mr Mpetha would be admitted to Gatesville Medical Centre in Athlone.

## Lambskin shoes

"No, he wants to go home. His regular treatment will be at Groote Schuur where they all know him," Ms Esther Mpetha said.

The two Mpetha women and a close friend spent at least an hour at a Darling Street tailor yesterday choosing a smart suit, ties, shirts, lambskin shoes, a Battersby hat and underwear for Mr Mpetha.

There was intense discussion as to his measurements but, with the advice of shop-owner Mr Adri-

an Geldenhuys, choices were finally made. The women then left with the clothing for an outfitting session in Mr Mpetha's ward.

The family friend said the waiting was becoming oppressive. "The days and hours feel worse than the years now," she said. Lawyers and friends expect he will be released this weekend.

Mr Mpetha was sentenced to a mandatory five-year prison term in June 1983 for participating in terrorist activities. During his trial and appeal six judges said a wholly suspended sentence would have been "the proper punishment" because of his medical condition and life expectancy. They were, however, bound by the legislation.

Mr Mpetha's wife Rose died in 1986 and his son, Kari, died in a car crash in March this year. Mr Mpetha was not allowed to attend either funeral.



**FREEDOM SUIT** Tailor Mr Adrian Geldenhuys lays out a homecoming outfit for the approval of Mrs Esther Mpetha, daughter of Mr Oscar Mpetha

Picture ANNE LAING

# Releases just a ploy, says

LONDON — Former South African trade union leader Mrs Emma Mashinini called this week for international pressure to be maintained on the South African Government, even if Mr Nelson Mandela is released.

"I think continued protest would be welcome, because it's not to say that Mr Nelson Mandela is the only political prisoner," she said "We say that every political prisoner should not be in prison. Please continue the pressure."

The call came during the launch by The Women's Press here of Mrs Mashinini's autobiography, "Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life", and was immediately endorsed by two other veteran black rights campaigners in the audience, Mrs Nomalizo Leah Tutu and Mrs Joyce Seroke.

Mrs Tutu criticised newspaper reports that created the impression that Mr Mandela was the "last" political prisoner awaiting release in South Africa. "There are 800 more still in detention," she said Mrs Seroke pointed to the imminent roll-over of South Africa's overseas debt as a factor in

unionists, writers and black- and women's rights campaigners had gathered at the Africa Centre here for the launch, and to hear Mrs Mashinini recount her experiences as a workers' representative under apartheid

Referring to the succession of arrests which greeted her early attempts to hand out leaflets in Johannesburg shopping centres, she said "Little did the South African Government know that the police were helping to advertise me to the workers. In one way they helped make my work easy."

Later, however, she was arrested and held without trial, part of the time in solitary confinement — an experience that so disorientated her that she was unable to remember her own daughter's name.

● From Blackpool it is reported that the British government's stand against sanctions is backed by 85 percent of Conservative Party representatives, according to a survey conducted at the party conference.

The survey by the International Freedom Foundation asked 400 Tories — a 10 percent conference sample — if they supported the government's view or believed comprehensive and mandatory sanctions should be applied against South Africa

## 'Continue on pressure on SA Govt'

**GARNER THOMSON**

the recent decision to release a number of political detainees

The move by Mr F W de Klerk was not a mark of liberalisation, but "a ploy" to avoid further sanctions being imposed by the Commonwealth heads of state at their summit in Malaysia next week.

"Don't give him credibility," Mrs Mashinini said. It was particularly reprehensible that the woman first told of the releases was not one of the detainees' wives, but Mrs Thatcher

A crowd of more than 100 leading trade

# unionist

14/10/89

STAT



# 'We continue the fight' — Sisulu

11A  
Star 14/10/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The seven African National Congress prisoners released yesterday have immediately resumed a high-profile political role inside South Africa, with every indication that they intend to operate as if the ANC (officially still banned) has had all restrictions on it lifted

"This is the first press conference of the ANC since it was banned in 1960," Mr Walter Sisulu told a jubilant crowd of about 1 000 people packing the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West, Soweto, last night

He had been asked whether the press conference signified the *de facto* unbanning of the ANC "Yes," was his answer

The Government released the political prisoners (seven ANC members and one from the PAC) without any restriction, but has so far made no move to lift the ban on the ANC or PAC, banned since shortly after the Sharpeville riots in 1960

In London the South African ambassador Mr Ray Killen said today that the Government is ready to negotiate with the ANC without preconditions

Asked on an early morning BBC news programme whether Pretoria was prepared to have talk with the ANC, he said "Not only with the ANC but with leaders of all communities in South Africa"

So far there has been no other Government reaction to statements made at the press conference

Adjacent to the Sisulu home where the former ANC general secretary's arrival was awaited throughout the night by scores of media representatives, the church was packed by hundreds of chanting supporters, many wearing clothes and decorations in ANC colours

The ANC stalwarts pledged themselves to continue the banned organisation's struggle for freedom "in an orderly and disciplined manner"

They said the ANC did not have any alternative but to continue with its present methods, including the armed struggle and the call for sanctions, as long as the Government refused to meet its demands

The ANC leaders, some of whom have spent almost three decades in jail, received a heroes' welcome in Soweto after their release early yesterday from prisons close to their homes

Resuming their political roles in the ANC as free men were Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Elias Mokoaleli, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Wilton Mkwayi

The eighth political prisoner released yesterday, Mr Jafta Mase-mola, is a member of the Pan Africanist Congress

In a statement read out by Mr Sisulu and printed on paper displaying the ANC logo, the seven



God save Africa — clenched-fist salutes from five of the seven African National Congress leaders released from jail in Soweto are (from left) Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Mokoaleli and Mr Wilton Mkwayi

Jubilant crowds welcome home ANC leaders — Page 3.  
'I cannot express happiness about my release' — Page 6  
Stepping into sunshine for first taste of freedom — Page 11

men said their dedication to the struggle had not been weakened by the long years of imprisonment.

"On the contrary we have been strengthened by the developments in the country and by our own clear vision and confidence in the future of South Africa"

They expressed their joy at being reunited with their families, friends and political "comrades", but said there could be no real joy about their release while many other political prisoners, especially Mr Nelson Mandela who had been incarcerated longer than all of them, remained in jail

"We, his comrades, the people of South Africa and the people of the whole world, demand his release"

They expressed their gratitude to

all the people — individuals, governments, organisations and the progressive press — who had for years been deeply concerned about their incarceration and welfare.

These groups had been "a tremendous inspiration" and had played a vital role in their release

He added, "On the occasion of our release we wish to salute the people of South Africa who have courageously, and at very high cost, held high the banner of freedom in our country"

The men answered evasively questions concerning their future leadership roles in the ANC.

Mr Sisulu said their future political roles would be determined by "the leadership"

He said the men regarded them-

selves as part of the broader movement of organisations, including the ANC, United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement

Asked whether they would apply for passports to report to the ANC in Lusaka, Mr Kathrada said "We belong to the ANC. We are not individuals. If the organisation feels we should apply for passports, we will do so"

The seven reiterated their commitment to the ANC's stance on sanctions, the armed struggle and negotiations

Mr Sisulu said it was the duty of the leaders to continue to put pressure on the Government to abolish apartheid.

This would be done "in any possible way, and in an orderly and disciplined manner"

He concluded that he was convinced a South African government "that will include blacks" would come about "in our lifetime"

in as it pool

negotiate with ANC'

# Walter Sisulu

11A  
Star 14/10/89

## Unity with PAC is goal

The seven ANC stalwarts who were released yesterday have made it clear they would work towards unity with the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress

Addressing a media conference in Soweto, Mr Wilton Mkwayi described the ANC as a party based on unity. It was therefore incumbent on the leadership to work towards unity with the PAC and other political organisations

Earlier in the day, Mr Walter Sisulu met Mr Strim Moodley, a founder-member of the Black Consciousness Movement, at the Sisulu house in Orlando

In the past, serious differences had emerged between the

ANC and the BCM over tactics, methods and ideological positions regarding the question of land redistribution, socialism and the inclusion of white activists in leadership ranks

At one stage, the differences led to serious, physical clashes at public meetings with supporters of the Freedom Charter on the one hand and the Azanian Manifesto on the other

The difference between the ANC and the PAC dates back to 1948 when an "Africanist contingent" lambasted the Freedom Charter on the basis that it did not address the question of land dispossession of the African majority. — Sapa



Five of the seven African National Congress leaders released from jail yesterday. Singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" at a press conference in Johannesburg. Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Wilton Mkwayi. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

ANC leaders — Page 3  
'release' — Page 6  
freedom — Page 11

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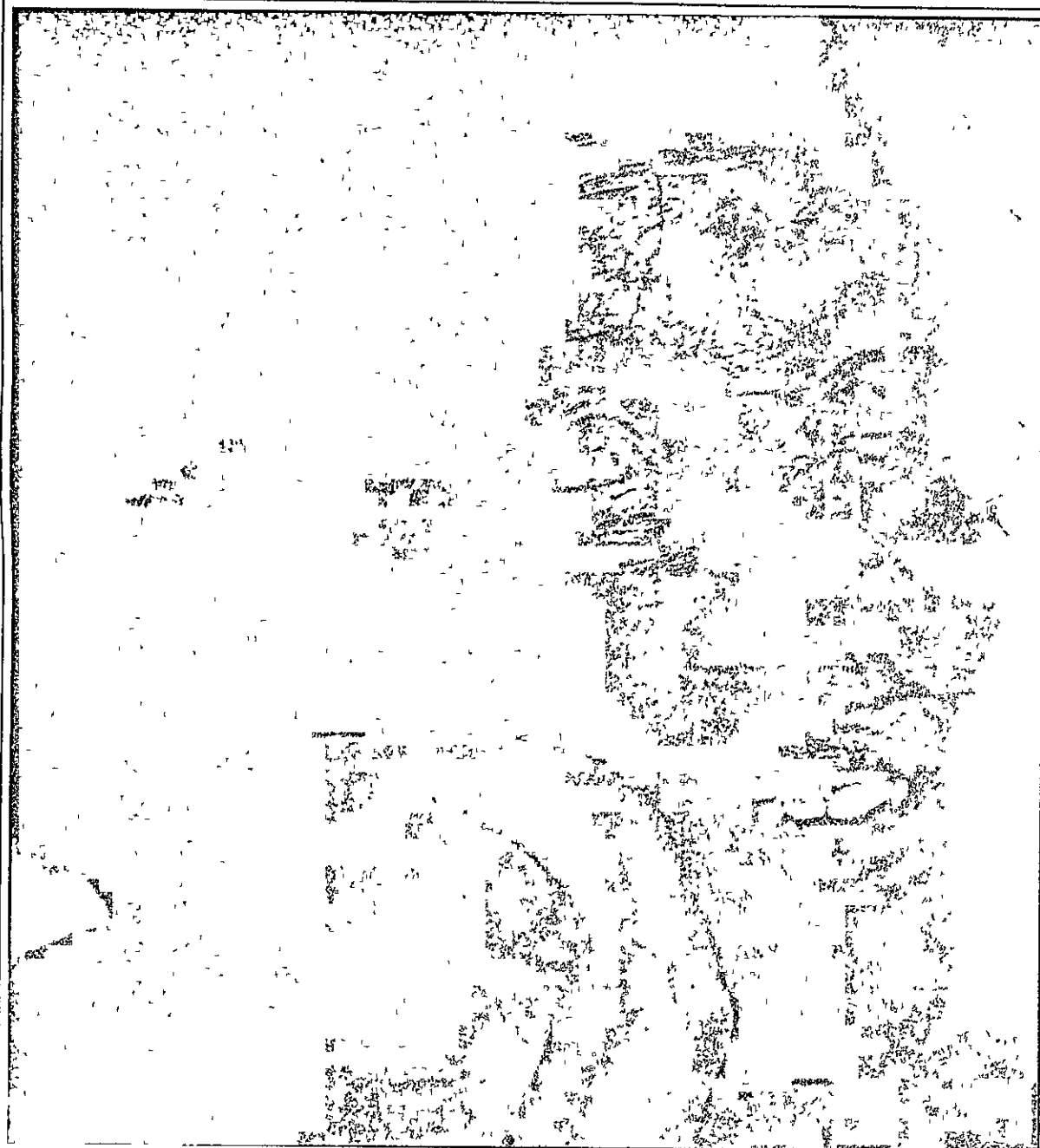
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**GO WITH THE LEADER**

\* In a national survey BARACUDA was seen as the No. 1 automatic pool cleaner by pool owners on the following attributes:

# Tense SA waits for release of 8

Star 14/10/89



WAITING Mrs June Mlangeni is preparing for her husband's imminent homecoming. Mr Andrew Mlangeni was jailed for life in 1964 with co-accused Mr Nelson Mandela

● See story on PAGE 2

● Photograph Ken Oosterbroek

## Aquanaut could cap career with hat-trick

MORE than 35 000 people are expected at Turffontein today when champion stayer Aquanaut goes for a historic treble in the R600 000 OK Gold Bowl over 3 200 m.

Aquanaut won the race in 1987 and again last year and the feeling among pundits is that he will score an unprecedented third win in South Africa's richest race.

Victory will boost Aquanaut's earnings to R12 million and elevate him to the status of South Africa's leading stake-earner. He cost only R30 000 as a yearling and has already

### ROBERT GARNER, Racing Editor

earned R908 757

The six-year-old has dominated betting for weeks and a flood of bets for the horse forced bookmakers to cut his odds to 3-1.

The runners given the best chance of thwarting Aquanaut's bid for glory are US-bred Vigliotto, easy winner of the OK Trial, Pacific Walk, Highwinds, and Austin Martin — the only filly in the large field.

Preparations for the Highveld's biggest

race meeting of the year have turned Turffontein into a hive of activity.

Tote turnover on the meeting is expected to be more than R11 million and Turffontein chief executive Mr John Alexander has appealed to punters to place bets early.

There's plenty of entertainment planned for racegoers. There are two supporting feature races, fashion competitions, and displays by the SADF equestrian team and the OK skydivers.

● See STAR RACING.

## Police fire teargas at Sisulu home

PATRICK LAURENS  
THERESE ANDERS  
and JANET HEARD

There was drama and tension yesterday as the country waited for the release of eight prominent political prisoners including the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu.

In a tense scene outside Mr Sisulu's sowe-to-home, police fired teargas into a joyous crowd of dancing, singing people. A young girl was slightly injured by a teargas canister.

Today, 17 marches, involving about 250 000 people are scheduled as a combined show of force rejecting the Labour Relations Act and celebrating the pending release of the prisoners.

The eight are Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Jatta Masekhela, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Elias Mosele, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

The Soweto incident took place after an exuberant crowd of about 100 people followed Mrs Albertina Sisulu into the Holy Cross Church across the road from her Orlando West home.

### Journalists

The crowd danced up the street past the Sisulu home. Foreign and local journalists were also present.

A police van and a police truck approached and a shot rang out. Seconds later there was a cloud of smoke, and the singers scattered. Policemen jumped out of the van, seizing the camera of an overseas television crew.

Young people who gathered outside the gate of the Sisulu home were later told by special constables to stop singing.

When the singing con-

ia still wants the wealth of Natal's dunes

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When the singing continued, a police officer ordered the crowds and journalists to disperse.

The crowd dispersed about half an hour later after being instructed to do so by a riot police sergeant, who warned that he was acting under emergency regulations.

Permission was sought for most of today's protest marches, and police indicated they would keep a low profile.

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said marches for which permission had not been

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O

# Release

Mandela, arrived at the Sisulu home

She told journalists that she did not expect her husband to be released until the Government had given in to at least some of the "major demands made by our people". She did not think her husband would be released "into the state of emergency".

Yesterday Saturday Star interviewed Mrs Sisulu in her home shortly after she had been formally informed that her restrictions orders had been lifted.

The Sisulu family have lived in the house since 1940, and Mrs Sisulu said members of her family had helped make the house spotless for her husband's homecoming.

Mr Sisulu last saw it in 1964, the year in which he was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage.

Police last night confirmed using teargas to disperse a crowd gathered near the home of Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

A spokesman also confirmed that a child was injured when struck by a teargas canister and that a tape belonging to a foreign TV crew was confiscated.

Police took the measures after ordering the crowd to disperse, the spokesman said.

Five emergency detainees at Kroonstad Prison embarked on a hunger strike this week to demand their unconditional release, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said in its latest report.

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for attorney Priscilla Jana, who represented one of the men.

Soweto residents Mr Mandia Dlamini and Mr Amos Masondo were detained at the end of August. This is the second time this year they have embarked on a hunger strike while in detention.

According to the HRC, the other three are Mr Elijah Ntentile from Grahamstown and Mr Lebohlang Mahata and Samuel Rabutapi, both from the Vaal.

FROM PAGE 1

asked or granted would be stopped

A Cosatu spokesman said last night the labour movement's planned march through the industrial town of Secunda would take place despite the refusal of the town's Conservative Party-controlled council to grant permission.

"There is no way we can inform people of the council's decision at this late stage," he said.

Secunda's mayor, Dominee Casper Breedt, said the council had turned down the application "because we didn't have time to consider it properly".

Cosatu said between 10 000 and 15 000 Secunda workers were expected to march.

He said the mood in the area was already tense because of the ongoing strike by 8 000 miners at Sasol's collieries.

In Witbank, today's march got the go-ahead at 3 pm from both the town's chief magistrate and the council.

A National Union of Mine-workers spokesman said about 15 000 protesters were expected to walk through the town to the police station.

Reacting to the demonstrations, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Eh Louw, told a press conference yesterday that it was "not necessary for trade unions to make use of such marches to make statements to the Government".

"Now is the time for reasoned consultation, rather than

therefore repeat my invitation to invite Cosatu and Nactu to join me and other unions in our efforts to ensure peaceful labour relations," he said.

After the teargassing in Soweto, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson

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VIEWER NOTES

6/10/89

5/10/89

5/10/89

NOTES FROM REFERENCE CHECKS

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# No ANC posts for

14/10/89

## Releases 'unlikely to affect banned movement's policy'

11A Star

KEN VERNON

THE release of Walter Sisulu and six other jailed African National Congress veterans will have little impact on the policies and actions of the ANC, say sources in and outside the outlawed organisation.

They discounted suggestions that any of the released men, including former secretary-general Mr Sisulu, would displace existing office-bearers in the ANC.

A leading South African political expert, Dr Ian Phillips, said the ANC was a "rigid, strictly ordered organisation — it is inconceivable that anyone would be allowed to merely come in and take over a post, even allowing for the obvious special status accorded to the long-term prisoners"

He said that the present leadership had largely been elected at the Morogoro congress held in Tanzania in 1969. The congress restructured the organisation after the arrest of much of the internal leadership in the mid-Sixties.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka pointed out that at the time of the Rivonia trial, at which most of the seven were convicted and sentenced, none held official positions in the ANC.

Before the trial they had been served with restriction orders barring them from holding office in any organisation.

The other six ANC members due for release — Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Ehas Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Wilton Mkwayi — held positions only within the provincial structures of the organisation, not at national level. Mr Kathrada was an execu-

tive member of the Transvaal Indian Council before joining the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Since the men's imprisonment, the organisation has been completely restructured. Provincial leadership structures have been scrapped, and with them, the positions the men held before they were jailed.

Another factor is age. At 80, Mr Mpetha is the oldest of those to be released. Mr Sisulu is 77 and the others are in their sixties.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said there might be a role for the released activists — if they had the strength and will to continue the struggle.

But he stressed they could only be elected to a position within the organisation at a properly constituted congress.

Asked whether the group could form the nucleus of an officially tolerated "internal wing" of the ANC, like the internal wing of Swapo in Namibia, Dr Phillips said this was unlikely "because the internal wing of the ANC is already alive and well inside the country".

The Lusaka spokesman said the organisation had no plans for the released members.

Dr Phillips doubted that the group could make any meaningful contribution to the ANC after being in jail for so long.

"The point of their release is not what they can contribute to the ANC, or even any message they might carry to the leadership from the Government.

"It is the release itself, which may contribute to an atmosphere in which talks about negotiations can get under way."

freed 7

# June Mlangeni lives for 'strange and wonderful reunion'

JUNE MLANGENI is counting the hours until her husband, ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe member Andrew Mlangeni (61), is released and reunited with his family in Johannesburg after 26 years of separation.

"I hope my life is about to change," said a somewhat bewildered but overjoyed Mrs Mlangeni (60) told the Saturday Star yesterday, adding that she and her husband would "continue where we left off 26 years ago".

The couple had been married 14 years and had four children when Andrew was arrested.

Mrs Mlangeni, who travelled to Cape Town to visit her husband twice last month, said the announcement of his release from prison came as a shock.

Describing her husband as "young, a little grey, but very strong", she said she would "only really and truly be-

lieve he is free when he is at home having supper with me at the table. Then will I be able to say he is released."

She said she is living for the moment when she will be informed exactly when her husband will be released so she can prepare properly for his homecoming.

"I first heard about his release on television. The authorities have not told me anything and I have been forced to rely on the press for details."

Since Mr Mlangeni was sentenced to life imprisonment with co-accused ANC leader Nelson Mandela in 1964, Mrs Mlangeni has spent many hours travelling to Cape Town to visit her husband — first at Robben Island and, for the past five years, at Pollsmoor Prison.

During the first 19 years of Mr Mlangeni's imprisonment, the couple were

prevented from having any physical contact, and visits were restricted to communicating through a glass panel and a telephone.

Much has changed since Mr Mlangeni was last a free man — five of his brothers and three sisters have died, his two sons have gone into exile and his four children have given him nine grandchildren.

This is a big change from the four youngsters, aged between nine and 13, he left behind.

Mrs Mlangeni, an employee of the South African Council of Churches, has lived in the same house in Dube, Soweto, since her husband's arrest in 1963.

Mr Mlangeni, who had been operating underground for months, last visit-

ed the home in heavy disguise 26 years ago. He was arrested and tried the following year.

Mrs Mlangeni said that when he was first imprisoned, she found it difficult to cope on her own. "I was not working and had four children to look after. Luckily, my mother came to my rescue and took the children while I looked for work."

Mrs Mlangeni's problems continued — she was victimised by various employers for being the wife of a convicted political prisoner and she said she was dismissed three times.

She blamed apartheid for disrupting her and other people's family life and said she hoped the release of the political prisoners was a step towards meaningful change.

However, she remained sceptical about the reform initiatives of State

President F W de Klerk. "I don't know what freedom my husband will be coming home to. The conditions are still essentially the same as they were when Andrew was taken away."

"There is a state of emergency, detentions continue and people are still on death row."

Mrs Mlangeni, who lives with one of her two daughters and four grandchildren, said it would be "strange but wonderful" to live with her husband under one roof.

"I have been free all these years to do as I please," she said with a smile, adding she felt more love for her husband than ever before.

"All his belongings are still at home waiting for him. I just hope his clothes fit him because he has gained weight over the years."

# Mandela favours negotiation with FW



WAITING FOR WALTER . . . Part of the crowd who gathered outside Mr Walter Sisulu's home in Soweto yesterday afternoon in anticipation of his impending release. Later riot police fired teargas at the group of singing activists, injuring a seven-year-old child. REPORT — Page 3.

## Mandela 'yes' to talks, says Mrs Sisulu

THE leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, is in favour of negotiations with Mr F W de Klerk's government, but feels strongly that the black majority of South Africans should also feel this way before talks were begun, the British newspaper the Independent reported yesterday.

And Mrs Albertina Sisulu, using her freedom to speak to the press for the first time after restrictions preventing her from doing so were lifted yesterday, said Mr Mandela had also advised her about the South African liberation struggle.

The Independent quoted her as saying "Now that there are fewer limitations on my activities, I will be able to

push ahead with the suggestions and advice given to me by Mandela.

"Accordingly, he has drawn up a document outlining his position on negotiations, which he means to make public so that the people are fully aware of the proposals that would be on the table.

"It was his feeling that in any country, even if there is war, there is time for negotiations.

"But he said the people must be well educated on this and everything must be explained to them before any steps are taken."

Mrs Sisulu said Mr Mandela had

## 2nd-biggest plummet on Wall

NEW YORK. — Wall Street stocks plummeted 189.96 points to 2 569.88 at the close of trading yesterday, according to early, unofficial figures, the second-largest point fall in history, as the market was thrown into repeated waves of selling by news of trouble in the proposed buyout of UAL Corp, parent of United Airlines.

The surprise news sent the Dow Jones industrial average tumbling 100 points to 2 659.

An afternoon announcement by the

management-employee group acquiring UAL said that it did not have client financing to complete its acquire United.

The announcement by the pounded stocks, already weakened by a wave of aggressive computer-sell programmes that were buoyed by unexpectedly strong gains in September US wholesale prices and sales. Declining issues from advances by 4-1 on the Stock Exchange.

— Sapa-Reuter

**Court Reporter**

CHARGES were yesterday withdrawn in Cape Town Magistrate's Court against 29 of the "purple people" arrested during a city centre protest days before the September 6 general election.

The 29 were the first batch of more than 500 protesters who were sprayed with purple dye by police from a water cannon machine in Burg Street on Saturday morning, September 2.

## Purple demo charges dropped

No reasons were given for the withdrawal of the charges. The court was told it was the decision of the attorney-general.

The protesters were trying to march from Green Market Square to Parliament where they intended to deliver a petition.

Among those arrested were Dr Allan Boesak, Professor Charles Vincencio, four nuns and priests.

Fifty-two journalists were also arrested.

To page 2

P.T.O.



9916 10/15 1979

From page 1

spoken to her while she and others visited the jailed ANC leader on Tuesday night. During the visit she learnt of the government's intention to release her husband, Mr Walter Sisulu, and seven other political prisoners from a TV news broadcast

Asked later to elaborate on the Independent's report, Mrs Sisulu said the time to comment on Mr Mandela's advice "was not opportune"

However, she said she had received the impression that Mr Mandela's release was not due to a "hold-up" on his side. He wanted to be "one of those going out".

Mr Mandela had confirmed government statements that he was consulted with regard to the release of the eight political prisoners, she said

The government indicated Mr Mandela had made clear that his own release was not an issue at the time

Mrs Sisulu said she believed the government was afraid to release jailed black political leaders, particularly Mr Mandela, "because it knows that the people outside will be guided by them only. That is why he said the government is not ready to release him".

The release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners, as well as the lifting of restrictions and the scrapping of apartheid, would create "the right climate for negotiations between blacks and Mr F W de Klerk's government. Only then can the government talk about negotiating"

She said she agreed with those who

said the release of her husband and the others was a government ploy to maintain the status quo in SA and take the pressure off British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher at the Commonwealth conference in Malaysia next week. Mrs Thatcher is expected to come under fire for her refusal to approve intensified economic sanctions against SA.

"Certainly there is no doubt that the government was pressured nationally and internationally, but particularly by the Commonwealth, into making this move

"The government is using the releases as a cover to protect it from international fire. It is in a big economic bind, and it has to give itself time to breathe," Mrs Sisulu said — Sapa



**COLOURED ... demonstrators drape communist and ANC banners from the statue of General Louis Botha in Cape Town**

## **Few arrests as nationwide protests pass off peacefully**

□ **From Page 1**

attacked by the mob, who were about to stab him before police intervened" he said. *S/Times 15/10/84*

Windows in a Sales House department store in Church Street and another two stores' windows were smashed by the mob.

In Durban, a march by about 5 000 protesters passed off peacefully.

Police vehicles led the march through the city to the Victoria Embankment where union leaders addressed the chanting crowd.

Marches in Port Shepstone and Empangeni went off without incident.

A police spokesman said several buses in the Claremont, Pinetown and Ntuzuma areas had been hijacked by people who demanded that they be taken into Durban for the march.

In Cape Town 10 000 demonstrators marched on Parliament.

Wild cheering broke out as a group of marchers climbed on to the statue of General Botha and tied an ANC flag around his head and waved the SA Communist Party's hammer-and-sickle flag.

On reaching the Plein Street entrance to Parliament, a four-man delegation handed over a "list of demands" urging the scrapping of the LRA.

Grim-faced police only intervened when one of four South African flags was lowered from its flagpole.

Police re-hosted the flag to loud boos.

In Johannesburg, about 8 000 demonstrators gathered outside St Mary's Anglican Cathedral before marching to Wits University, where they were addressed by union leaders.

Cosatu's general secretary Jay Naidoo told workers that if Mr Sisulu and other political leaders were restricted or restrained from acting as leaders of the ANC, the black majority would show its disapproval.

A protest march by 15 000 demonstrators through suburban Port Elizabeth ended with fiery speeches outside the New Law Courts.

The start of a protest march in Bloemfontein was delayed for about 90 minutes after only a few marchers turned up for the 8am start from Bochabela township.

They eventually swelled to about 2 000 marchers who were well controlled.

Yesterday's march by about 5 000 people in Pretoria went off peacefully.

In Nelspruit police cordoned off a route used by thousands of marchers carrying ANC, communist and Cosatu flags, but kept a low profile throughout the day.

5 Times 15/10/89

# Thousands on the march

By DAVID JACKSON,  
HAMISH McINDOE, BILL  
KRIGE, TERRY VAN DER  
WALT and IVOR CREWS



**TENS OF THOUSANDS** of demonstrators took to streets across the country yesterday as tension rose in the countdown to the release of Walter Sisulu and seven other black leaders

The largely peaceful protests were only marred by violence in Maritzburg, where police made several arrests after a 2 000-strong mob carrying ANC colours went on the rampage, looting a shop and smashing several windows

In Cape Town, demonstrators tore down the South African flag outside Parliament and draped the ANC tricolour and SA Communist Party flag over a statue of former Prime Minister General Louis Botha.

Support for the marches was generally less than organisers had expected and police kept a low profile

But a feature in most centres was the open public display of support for the banned ANC.

In Johannesburg, thousands of printed posters, issued by the National Reception Committee, formed to welcome the prisoners from jail, proclaimed "Long Live ANC"

The black, green and yellow ANC flag was openly shown and organisers, exhorting the crowd from the back of an open truck, chanted, "Viva ANC", "Viva Umkhonto we Sizwe" (the ANC's military wing), "Viva SA Communist Party" and "Viva Sam Nujoma".

The nationwide marches were organised by the trade union movement Cosatu in protest against the Labour

Relations Act and to celebrate the imminent release of political prisoners.

In Maritzburg, police liaison officer Major Pieter Klitching said: "Crowds tried to disrupt the traffic and marchers spat in the faces of white spectators."

"A white man in a car was

Relations Act and to celebrate the imminent release of political prisoners.

In Maritzburg, police liaison officer Major Pieter Klitching said: "Crowds tried to disrupt the traffic and marchers spat in the faces of white spectators."

"A white man in a car was

**DEFIANCE: Demonstrators in Johannesburg** Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

□ To Page 2

PITTO

WHO SAID: Stated bluntly, the alternatives appear to be these — talk it out, or shoot it out?

Not F W de Klerk as he contemplates the consequences of releasing Sisulu, Kathrada and Co. and the timing of Mandela's release

In fact, Nelson Mandela wrote those words three decades ago in a letter to the then Opposition leader, the United Party's Sir De Villiers Graaff.

The letter was dated May 23, 1961, and followed a similar appeal to Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Neither appeal elicited a response.

It was a time of internal upheaval — after Sharpeville and before South Africa became a republic — and the country was seriously condemned by the world for the first time

It was the second time constitutional change had come about without the agreement and inclusion of the majority of South Africans

The first time was in 1909 when the Union constitution was agreed to at — you guessed it — a national convention

There was to be a third time — in 1983 when the tricameral Parliament came into being

In 1961 an umbrella body, the All African National Action Council, called for a national convention.

Mandela wrote at the time that he could see no workable alternative, except continued oppression under Nationalist rule, and disaster.

I stood on Church Square in a slight drizzle on May 31 of 1961, with tears in my eyes, watching C R Swart become the first State President of the Republic of South Africa and feeling that an historical injustice had been corrected.

Perhaps that event was a mistake.



# Harald Pakendorf

20/11/89  
11A

## New desire to talk is gripping SA

S/Times 15/11/89

Perhaps it was a part of our historical development which was necessary.

Mandela also wrote in the letter to Graaff that, apart from the National Party, the other important and influential bodies had decided to talk it out.

As Sisulu and the others walk out of jail, they will notice that this time the National Party also wishes to talk it out — that it is the Conservative Par-

ty on one hand and the PAC on the other who do not want to talk.

Not that the National Party is contemplating a National Convention, in the sense of a body which will sit for a short period and write a new constitution.

It is looking to what it calls a Great Indaba, which will meet over a long period of time to progressively rid South Africa of apartheid and gradually extend the franchise to all South Africans.

Not that this coincides with the ANC's public negotiating position, which is backed by the MDM internally and, externally, by a wide variety of countries.

But the willingness to talk is there. That is the difference between the time when Mandela, Sisulu and others went to jail and today.

And it is a major difference because we have turned our collective face away from a partitioned country to seeing it as one country with one people, with all that entails.

It is now time for statesmen on all sides — and there are still more than two — to look for areas of agreement. To disagree is easy and it's a certain way to sink the new hope which has flared.

There is enough to disagree about. The Nationalist Government talks of minority protection and, therefore, of the need to identify those minorities.

The ANC talks of a nonracial nation and views minority protection as a different form of ensuring white privilege.

Yet all now look to talking and not fighting. It is a beginning.

**N**EVER in the history of this beautiful but eternally sad and divided country have its people been faced with such a mammoth task - that of winning each other's trust.

We have a government with a bad track record that has resulted in loss of credibility in the eyes of the people. For 41 years it did not take into consideration the aspirations of people of colour. All these years the government thought she existed in a Utopian state. Now the moment of truth has arrived.

Under the leadership of President FW de Klerk, dramatic changes are taking place. There is a cry from the government saying, "Please trust us now and forget about the past. Please appreciate every little step we take for a new social order in this country and, for Heaven's sake, please accept our bonafides."

It is a desperate plea and it is having a ripple effect on people, both black and white, locally and internationally.

Never before have we seen such political activity under Afrikaner rule. The hype is simply uncontrollable. There is a deafening silence from ultra-rightwing groups, there are murmurs and whispers among white leftwing groups and there is a growing vibration and optimism in the black townships.

In his own words - after meeting Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Allen Boesak -

MY WAY  
With Khulu Sibiba  
**New task for the people**



President De Klerk said the big challenge was to break through the gap of mistrust.

To prove his intentions and against all expectations, De Klerk announced the release of seven Rivonia trialists, including PAC leader Jeff Masemola, and Oscar Mpehla.

On the other hand, black political movements believe all the changes that are presently taking place should not be attributed to De Klerk but to the masses themselves - those who have fought tirelessly against unjust laws and for the release of political prisoners.

What is really important at this stage? Is it change and how soon that change takes place? Or is it who has done what to bring about that change?

Mistrust is the operative word, and mistrust between the government and the people looks certain to be with

us for a long time. President De Klerk should know that for every concession he makes people will ask questions. Don't you think this problem should not have been there in the first place, don't you think this is too little, too late?

The release of the eight political prisoners is a question in point. The argument is that they would not have gone to prison in the first place had the National Party not introduced apartheid.

There are many more people still in prison for their political convictions.

President De Klerk's assignment now is to correct all the wrongs his predecessors have committed over a period of many years - but he will have to move fast to counteract mistrust.

Playing political games is different from being honest. Many people believe, with justification, that the ANC

leaders were released to coincide with the Commonwealth conference this week so that British Premier Margaret Thatcher could attempt to put South Africa's case in a better light.

To digress: those of us who had the opportunity of meeting Britain's Iron Lady at No 10 Downing Street recently were surprised by her influence and involvement in South African affairs.

For instance she knew, although she did not spell it out categorically, that Sisulu, Mpehla and other political prisoners would be released sooner than most South Africans expected.

This is the political ballgame that our people should learn and understand. It is one thing to disregard Mrs Thatcher, US President George Bush and other Western leaders as irrelevant, but it is another when they show the enormous influence they have on our lives.

Was it not Mrs Thatcher who was impressed with the dignity of Mrs Albertina Sisulu when they met at No 10 Downing Street and assured her that she would do her best to get her husband released?

To digress again. I was depressed and taken aback when I learnt that the power struggle within the PAC was continuing unabated. I was told while in London that there was a London PAC group, which allegedly consists of the original PAC executive and the Daar-Sa-learn group under the leadership of Mr Johnson Mlambo.

At a time when the forces within are striving for unity with the various political persuasions, we still have people who fight over mundane issues.

One would have thought that, after being in exile for so long, unity would have been of paramount importance. Should the eight prisoners to be released be granted passports to travel abroad, they should not be dislithionated that their long lonely years in prison have been in vain.

In the meantime, let us welcome them back home with dignity. Let us make them feel that through all the years they were incarcerated we were with them, body and soul. After all, they are our authentic leaders who have been tried and tested.

# Rush to honour Mpetha

Cape Press 15/10/89



**Western Cape pupils celebrate news of the impending release of trade unionist Oscar Mpetha and seven other political prisoners.**

THE news that veteran African National Congress leader Oscar Mpetha was coming home spread like wildfire through the Western Cape this week.

On Wednesday nearly 6 000 people, mainly high school pupils, held a rally at Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone in honour of the eight political prisoners due to be released.

Plans to march almost 10km to Mpetha's home in Nyanga East were thwarted by the presence of police.

Mpetha, South Africa's oldest political prisoner, turned 80 in Grooteschuur Hospital, where he has spent most of his five-year sentence for terrorism.

During a family visit

last Friday he told them he had met Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison but did not reveal what had been discussed, according to his daughter-in-law, Nankasana Mpetha.

Mpetha, who has long been involved with the Food and Allied Workers' Union, has been called the "father of South African trade unionism".

Fawu had launched a committee to assist him. Their plans include a new house and British trade unions have started a trust fund to help support him.

Born in Mount Frere, Transkei, on August 5, 1909, he matriculated at Adams High School in Natal before moving to Cape Town, where he was employed as a domestic worker.

He later joined the Food and Canning Workers Union, becoming general secretary after Ray Alexander was banned in 1951.

He has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and spent four years in prison after being convicted in 1960 of furthering the aims of the ANC.

Mpetha and 18 others appeared in the Wynberg magistrate's court, which sat at Pollsmoor Prison, in 1980.

A year later they faced

two charges of murder and other charges under the Terrorism Act in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

Mpetha was acquitted of the murder charges but was found guilty of taking part in terrorist activities on June 6, 1983.

Judge Williamson sentenced him to the mandatory minimum five years' imprisonment.

Passing sentence, he said: "Mpetha is old and very ill. He is suffering from diabetes and its complications and is due to have a leg amputated."

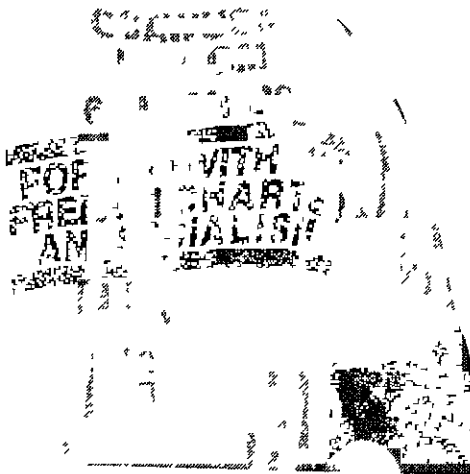
He would have suspended the whole sentence if there was no minimum sentence, the judge said.

Mpetha was later released on bail of R1 pending an application for his release.

His leg was amputated in 1983, shortly after he was elected president of the United Democratic Front.

Mpetha's special appeal failed in 1985. He was arrested in a police raid on his Nyanga home on August 26 of that year and taken to Pollsmoor Prison.

Mpetha's wife, Rosalyn, died while he was in jail but he was refused permission to attend the funeral.



# The MDM calls for a heroes' welcome

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE mass democratic movement has called on people around the country to give their released leaders a "welcome befitting the greatest of heroes"

A statement released yesterday strongly appealed to people to ensure the receptions were well organised and peaceful

"We call on government to allow our people to express their joy at these releases without police interference

"The release of our leaders should also inspire each one of us to continue the struggle against white minority domination with renewed energy and vigour"

The MDM has appointed a National Reception Committee to co-ordinate the welcome of the eight political prisoners, who are expected to spend the first night in their own homes in decades tonight

The MDM statement said the releases would mark a rapid escalation in the struggle

"Let us not forget that FW De Klerk is not acting out of goodwill. At the same time that the release of some political prisoners is announced, leaders of the UDF around the country have been served with restriction orders, while a number of UDF and Cosatu members are still in detention"

The MDM called on government not to impose restrictions on those released

The MDM said the eight's release had dramatically increased the ANC's prestige and stature

"The international solidarity movement has strengthened the isolation of apartheid South Africa, forcing even traditional supporters of apartheid to bow under pressure"

A South African Council of Churches statement said the release of the eight had not accomplished the aspirations of the people

The release of the eight has not accomplished in full the demand by the people that all political prisoners and detainees be released as a prelude to meaningful negotiations in South Africa

The statement made special mention of leaders sentenced in the Delmas treason trial last year.

"Without their unconditional release and the re-sponse of the De Klerk government to demands to create a climate conducive to the resolution of South Africa's problems, it is impossible for us to rejoice without qualification"

# THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE

# Mandela is concerned

## ... but as a prisoner he cannot negotiate

NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa visited Nelson Mandela this week. Ramaphosa says Mandela had discussed the release of his comrades, but never his own release.

City Press  
15/10/89

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela was concerned about violence in SA but felt he could not negotiate with government as a prisoner, said Cyril Ramaphosa, who met Mandela this week.

Speaking at the formation of a committee to welcome the eight political prisoners to be released soon, he said Mandela was in good health and "intellectually stimulating".

He was with Mandela when the release of Walter Sisulu and

seven others was announced. Albertina Sisulu had embraced Mandela, saying she wished he had been coming out with her husband.

Mandela told them he had discussed the release of his fellow prisoners with government but had at no stage asked for his own release.

He had urged government to talk with the ANC leadership and had expressed support for mass democratic movement tactics and strategies.

Ramaphosa said he had gained the impression from talks with people close to the prisoners that a staggered release was most likely.

He hoped government would give the freed men passports to visit the ANC in exile.

If not, it would show government was not serious about negotiations, he said.

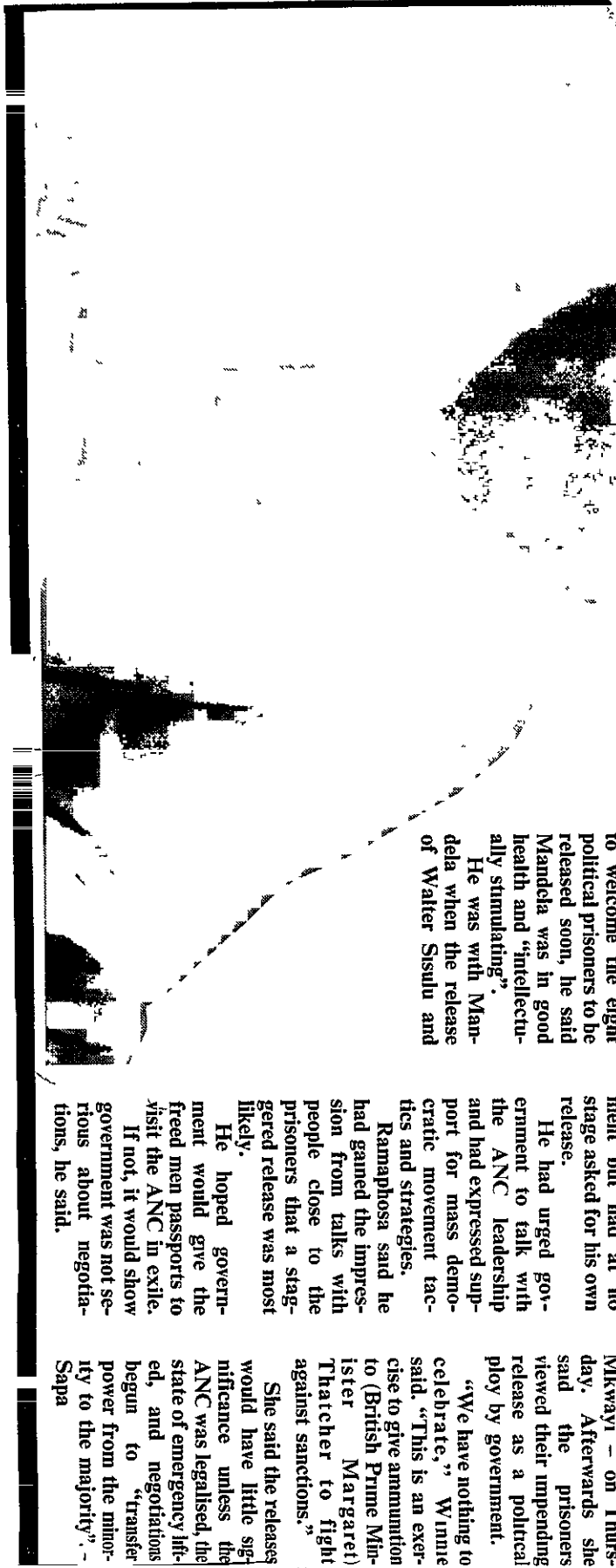
The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) welcomed the pending release of the eight but said there were still 400 political prisoners serving long sentences, while 70 were on Death Row.

"We see these releases as a direct result of the pressures exerted in the country and elsewhere," Nadel said in a statement.

Nelson Mandela's wife, Winnie, met one of the eight - Wilton Mkwayi - on Thursday. Afterwards she said the prisoners viewed their impending release as a political ploy by government.

"We have nothing to celebrate," Winnie said. "This is an exercise to give ammunition to (British Prime Minister Margaret) Thatcher to fight against sanctions."

She said the releases would have little significance unless the ANC was legalised, the state of emergency lifted, and negotiations begun to "transfer power from the minority to the majority".



# Soweto youths wait to welcome heroes

15/10/89  
Dress  
(S)

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE homes of Rivonia trialists in Soweto were taken over by youths and turned into "centres of people's power," a few hours after the news of their release became known.

Groups of young men were preparing food in the kitchen while others watched television and had heated discussions about the releases in the sitting rooms of Mlangeni and Motsaedi homes.

The atmosphere was tense and excited at the homes of Walter Sisulu and Andrew Mlangeni in Orlando West and Elias Motsaedi in Mzimhlophe Groups of "comrades" chatted happily about how, at long last, they would see their heroes.

Young men from the Soweto Students Congress chanted freedom songs and danced in anticipation of the release of the leaders.

"We are here not only to await their release but to ensure that their reception goes according to plan and nothing sinister happens," said a Sosco spokesman.

He said the MDM had planned a reception for the Rivonia trialists as soon as they arrived.

Caroline Motsaedi - Motsaedi's wife - smiled at the excited activity in her house.

Even at the home of Milton Mkwazi - whose wife, Irene, died in December last year after waiting 23 years to marry him - someone was waiting for his return. Mandla Madi - who has been looking after the house since Irene's death - was sitting in expectation.

The house is soon to be filled with people again.



Mandla Madi has been looking after Milton Mkwazi's house since the death of Mkwazi's wife, Irene. She waited 23 years to marry the love of her life but she died only eight months before his release.



Smiling broadly and thrilled at the prospect of being re-united with her husband, Elias Motsaedi, is his wife Caroline. Her house is crowded with members of the Soweto Youth Congress who are waiting around to make sure "nothing sinister" happens with Motsaedi's release.



15/10/89

City Press  
15/10/89

# Anxious family waits

CP REPORTER

NONKULULEKO Sisulu, the youngest child of the Rivonia trialist, was ecstatically happy this week

Her name, which literally means freedom, assumed greater significance when it was announced that her father, Walter Sisulu, was to be released

In the warmth of the Orlando West kitchen where she had crawled as a toddler - with her mother, Albertina, preparing supper - she felt better than she had for years

"I am very happy, I feel that my life is just about to begin," she kept repeating

This is the first time in more than a quarter of a century that her father is to come home soon

For the past twenty-six years, Nonkululeko has not seen her father in his own kitchen

Nkuli, as she is affectionately called, is married to Mthuzuzeli Mavumbé of Gugulethu and wants to bring to her family's life the gentleness and warmth she did not know as a child

They have two children - Vuyelwa, 4, and Zwelethu, 19 months old.

However, the holiday on Tuesday proved to be a turning point in Nonkululeko's life

She was unaware that day, marked her final trek to Pollsmoor Prison - it turned out that it was to be the last of many visits

The past quarter of a century

## Coming home after a quarter of a century

had only seen the family together within the formidable walls of Pollsmoor Prison or Robben Island

"There was a strange atmosphere and wild excitement when we arrived on Tuesday

"It was palpable. We inquired what was up, but he only told us he could not spend much time with us that day"

The atmosphere at Pollsmoor was completely transformed on the day of the last visit

The visitors mingled freely with senior prison officials, plain-clothes security personnel and other "people from the government"

"We were not the only people in the visiting room. The government was also there and they did not seem bothered by what we were talking about"

It was only when her mother, Albertina, went for a consultation with Nelson Mandela at his private home that everything fell into place

When they arrived at

Pearl's Victor Verster Prison, Mandela asked the Soweto People's Delegation whether they had bumped into Sisulu and others on their way out

"When it was verified that they were to be freed, we could not contain our joy. We just rushed to make flight arrangements. Also, they were all fully booked"

"Soon after hiring a couple of cars, we resolved to drive to East London. We were disappointed because there was no room on flights again. We then decided to drive to Johannesburg," said Mavumbé

The only stops were to fill up with petrol, buy a snack and phone home to find out if Sisulu was home yet

"It proved to be difficult to get through to home as the line was constantly engaged. We then phoned people connected to the MDM, who briefed us"

When they finally reached

home, she was drained on learning that her father had not yet come home

"Why are they dilly-dallying now? I had thought that we would find him here at home on our arrival," she said

"However, I know for a fact he will soon be joining us. I am unlikely to go back to the Cape without at least having prepared him a sumptuous meal," she added

While City Press was at the home, the telephone was constantly ringing as people inquired whether Sisulu had arrived home. Calls came from all corners of the world

Earlier, Albertina Sisulu had her restriction order lifted.

She said a policeman visited her at home on Friday and told her restriction order had been lifted

"That is wonderful," she said, "because I was wondering how I could manage with Walter not being restricted. This makes things a lot easier"

She said she had not been told anything officially about the timing of her husband's release

"Everything now points to it. Nobody has told me he is coming here now, but it does seem something must be happening"

Late yesterday, reports still gave the whereabouts of seven of the eight prisoners to be released as "inside Deptloof prison". They were flown to Johannesburg on Friday on a regular SAA flight.



A much younger Walter Sisulu, who will come home to an ecstatically happy family after over 26 years in prison, mainly on Robben Island. His daughter Nonkululeko, who lives in Gugulethu, is already in Orlando West.

# A light burns for Mkwayi

CP REPORTER

A LIGHT burns at Wilton Mkwayi's home it burns like a beacon, beckoning, calling, waiting for the man who left home twenty-six years ago

The keeper of the light is Mandla Madi, a middle-aged man who has been looking after the deserted house since early this year. He is a neighbour.

Sadly, Mkwayi's wife is dead. Irene Mkwayi was only allowed to

marry the love of her life after twenty-three years. She died in December last year.

This happened only a year after Irene finally tied the knot with her then 63-year-old fiancée of 20 years.

His son, Siphon, is not at home either. He is a teacher in Bophuthatane.

"Siphon phoned me and told me to expect Mkwayi to knock on the door and return to his house, and home again soon," said Madi,

a meter reader for the Soweto Council.

When Mkwayi returns, his greatest desire will probably be to share his joy with his wife. But that is not to be.

When *City Press* arrived at Mkwayi's Orlando West home it was quiet.

So quiet one could hear the ticking of the clock in the kitchen.

All over Soweto, families were enjoying supper or huddled before their television sets.

But in the Mkwayi

home there was only one man - Madi - and he has never seen the owner of the house.



# Pioneer leader also goes free

CP Correspondent

THE "Release Mandela" call was first sounded by Ahmed Kathrada, 60

Kathrada, joined the ANC's military wing in 1961 and went on to be appointed to its High Command, became the first General-Secretary of the Free Mandela Committee in October 1962

The man behind the campaign ironically found himself in the dock with Mandela in 1963. Kathrada

was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment

Known as "Kathy,"

he began his political career at the age of 11 by distributing pamphlets and attending political meetings

Six years later he quit school to work in the office of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council. By this time he was also a member of the South African Communist Party

he was involved with the Indian Congresses and the ANC in the 1940s and early 1950s

After a brief spell in Europe, he returned to SA to help organise the Defiance Campaign, and was given a nine-month suspended sentence for this role

In October 1962, Kathrada was placed under 12-hour house arrest and several months later he went underground

He was arrested at Rivonia in July 1963, convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment with Mandela



Ahmed Kathrada, free at last.

(11A) City Press 15/10/89

# Mandela stays inside

## No freedom if De Klerk does not shape up

By SOL MORATHI

NELSON Mandela has been talking to the government since August 1986 about the release of fellow Rivonia trialists; his wife Winnie disclosed this week

This was confirmed by Makgatho Mandela, the son from his first marriage

Winnie Mandela told journalists the political climate is not yet ripe for Nelson Mandela to be released, and he would remain in prison until certain conditions were met by the South African government

"The State of emergency must be lifted and a number of demands by the black masses must be met before he can be released," she said

On Mandela's negotiations for the release of other Rivonia trialists, his life-long friend Amuna Cachalia said "This thing has been going on for a long time. It is not that De Klerk has suddenly decided to release them"

Mandela told her in June he was seeing the Minister of Justice, and that his colleagues would be freed this year. Winnie Mandela said her husband had been talking to the government since 1986

"At first he had regular contacts with Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, and

from 1987 with other ministers as well"

The message Mandela gave has finally on his 73rd birthday in July was,

"Don't expect my release soon"

The truth of the message sunk in this week when the Government announced that eight political prisoners would be freed

They are veteran ANC members Walter Sisulu, 77, Ahmed Kathrada, 60, Oscar Mpeha, 80, Raymond Mhlaba, 69, Elias Mokoaledi, 65; Wilton Mkwayi, 66; Andrew Mlangeni, 63, and PAC member Jeff Masemola, 60. Mandela's name was conspicuous by its absence

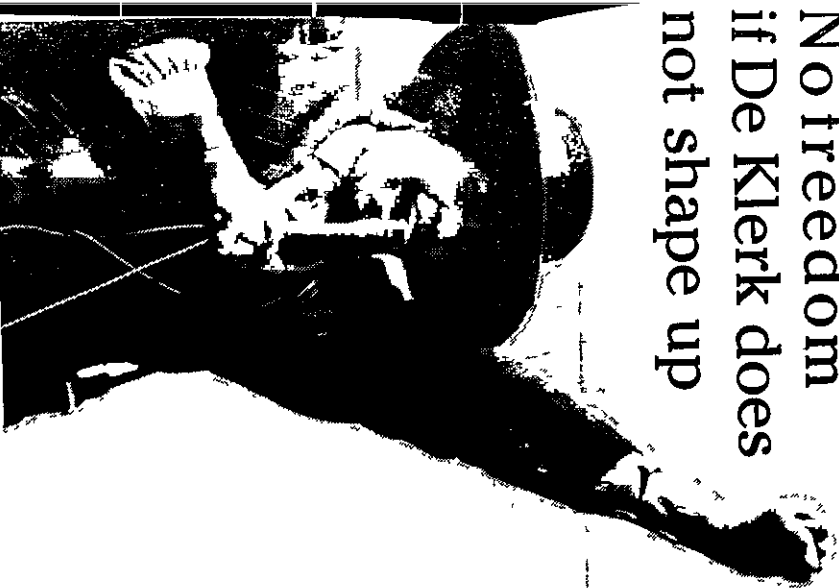
Winnie Mandela said her husband had gone to prison because of an ideal, and would not dream of leaving prison without a "package"

"I don't think he'll dream of coming home without a package. It's like a father returning home from shopping empty-handed"

Makgatho Mandela said his father "made it clear" on July 18 that his release should not be expected soon

He said his father "wants the government to move a lot further than it has done. The situation must be a lot closer to the ideal he went to prison for before he'll step out of prison"

Nelson Mandela . . . negotiating the release of his comrades since 1986.



Winnie Mandela gives the power salute.



NIR City Press 15/10/89

# Soweto 26 years later

**By SANDILE MEMELA**  
THE Sisulu family has not moved house in the last 30 years. Their Orlando West homestead is older than most of the children who have been anxiously waiting for Walter Sisulu's release

## Will Sisulu take to the "new" city?

Sisulu is one of the best-known names in the neighbourhood. Children have even named schools, streets, parks and fields after their hero.

The four-roomed matchbox he was taken away from has given way to a big house. It is a mark of some of the changes that have taken place in Soweto in 26 years.

The Soweto that Sisulu, Mangeni, Mkwazi and Elias Moseoleli will see is sweltering with hopes for a "new" South Africa.

One great change the four are yet to experience is the anger of the young generation. These children are the same "young lions" who fought in the upheavals that have shaped the country's future since 1984.

Soweto, the youth will tell them, is the capital of black aspirations and political struggle. When Soweto catches a cold, the whole country sneezes.

The men are bound to be amazed by the number of cars. The marble walls and steel grates in the famous elite townships like Beverly Hills, Prestige Park and others will shock them.

Today the men will be able to walk into any shop and order what they like. Students have come to realise that the old Bantu Education which gave way to the DET can still make them lawyers, doctors, engineers, writers and professionals. However, the spirit of the defiance campaign is still there. But DET's black education system is still detected.

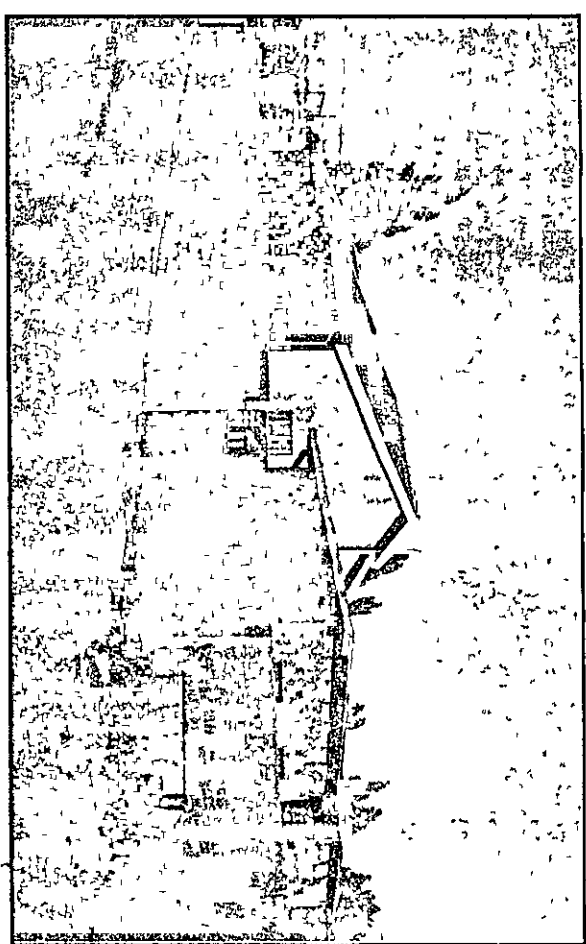
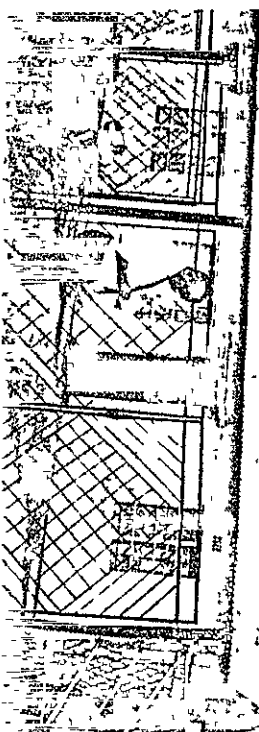
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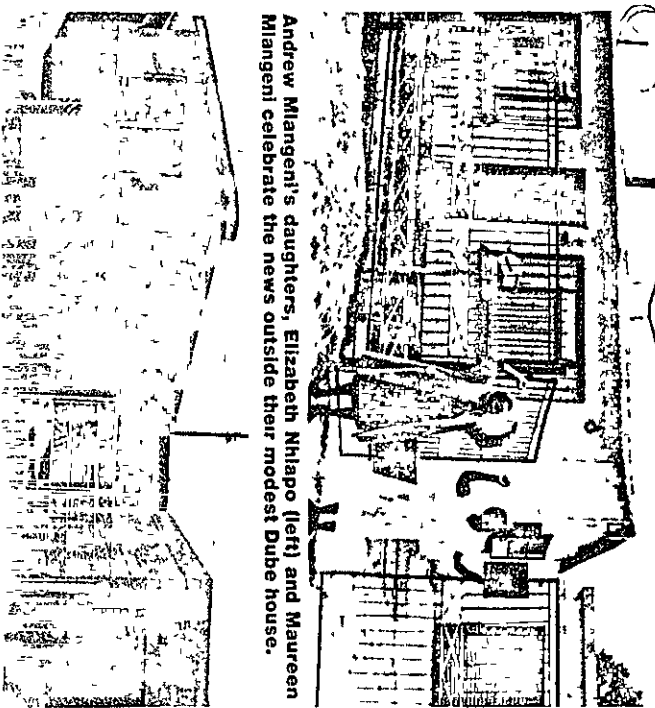


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The shebeens and in parties bear witness to this. They are attended by the new buppies who only wear designer label clothes.

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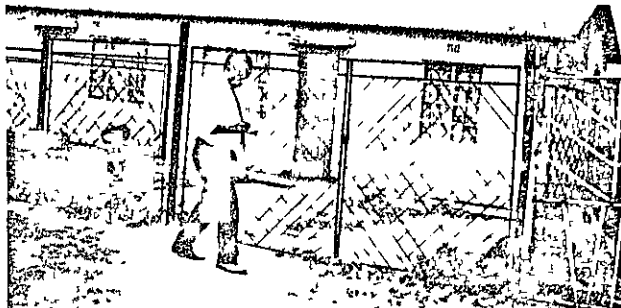
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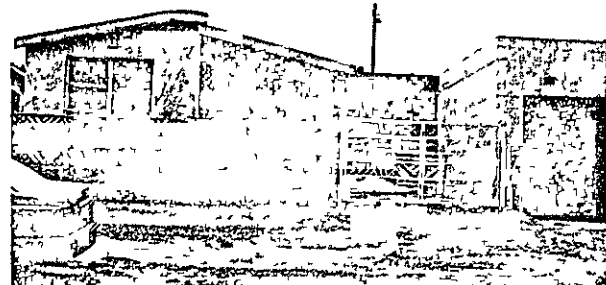
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The man on the scene outside Elias Motsaedi's tiny matchbox house in Mzimhlophe is City Press reporter Charles Mogale.



Wilton Mkwai's house in Mzimhlophe looks like thousands of other homes in the township - soon he will be back to give it life.

On of the world's most...  
greatest...  
1845  
VICEROY  
OF  
LICHEUR  
BRANDY  
A special  
kind of  
pleasure  
Viceroy Player Special

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LICHEUR  
BRANDY  
VICEROY  
The Superbly matured brandy

# Soweto 26 years later

15/10/89  
City Press

**By SANDILE MEMELA**  
**THE Sisulu family** has not moved house in the last 30 years. Their Orlando West homestead is older than most of the children who have been anxiously waiting for Walter Sisulu's release

Sisulu is one of the best-known names in the neighbourhood. Children have even named schools streets, parks and fields after their hero.

The four-roomed matchbox he was taken away from has given way to a big house. It is a mark of some of the changes that have taken place in Soweto in 26 years.

The Soweto that Sisulu, Mlangeni, Mkwazi and Elias Motsobedi will see is sweltering with hopes for a "new" South Africa.

One great change the four are yet to experience is the anger of the young generation. These children are the same "young lions" who fought in the upheavals that have shaped the country's future since 1984.

Soweto, the youth will tell them, is the capital of black aspirations and political struggle. When Soweto catches a cold, the whole country sneezes.

The men are bound to be amazed by the number of cars.

The marble walls and steel grates in the famous elite townships like Beverly Hills, Prestige Park, and others will shock them

**Will Sisulu take to the 'new' city?**

homes and schools. After all these years, there is still an acute shortage of recreational facilities in Soweto. One cinema, Eyethu serves as a venue for music concerts, beauty contests and political meetings of Ephraim Tshabalala's Sofasonke Party.

There are now a number of nightclubs, taverns and "illegal" shebeens. Even sixteen-year-olds can be found sipping cold wine on a Sunday afternoon - unlike the days when black men had to obtain a licence to buy a drink.

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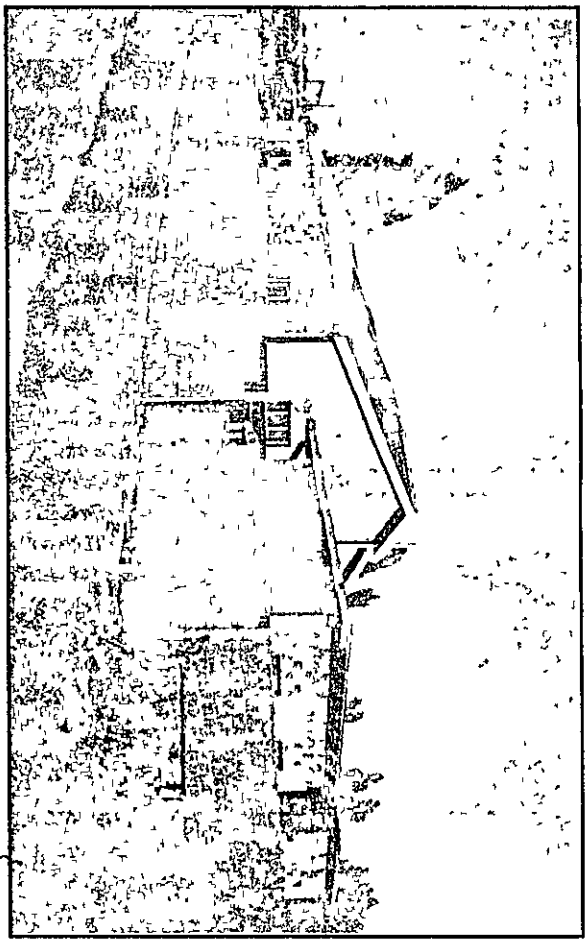
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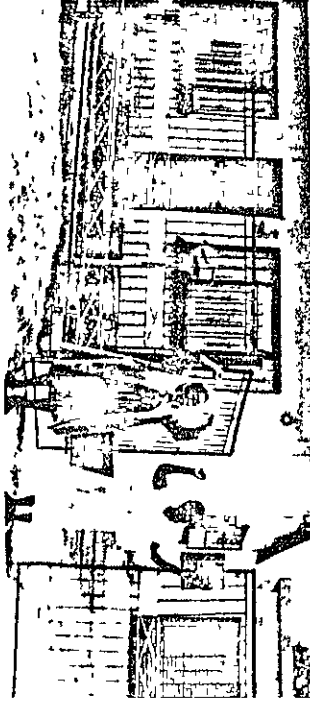


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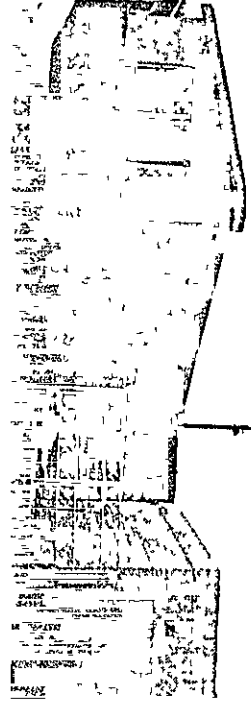
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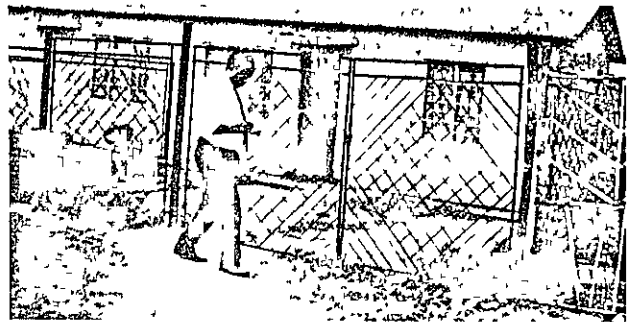
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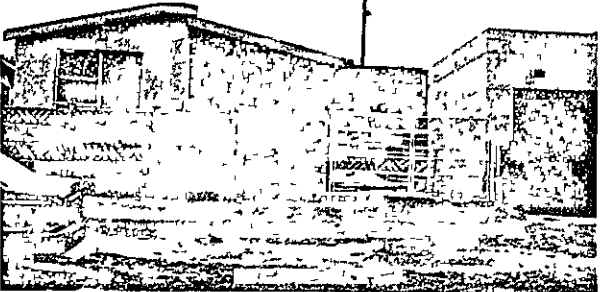
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# RIVONIA'S MYSTERY MAN UNMASKED

## BRUNO MOTO, the man who gave evidence against Nelson Mandela and others in the Rivonia trial, yesterday broke years of silence to say he would like to see Mandela president of South Africa.

By S'BU HINGADI

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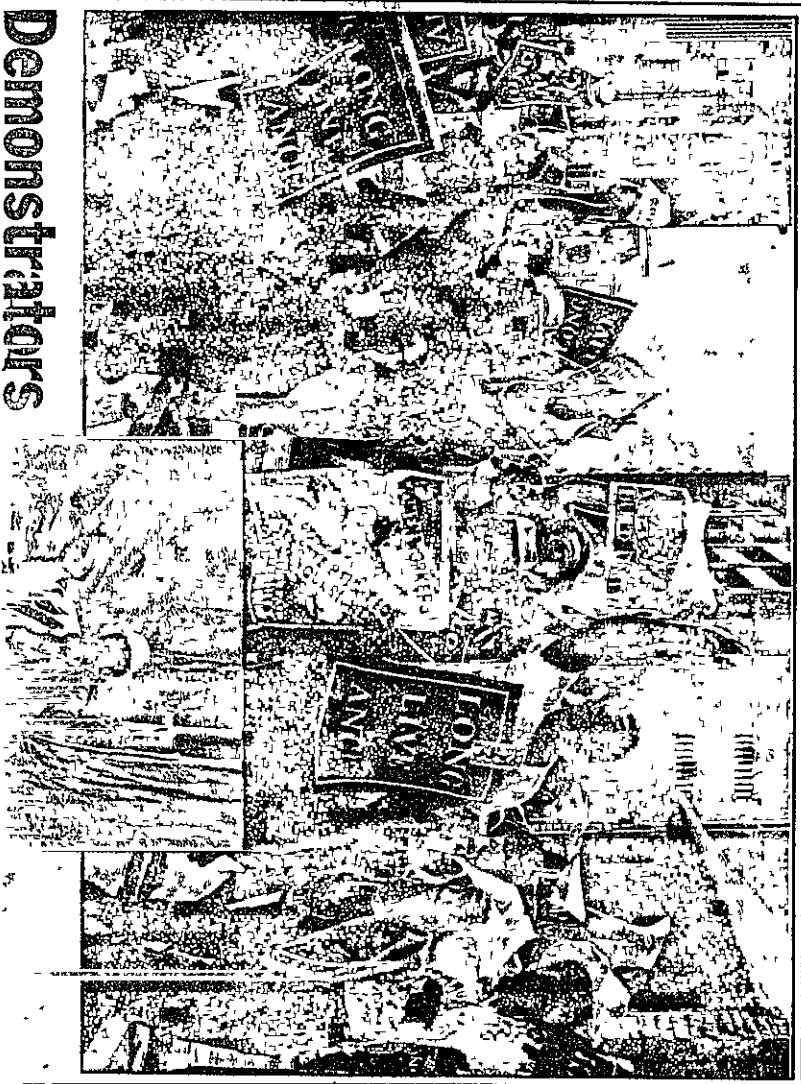
Speaking from his Durban home, the ailing 62-year-old Moto - known as Mr X in political trials in the 60s - said he was happy to hear of the release of Walter Sisulu and other Rivonia treason trialists.

"Thank God it happened before any of us died." About Mandela he said "I'm still convinced he was never a member of the Communist Party. I can't wait to live under his presidency." However, he still believes the SACP controls the ANC.

Did he regret having given evidence? Moto flames he does not. He said he was disillusioned because the ANC hierarchy were working toward in post-rans and collecting money with the pretence that it was for the liberation of the African people.

"The same people clouded our minds with Eastern propaganda (communism) to the extent we forgot ourselves and our families." He said ANC members were "made instruments for treating hardship and misery in hundreds of families and through them some poor kids would never see their fathers and brothers again."

Nelson Mandela was the only accused in the Rivonia trial who smiled at him, he added. During the trial Judge De Wet said Moto had struck him as a highly intelligent person with a remarkable memory. Today Moto is suffering from cardiac failure.



Demonstrators

By S'BU MNGADI

11A Cross 15/10/89



**Inset: This man made sure he had a bird's-eye view of the march from a scaffold in Plein Street.**

**About 20 000 anti-Labour Relations Act protesters marched from St Mary's Cathedral to Wits University in Johannesburg yesterday. While many carried posters supporting the ANC, police kept a low profile.**

## Big welcome for leaders

By CHARLES MOGALE  
TENSIONS reached an all-time high yesterday as South Africa awaited the release of eight prominent political prisoners. By late last night the eight, including former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu, were still being expected by large chanting crowds outside their homes. The others are Rivonia

trialists Andrew Mlangeni, Wilton Mkwayi, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba and Elias Motsoaledi. Also to be released were South Africa's longest-serving political prisoner, Japhtha Masebola of the PAC, and veteran trade unionist Oscar Mphetha. Sources close to Pretoria said the government had planned the timing of

the release for minimal fanfare. They said it was hoped to make the releases "quiet family affairs". Other sources said the releases had been delayed because of yesterday's marches in protest against the Labour Relations Act. It was feared the former prisoners would be "hijacked" to the marches.

**BRUNO Mtolo, the man who gave evidence against Nelson Mandela and others in the Rivonia trial, yesterday broke years of silence to say he would like to see Mandela president of South Africa.**

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"Thank God, it happened before any of us died." About Mandela he said "I'm still convinced he was never a member of the Communist Party. I can't wait to live under his presidency." However, he still believes the SACP controls the ANC.

Did he regret having given evidence? Mtolo claims he does not.

He said he was disillusioned because the ANC hierarchy were driving around in posh cars and collecting money with the pretence that it was for the liberation of the African people.

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He said ANC members were "made instruments for creating hardship and misery in hundreds of families and through them some poor kids would never see their fathers and brothers again."

Nelson Mandela was the only accused in the Rivonia trial who smiled at him, he added.

During the trial Judge De Wet said Mtolo had struck him as a highly intelligent person with a remarkable memory.

Today Mtolo is suffering from cardiac failure and anxiety and lives quietly in Umlazi. He is short of breath and cannot speak longer than a minute at a time.

Now and again he smiles about the old days - when he was an activist in the ANC, the SA Congress of Trade Unions, the SACP and the Natal regional command of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He was an explosives specialist and was involved in most of the 29 cases of sabotage in Natal at the time.

He received training at Lilliesfarm, Rivonia, where most of the Rivonia trialists were arrested.

He also gave evidence in the trial of the captain of Umkhonto's Natal regional command at the time, Curnick Ndlovu.

Although he appeared on several ANC hitlists, no attempts on his life have been made.

Contrary to what many people thought, Mtolo said he never joined the police force but chose - with a Std 8 - to work at various places in Durban. In the 70s he was employed by Republican Press as a photographer.

London Consulate IN

# THE RIVONIA TRIALISTS DEPLORES

## General

### trialists release

By DESMOND BLOW  
NELSON Mandela and five other Rivonia trialists, who are to be released after 26 years in jail, might not have been imprisoned if former Prime Minister John Vorster had had his way.

But the then-head of State security, Gen "Lang" Hendrik van den Bergh, insisted and threatened to resign if the Rivonia detainees were not charged. However, Van den Bergh did not succeed in persuading government to charge them with treason, instead of sabotage, which could have meant the death sentence.

The five Rivonia trialists to be freed are Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Mosekoleli, Andrew Mlangeni and Oscar Mpetha. Van den Bergh, now 75 and a farmer, was general when I visited him at his home outside Bapsfontein.

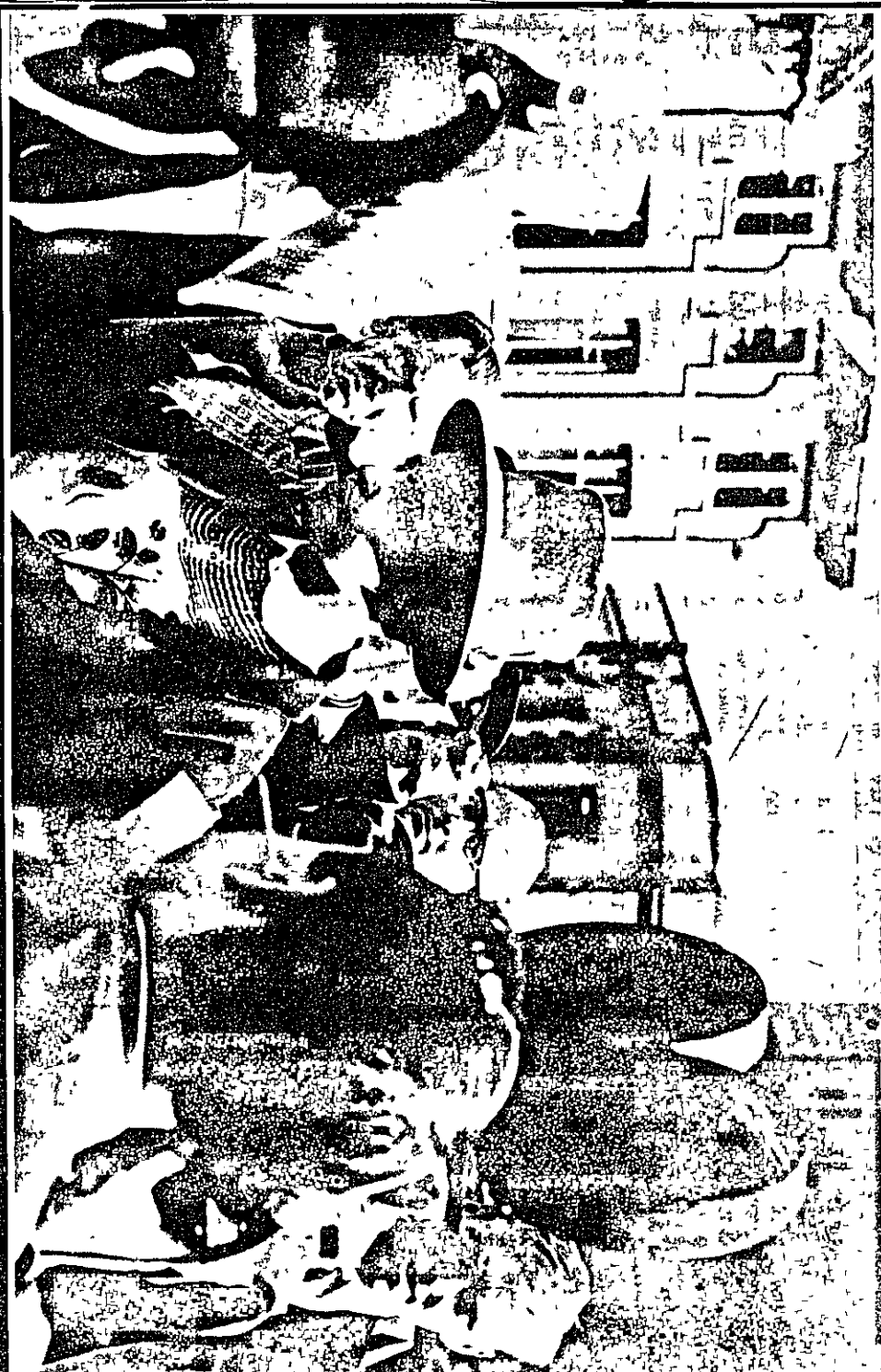
said all detainees should be released immediately. Van den Bergh stood his ground, threatening to resign if the prisoners were not charged.

"Now the government is breaking its own laws by releasing these men in 1980 the government introduced the anti-communist legislation which I implemented in the 1960s. Now they are releasing these communists."

Van den Bergh said he insisted he be given a free hand and that stiff legislation be introduced so he could "clean up the court-try" when he accepted the appointment as head of State security from Verwoerd. Verwoerd agreed as long as Van den Bergh watched his step. Van den Bergh replied that if he stepped out of line Verwoerd should fire him.

"I was never fired, nor was I ever rebuked by Verwoerd."

Although Vorster, who was then Justice Minister, was then Justice Minister,



Winnie Mandela, who states media hears during the Rivonia trial in 1964, pictured (left) outside the Old Pretoria Synagogue during her husband's trial. The jailed ANC leader's wife has petitioned tirelessly against apartheid during the decades since. Those sentenced at the Rivonia trial to life imprisonment for sabotage by Transvaal Judge Quintus de Wet were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Mosekoleli, Andrew Mlangeni and Govan Mbeki. Goldberg, released after renouncing violence, returned to Israel Mbeki was released in 1987. In the bottom left picture, police hold back the crowds outside the Pretoria Palace of Justice at the Rivonia trial.

## How they hit Lilliesleaf and nabbed the ANC

By ZB MOLEFE  
IT was a chilly afternoon as a laundry van drove slowly up the winding drive and stopped in front of Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia on July 11, 1963.

It was part of the exclusive northern suburbs of Johannesburg, rambling, with a large garden. The white driver of the van was stopped by one of the farm employees, who ordered him to turn back.

The driver and his companion explained that they were trying to contact new customers in the area. A dog on the van, however, covered Lt WPF van Wyk, a constable and a police dog.

The van driver reversed, as if to obey the farm employee. Then Van Wyk's voice boomed inside the van. "Ons slaan toe" (we close in). The van doors burst open and the men ran to the homestead.

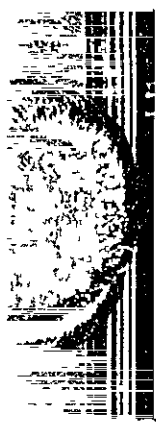
men were examining a document titled "Operation Mayibuye". De Vilhiers writes: "Of the six men, three were white and one was an Indian. Somebody shouted a warning. When the police burst into the cottage, three jumped through a back window and straight into the arms of

had left the farm earlier. "Towards dusk he returned by car. He drove unsuspectingly along the

last short leg of the winding dirt road that led to his front door," writes De Vilhiers.

"Spotting the police cars, he smelt disaster and hurriedly reversed to the corner he had just turned, but the police - helped by a police dog - stepped out of the shadows and arrested him."

*The exciting new way*



the Rivonia detainees were not charged

However, Van den Bergh did not succeed in persuading government to charge them with treason, instead of sabotage, which could have meant the death sentence

The five Rivonia traitors to be freed are Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Oscar Mpetha

Van den Bergh, now 75 and a farmer, was genial when I visited him at his home outside Bapsfontein

insisted he be given a free hand and that stiff legislation be introduced so he could "clean up the country" when he accepted the appointment as head of State security from Verwoerd

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Van den Bergh - began detention without trial

this week. It was difficult to believe he was the man responsible for the introduction of detention without trial

He said when Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd heard of the Rivonia arrests, Verwoerd

told him Verwoerd wanted him to free Mandela and the others, he discovered the order had not come from the P M

Van den Bergh said he believed Vorster had made the decision on his own "I never discovered



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This is the story contained in *Rivonia: Operation Mayibuye*, a book on the Rivonia trial written by former judge HHW de Villiers.

Published in 1964, it gives the "official view" of events on that fateful afternoon in 1963

It was an afternoon that brought the names Mandela (who was in jail at the time), Sisulu, Kathrada, Motsoaledi, Mhlaba, Mlangeni and Mbeki to the forefront

In the thatched cottage which the police entered, six

## How the

men were examining a document titled "Operation Mayibuye".

De Villiers writes: "Of the six men, three were bantu, two were whites and one was an Indian. Somebody shouted a warning. When the police burst into the cottage, three jumped through a back window - and straight into the arms of the police"

The three were Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada. Inside the cottage two whites, Lionel Bernstein and Bob Hepple, and Raymond Mhlaba were arrested. In the main building police

why Vorster wanted the accused released, but it might have been because of the embarrassing treason trial in the 1950s, which lasted five years and ended with all the accused being acquitted

"I think Vorster feared the same thing would happen again, but state security was different under my command"

He had also fought with Vorster over the appointment of Percy Yutar, then deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, as prosecutor in the Rivonia trial

"Vorster didn't want him, but I insisted

"I knew he was the best man the State had to get a conviction. Twice Vorster tried to dismiss Yutar, but I insisted"

In spite of media reports during the past 30 years that Van den Bergh had been appointed head of State security because he was a close associate of John Vorster, he said he hardly knew Vorster when he was appointed "Verwoerd appointed me on the recommendation of Frans Erasmus, who was then Justice Minister

"It is true Vorster and I had both been interned at Koffiefontein during

World War II, but there were hundreds of us. He was there for only 17 months and I was there for three years

"He was in a different hut a long distance from me and I doubt if I spoke a dozen words to him during the 17 months he was there"

Van den Bergh is a staunch supporter of the CP and even stood for them in an election

He said he only stood to show his dissatisfaction with PW Botha's government and did not expect to win, but did surprisingly well



# Son's ban will mar the joy of Sisulu's release

By EZRA MANTINI

THERE will be an empty seat at the Sisulu family's celebration table when Walter Sisulu is freed from jail today.

Eldest son Zwelakhe is still under restriction orders which will prevent him from legally joining in the homecoming.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, whose own restrictions were lifted on Friday, said she was getting ready for a big celebration as soon as her husband arrived.

"I'm excited about that," she said. "But my heart is sore because our son Zwelakhe won't be able to join us in the evening."

"He still has to report twice a day to the police station and must stay indoors at his house in Dube between 6pm and 6am."

Evil

"He cannot be in the same room with more than 10 people at the same time."

"But most of all, he cannot even tell the world how excited he is to see his father as he is not allowed to talk to the media."

"These restrictions are evil because they even restrict your ability to see your own family."

"Imagine when my husband returns. There will be hundreds of people around our home to congratulate him."

Yet his own son cannot



IN THE PICTURE Albertina Sisulu with a portrait of her husband Walter

join in. He has to wait until the people have gone before coming to say hello to his own father. It's crazy.

"Though he is excited about the possible release of his father, he is worried that he'll only be able to see him with a few people around."

Mrs Sisulu said that since 1982, she had been able to have physical contact with her husband, and to hug him and kiss him whenever she visited him in prison.

The only free Sisulu son is Mlungisi, who runs a family business. Two other sons, Max and Gerald, are in exile in Lusaka while the youngest, Jongumzi, is on Robben Island after being convicted on a terrorism charge.

One daughter, Lindiwe Gama, is married and lives in Britain, and the other, Nonkululeko, lives in Cape Town.

Mrs Sisulu said as soon as her husband was freed he would be joining the "exist-

ing structures and continue his fight against apartheid."

"As my restrictions have been lifted, I will be returning to Fedsaw (the Federation of South African Women) to continue my fight against apartheid as well. We'll just celebrate for a short time, then continue the struggle," said Mrs Sisulu.

Hundreds of supporters and journalists from all over the world have camped on the Sisulu doorstep for the past two days.

# New saga of Slovo unbanned

By ALAN DUGGAN III

A NOVEL by Gillian Slovo, daughter of revolutionary communists Joe Slovo and the late Ruth First, has been declared "not undesirable" by the Directorate of Publications *5/11/10/87*

*Ties of Blood*, a searing account of the anti-apartheid movement's effect on two families — one white and the other black — is based on the writer's personal and family history

The book was banned in April this year.

Described by critics as "a triumph of narrative range and insight", it tells of a young Jewish woman who leaves her Lithuanian home for South Africa in a bid to make a better life for her children — then discovers the power of race laws

Joe Slovo was ANC chief of staff before resigning to lead the SA Communist Party. He left South Africa for a life of exile when his children were still very young.

Ruth First became the first woman to be held under the 90-day detention law. She was arrested in front of Gillian's sister, Shawn, and held for 117 days in solitary confinement.

# Soviets welcome Sisulu's release

## CP CORRESPONDENTS

"WE welcome the release of Walter Sisulu and his comrades-in-arms," said Yuri Yukalov, head of the Soviet foreign minister's Africa department, this week

"But this is only the beginning. We want to see all South African political prisoners released, the state of emergency lifted, troops withdrawn from the townships, and all political parties and organisations legalised."

Yukalov stressed it was "vitally important" to put an end to apartheid

The Soviet newspaper Pravda said the release of Sisulu signified the beginning of a political change in SA

"At the same time

apartheid will hardly be dismantled in the near future, with hundreds of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, languishing behind bars."

The newspaper *Izvestia* described the release of the eight prisoners as a "very important political event"

Under the threat of comprehensive sanctions, SA was forced to make concessions.

"The September elections produced growing understanding that violence could only aggravate the situation," *Izvestia* said

"Obviously, without the ANC and other popular organisations, it is impossible to establish peace there, neither a single, democratic, non-racial South Africa" - ANO

Copy Press 15/10/89

# Ex-trialist gets passport

ST/lines 15/10/84  
A FORMER treason trialist was granted a passport this week to travel to any part of the world

Natal Indian Congress executive member Mewa Ramgobin had to wait for more than 15 years to be issued with the document which is valid for six months

In 1974 Mr Ramgobin was given a six-month passport to visit a sick relative in India. During the trip he was a guest of the Indian, Ceylon and Mauritius governments.

He has made six applications since 1983 to travel abroad but they were all refused

By GEORGE MAHABEER

He was not able to accept an invitation by the publisher of his book, *Waiting to Live*, to visit America for its launch

Mr Ramgobin was part of a group of political activists who sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban in 1984 to highlight the plight of detainees held without trial

In December 1984 he was charged with high treason but was acquitted in December 1985.

Mr Ramgobin was banned

for 17 years and under house arrest for 12 years

He played a leading role in reviving the NIC in the nine months he was free between December 1970 and September 1971 when he was banned again

Mr Ramgobin said he was happy to receive the passport although it was valid for only six months.

"But my happiness would be greater if my compatriots were also allowed to travel freely."

Mr Ramgobin added "I will be leaving for England and Germany shortly."



# Death sentence families see ANC

RELATIVES of six trained ANC cadres sitting on death row this week accused government of playing up reprieves given to criminals to overshadow pleas for the reprieve of political prisoners.

The family members are: Martha Dlangisa, Doris MacBride, Betty Masango, Nzondwayo Ncube, Thandeki Dube and Simon Potsane

They have appealed in Lusaka to the international community to assist in a campaign to win prisoner-of-war status for them

Doris MacBride, mother of Robert MacBride, said instead of listening to reprieve pleas for death row convicts, State President FW De Klerk's administration had recently reprieved 11 criminals

Simon Potsane, a World War II veteran whose son Neo is among the six, said he himself had been captured in Libya during the war but was spared as a prisoner-of-war.

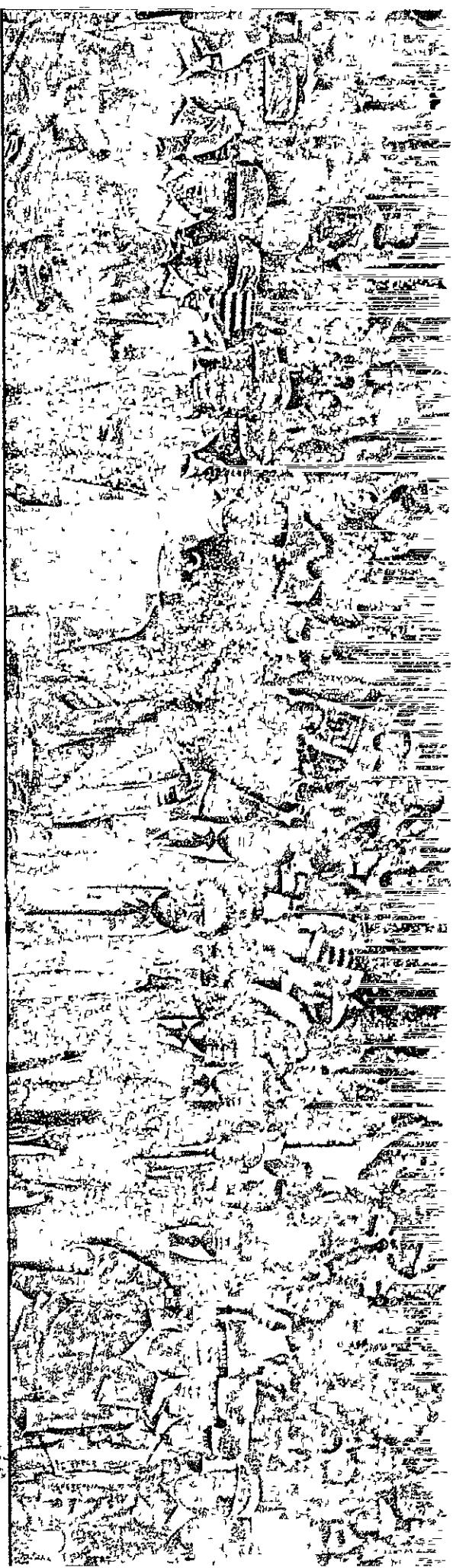
"I stayed in various concentration camps and I was taken to Italy before being released, but in South Africa, prisoners of war are killed," he said.

The six relatives arrived in Lusaka this week to brief Zambian leaders and the ANC on the campaign

They said the sentences hanging over their children punished the families

"I sometimes dream I see my son hanged and kicking, but when I visit him I don't tell him that," MacBride said - Sapa

C.P. 11/10/89



Paying homage . . . Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the released ANC leaders, waves to the cheering crowds during a "lap of honour" round the stadium. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

By Peter Fabricius  
and Esmaré van der Merwe

# Police chief thanks crowd for behaviour

The stage may be set for the Government's next move to normalise the political situation for negotiations to begin.

But it is not yet clear whether the next move will be the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Political observers are expecting Government to keep up the momentum of reform following the peaceful staging of the mass rally outside Soweto yesterday, in which more than 65 000 people participated, to welcome back ANC leaders recently released from prison.

The rally — which became in effect the ANC's first rally since it was banned in 1960 — went off without incident at Soccer City.

Ministers were not available for comment today, as virtually the entire Cabinet was on a retreat to discuss policy, but a Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said police were grateful the rally had gone off peacefully without any incident worthy of mention.

He said all the facts relating to the rally and the speeches were being studied.

The rally was "officially opened" by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in absentia — his speech was read for him — and ANC and SA communist flags were everywhere.

Former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu — one of the seven recently released ANC leaders for whom the rally was held — pledged that the ANC would "intensify" the armed struggle until it could get the Government to discuss the normalisation of the situation.

Mr Sisulu's speech has been interpreted by some as a hardening of his stance and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned the Government that it was creating a revolutionary climate.

It was not possible to get Government reaction today as President de Klerk and his Cabinet were inaccessible on a retreat to discuss Government strategy for the future.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said today he did not

think Mr Sisulu's statement — that the armed struggle and the call for sanctions would be intensified — should discourage the Government from its strategy of a step-by-step normalisation of the situation.

He said the Government had only begun the moves towards normalisation and could therefore not have expected Mr Sisulu to abandon the armed struggle forthwith.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC would be prepared to discuss a "cessation of hostilities" if the Government created the right climate by

- Releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally.
  - Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations.
  - Removing all troops from the townships.
  - Ending the state of emergency and repealing all repressive legislation.
  - Ceasing all political trials and political executions.
- Major-General Herman Stadler, the police public relations chief,

said yesterday there was no need for the police to act at the rally and the event passed without incident.

"We thank the people for behaving within the norms of democratic society," General Stadler said. No right-wing extremist action emerged, as was feared.

At the rally yesterday, the seven former ANC prisoners — Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Elias Moseolele, Mr Oscar Mpepha, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Raymond Mhlaba — entered the stadium about noon accompanied by a uniformed guard of honour, the Young Lions of the South African Youth Congress, and Mr Govan Mbeki, who has been restricted since his release in 1987.

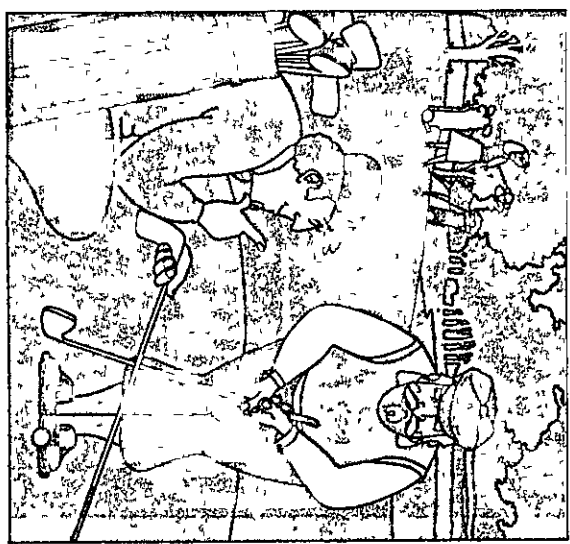
In his address, Mr Sisulu made a strong plea for peace. He called on all people regardless of colour and political affiliation, to unite with the ANC's principles of non-racism.

"It has never been the aim or policy of the ANC to drive whites into the sea, nor to harm the heritage, culture or language of the Afrikaner."

See Pages 3, 6 and 11.

## Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.



66 I'm a trifle unsure whether or not it is 'done' to offer a high-handicap golfer advice about the nap on a tricky putting surface 99

\*The Captain of a famous Home Counties golf club says that it goes against the grain to offer a fellow-golfer advice unless it is asked for. He adds that, should you fall into the

Peaceful rally: Sisulu speech leaves 'door open'

# Stage set for next step on talks road

30/10/89



We're back  
Mr. Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina, who is president of the United Democratic Front, greet the crowd  
● Picture by Herbert Mabuza

# Parties ask for clarity after rally

11A

31/10/89

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties yesterday demanded that the government urgently clear up the wholesale confusion reigning over the boundaries between lawful and unlawful behaviour following the massive ANC rally at Soccer City at the weekend.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht demanded that President F W de Klerk recall Parliament to discuss the "complete freedom" being afforded the banned ANC to propagate its aims and the resultant crisis to the state's authority and law enforcement.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe called on government to immediately unban the ANC and other political organisations "to bring the law into line with hard political realities".

The government should end the "ridiculous pretence" that the Soccer City meeting was not an ANC rally "They are bluffing nobody — just creating further confusion about what the law demands and placing unfair pressure on the police who are expected to enforce the law".

Mr Van der Merwe said the government should "without delay" take the following steps which would help to reduce growing "contempt for the law" among the public and reduce the confusion in the ranks of those who had to enforce the law.

- Scrap discriminatory legislation such as the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts — or at the very least make it clear that such legislation will be repealed during the next session of Parliament so that police do not have to conduct any further investigations or prosecutions in these areas.

- Lift the state of emergency so that the ordinary law can apply. It was vital that the government's more open approach in recent

weeks be formalised by restoring "normal legal structure" and explaining these changes to the public and SA Police.

- "Stop creating confusion by the use of threatening rhetoric which blurs the boundaries between lawful and unlawful behaviour."

- "Take other steps to simplify the police's job and not expect them to make decisions that their political masters refuse to take."

The government had increasingly forced the police to take greater discretion about when to enforce apartheid laws because it "lacked the courage to remove racially discriminatory laws but at the same time did not want to suffer the unpleasant publicity generated by criminal action against offenders."

Dr Treurnicht yesterday demanded that President De Klerk convene Parliament for a special sitting "as soon as possible" to discuss the direction the government was taking.

He said in a statement to Sapa in Pretoria yesterday that "great concern is mounting" in the country over the way in which the government was allowing "leftist forces" to become established.

"The ANC, under its own flag and that of the Communist Party along side, is enjoying complete freedom to propagate its aims and ambitions and issues one ultimatum after the other."

"So called 'peace protests' are escalating and are accepted by the government as legal utterances of grievances while unrest is increasing."

"The government's authority to maintain law and order and to enforce the laws of the land is being blatantly challenged with threats of violence if the government does not stop enforcing laws," he said.

Police spokesmen have praised the behaviour of the crowd at Sunday's rally but no comment was forthcoming from the office of the State President yesterday on the latest developments.

## NP rejects 'demand' by CP on ANC rally

Political Staff

THE government last night rejected the Conservative Party demand for Parliament to be urgently convened to discuss the latest direction of the government in relation to the ANC and an alleged breakdown in law enforcement.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the government was in control of the law enforcement situation and there was no reason for South Africans to become "panicky" about recent events.

Mr Coetsee said the ANC's Soccer City rally had taken place within the boundaries of the law and had met the government's requirement that the gathering be orderly.

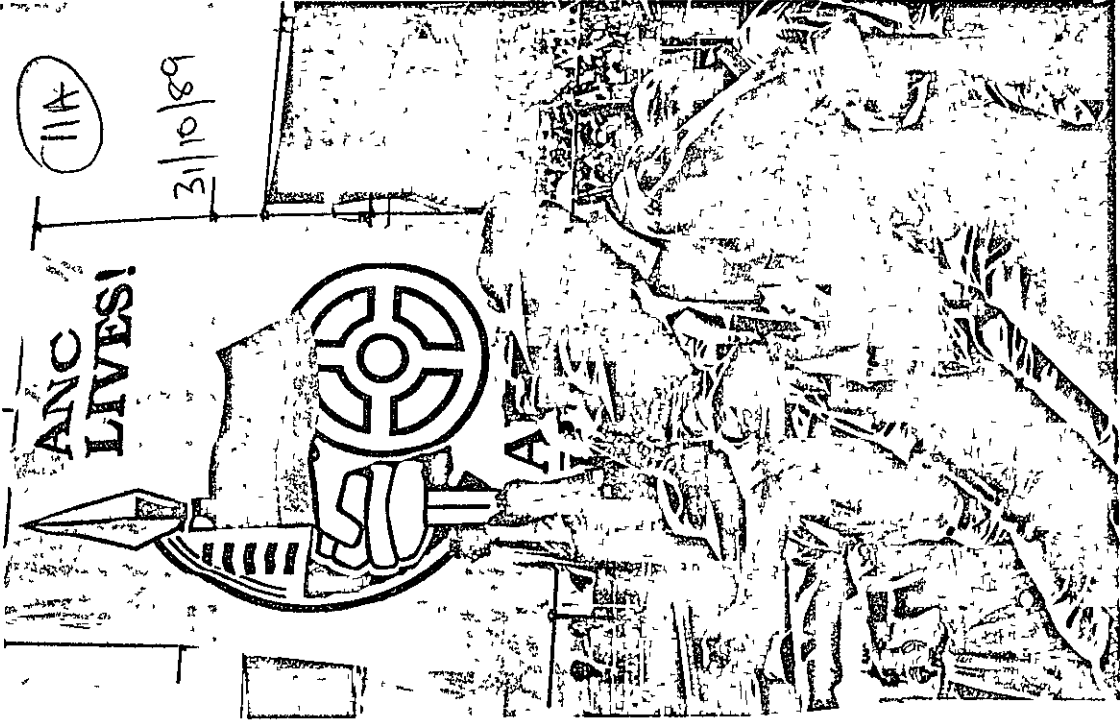
As such, there was no reason for Parliament to be reconvened.

Meanwhile, police indicated yesterday that an investigation had been instituted into whether any laws had been broken at Sunday's rally.

**Thousands welcome ANC leaders**



Pictures Benny Gool



**ABOVE** ANC marshals seen marching against a colourful backdrop, an ANC banner and a South African Communist Party flag, at Sunday's rally at Soccer City in Soweto **RIGHT**. Mr Oscar Mpetha being wheeled into the stadium for the ANC rally. An estimated 85 000 people took part in the rally which passed without incident **TOP RIGHT** ... A packed Soccer City for the rally held to welcome the seven released ANC leaders

# Rally augurs well for future

## Coetsee

3/1/79  
Political Correspondent

The peaceful nature of Sunday's huge rally at Soccer City augured well for the future, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said last night.



The Government's first objective — an orderly outcome of the rally — had been met. Coetsee ... further steps towards normalisation.

The Government could now consider further steps towards normalising the political situation, he indicated, without saying what the next step might be.

However, Mr Coetsee said certain activities at the rally "not in keeping with the spirit of the arrangement with the organisers" needed evaluation — apparently a reference to the welcome-home for the released ANC leaders being presented as an event of the ANC itself — even down to an opening address *in absentia* by Mr Oliver Tambo.

The hammer and sickle of the SA Communist Party was flaunted and speaker after speaker reaffirmed the SACP-ANC alliance.

● Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has demanded that President de Klerk recall Parliament as soon as possible for a special sitting to discuss the protest marches and rallies that are being allowed.

He said concern was mounting in the country "over the way the Government is allowing leftist forces to be established" and over the direction the Government was taking.

● The SABC has blamed the organisers of the rally for the absence of Mr Walter Sisulu's voice in its radio and TV coverage. They had refused to allow the SABC near the podium, said a spokesman.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said he was "absolutely amazed" by the SABC's treatment of the "international event of the month".

# The Star

## In transition to negotiation

11A  
Star  
31/10/89

THE PROCESS of political change in South Africa, hearteningly, is still on course. In fact, it has been strengthened by the peaceful demonstration of solidarity given to freed ANC prisoners at the Soccer City rally outside Soweto on Sunday. The challenge now is to keep up the momentum.

For the Government, that means making the next move — whether it be relaxing the emergency regulations, removing restriction orders, lifting the ban on the ANC and PAC, or releasing Nelson Mandela. Or, for that matter, all of those things.

For the Mass Democratic Movement and the banned and restricted organisations, it means ensuring that nothing upsets the applecart of change, even if it is their intention (as is understandable) to keep the pressure on the Government. Sunday's rally was one of the biggest political demonstrations in the country's history. And what an encouraging change to find the police, instead of reacting like a bull on seeing the Red Flag fluttering, actually thanking the crowd publicly for its peaceful behaviour.

For some, Mr Walter Sis-

ulu's restatement of the ANC pledge to "intensify" the armed struggle may well have struck a raw nerve. But in the light of the constructive tone of the rest of his speech it should probably be interpreted as being aimed at ensuring the ANC does not concede a bargaining chip without obtaining a satisfactory quid pro quo.

That is still the nub of the issue. There are numerous things that have to be done before the banned and restricted organisations can organise themselves cohesively to negotiate a "new South Africa". This means getting rid of the baggage of apartheid and repression.

Until they are all unbanned, and free to organise themselves, their rhetoric will be directed at achieving that freedom, not at addressing the issues of compromise and reconciliation which will be the substance of negotiations.

Now that "normalisation" has begun, it is a stage the country should move through as quickly as possible. The negotiation stage is what South Africa is waiting for; the time when give-and-take can be demanded from all parties. Let it come.

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

The top police expert on the African National Congress, General Herman Stadler, is to give evidence for the State today in the Broederström Three ANC terror trial at the Pretoria Regional Court.

This was said yesterday by the leader of the State's prosecution team, Mr Frans Roets, at the end of the defence's cross-examination of armaments expert, Captain Hendrik van Niekerk Kotze.

## Expert on ANC to testify

Three people, Dalmian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott (also known as Donnelly), have been found guilty on multiple charges of terrorism after a farmhouse in the Broederström area was raided by the SA Police last year.

It has been alleged that the three, with a fourth man, Mr Hugh Lugg, were members of an ANC terror unit which had infiltrated South Africa.

Mr Lugg has not appeared at the trial and it is understood that he has been released from custody although he has not been indemnified from possible prosecution.

Mr Roets told the presiding magistrate, Mr W J van den Berg, yesterday that he would be calling two more witnesses — General Stadler, who is currently head of the Public Relations Directorate of the SAP and

an unidentified expert witness.

Yesterday, arms expert Captain Kotze testified in cross-examination of his evidence by the defence about his experience and knowledge of explosives. He was asked questions in English by defence team leader Mr D Soggot and replied in Afrikaans.

Captain Kotze was asked by Mr Soggot if he knew whether an explosive in a confined space expanded great energy. He re-

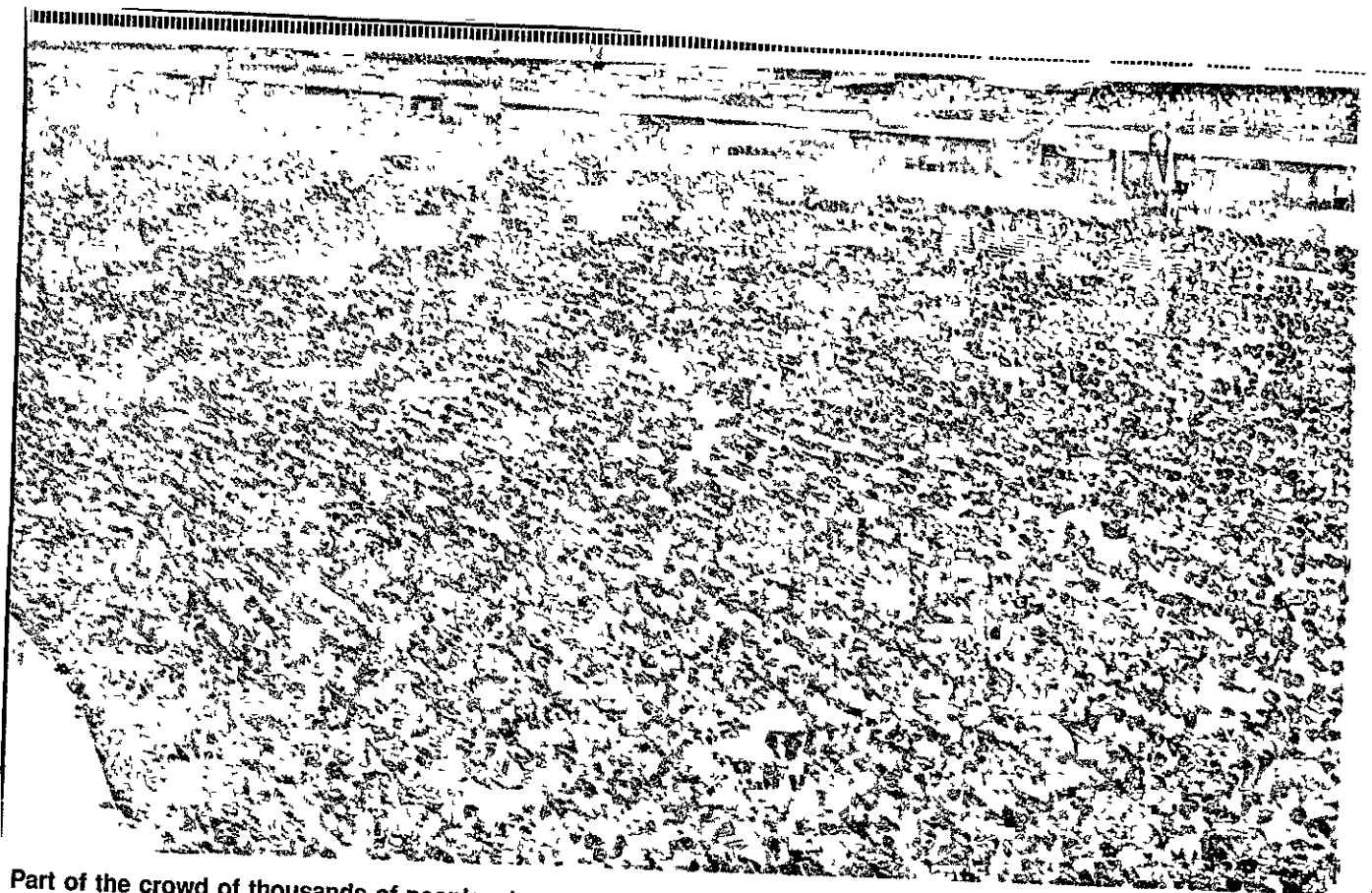
plied that it depended on many factors which had a bearing on the situation. The amount of explosives needed was critical.

Shown a photograph handed in as an exhibit, Captain Kotze was asked whether it was possible to determine whether one or two limpet mines had been used in an attack on a military bus at Benoni.

He replied it was not possible to say with any certainty that two explosive devices had been used, despite the amount of debris.

The hearing continues.





Part of the crowd of thousands of people who came from near and far to attend the National Reception Committee's rally held at the FNB soccer stadium at the weekend to welcome back the freed African National Congress leaders.

Sowetan 3/10/89

11A

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

# Sisulu's terms to Govt for talks

Mr. Tint's  
30/10/89  
11H

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday that the ANC would be prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides once the government had created the necessary climate for negotiations.

The former ANC secretary-general was addressing a jubilant crowd of more than 70 000 who welcomed him and six other recently released ANC leaders at Soccer City, outside Soweto. In what amounted to the first rally of the ANC since it was outlawed 29 years ago, chants of "Viva ANC" rumbled through the stadium as the veteran activists rejected a unilateral renunciation of violence as a political weapon and demanded further reforms of the government.

## Victory walk

Messages of support came from 76 international and local organisations, governments and individuals, including the UN, the prime ministers of India and Sweden, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Danish Communist Party. Just before 1pm the leaders — Mr Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Oscar Mpehla — took a victory walk around the perimeter of the pitch, greeting the crowd.

They were joined by former ANC national chairman Mr Govan Mbeki, whose restrictions were temporarily lifted last Monday for a week to enable him to attend the rally. Mr Mbeki, conditionally freed in 1987, could not address the crowd because he is still barred from speaking at political rallies. The eight leaders took their places on the stage beneath a large banner declaring "ANC lives, ANC leads", flanked by the flags of the ANC and the SA Communist Party. The crowd rose to sing Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika.

In a message read by National Reception Committee chairman Mr Murphy Morobe, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo welcomed the released leaders back into the forefront of the liberation struggle after 26 years. The Justice Department refused permission to publish Mr Tambo's



**MAIN SPEAKER** . . . Mr Walter Sisulu, the main speaker at the ANC rally in Johannesburg yesterday, is surrounded by bodyguards at Soccer City.

CAM TENTS 30/10/89  
11A

# vt: 'No incidents reported'

From page 1

Special Correspondent

Comment appeared re-  
satisfied by developments  
erday's ANC rally at Soccer

Official sources had reserva-  
tion about the fact that the ANC's  
message had been promoted by par-  
ticipants at the mass meeting, this  
was balanced by the absence of  
incidents at the gathering and the  
organisation which marked  
the event

The rally was seen in government  
circles as a way of "letting off  
steam" about grievances without  
constituting a threat to public  
order

One senior source said "We are  
happy that there were no serious  
incidents"

A police spokesman in Pretoria es-  
timated the crowd at the rally at  
60 000, and said that there had  
been "no incidents reported  
whatsoever"

"This is where the true representatives of the  
people will discuss the future. If the government is  
serious about a permanent and lasting solution,  
they will agree to this logical step," Mr Sisulu said

In the meantime, he said, "our duty is to intensify  
the struggle until we are able to get the regime to  
discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situa-  
tion in South Africa"

He called on the world to intensify the sanctions  
campaign

"We are in no doubt that sanctions are, to a very  
large extent, responsible for making the govern-  
ment responsive to the demands of our people," he  
said

Mr Sisulu told the crowd they should concentrate  
on building "mass organisation and working-class  
leadership"

He called for united action among the broadest  
range of apartheid's opponents and pleaded that  
ideological differences should not be allowed to  
stand in the path of unity

He called on whites to join "the struggle for  
democracy so that we may shape the future togeth-  
er" He described as "true patriots" young white  
men who had refused to serve in the SADF

He called on the police to become "part of the  
people" and said those like Lieutenant Gregory  
Rockman had begun to show the way

Mr Sisulu said the carnage in Natal was a blot on  
"the noble struggle for liberation" and called on  
Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha to continue the  
search for peace

Mr Sisulu said the ANC's pleas for peace had  
fallen "on deaf ears", which was why the military  
wing Umkhonto we Sizwe had been formed.

The general secretary of the National Union of  
Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the rally  
was proof that the government had failed to drive  
the ANC into oblivion.

Mr Kathrada said black leadership was waiting  
for the National Party to stop fostering fear and  
suspicion in whites.

"They are playing a dangerous and despicable  
game by creating a picture of a wild black monster  
threatening white people, their language and their  
religion," he said

Mr Mhlaba said the advent of the armed struggle  
was a final response to events from what he called  
the "wars of disposition" up until the banning of  
the ANC

He said the SADF was modern and efficient  
while "we are relatively weak" This was why guer-  
rilla warfare methods were initially used But, he  
said, "our position will improve as we go on fight-  
ing"

"We need all the forces at our command to dis-  
mantle apartheid," he said

He demanded the release of Mr Nelson Mandela  
and all other political prisoners, the unbanning of  
all "peoples' organisations" and the lifting of the  
state of emergency

● One man was killed and another injured in an  
accident while travelling to the rally The death of  
the man, a member of the National Union of Metal-  
workers, was announced at the rally

# ANC stand on violence spelled out at welcome reception for 7 leaders

# Govt vague - Sisulu

THE former secretary general of the African National Congress, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday spelt out the organisation's stand on negotiations but asserted that there was no question of the exiled organisation

unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle

Speaking to more than 85 000 people at the First National Bank Stadium outside Soweto Sisulu said a climate for negoti-

By Sy Makaringo and Matshube Mfole

tions should first be created

- \* This would include:
- \* Releasing of all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally
- \* Lifting all bans and

restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons

- \* Withdrawal of all troops from the townships
- \* Ending of the state of emergency and the repeal of all repressive legislation and ceasing all political trials and politic

al executions

He said if such a climate was created the ANC was prepared as the Harare Declaration proposed to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides. He said there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

### Serious

To date we see no clear indication that the Government is serious about negotiations. All utterances are vague, he said.

Sisulu rejected the proposal by the National Party to hold elections to choose black leaders who would negotiate with the government.

He called on the international community to intensify the sanctions campaign against SA saying that sanctions were, to a very large extent responsible for making the government responsive to the demands of the people.

He said the violence in Natal was a blot on our noble struggle for liberation.

### Evil

He said it was the evil hand of apartheid that was behind the violence.

Sisulu urged Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha to continue to find solutions for peace in the region.

He said Unkhonto We Sizwe was formed after the Government refused several times to meet the ANC to find a peaceful



Walter Sisulu speaks to the nation for the first time after his release from prison

solution to the country's problems.

We stood for peace in 1912 when we were formed, we stood for peace in our long struggle of resistance, we stand for peace today and we will stand for peace tomorrow, Sisulu said.

Earlier, Mr Raymond Mhlaba told the crowd that the ANC was not blood thirsty. He said blacks were oppressed by a white minority group. This oppression has been going on for years and years.

We therefore are justified to express ourselves in a peaceful manner and at times in a

violent manner. This will have to carry on until political rights are extended to the black man in this country.

Mr Ahmed Kathrada said the ANC stood for individual human rights, as opposed to group rights which preserved white domination.

### Killed

It was announced during proceedings that a member of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa working for Goodyear South Africa was killed in an accident while on his way to the rally. Another was reported to be in hospital.

All the speeches were punctuated by shouts of Bua and chants of Viva ANC.

Earlier in the day, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who was co-chairing the proceedings, said he and lawyer Ahar Cathala were summoned to the office of the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg. The magistrate said he was concerned that the rally would propagate the ideas of the ANC.

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# Prisons won't comment on 11A Mandela book

The Prisons Service yesterday declined to comment on reports that an autobiography by Nelson Mandela may be published soon.

The Johannesburg weekly, the *Weekly Mail*, said on Friday a lawyer acting for Mr Mandela, Mr Ismail Ayob, sought a \$1-million (about R2,5 million) advance from publishers at the Frankfurt Book Fair this month.

A Prisons Service spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said "It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service not to comment on speculative reports."

The manuscript was reportedly secretly written by Mandela on Robben Island, and buried in containers in the prison garden.

It had since been smuggled from prison, and its exact whereabouts were unknown, the report claimed.

Penguin was named as a publishing company involved in plans for publication rights.

Sapa *Staw 30/10/89*

1/10/89

# Giggles as witness describes accused

By HAPPY ZONDI

GIGGLES filed the Rand Supreme Court this week as Dr Abu Baker Asvat murder trial witness Floyd Sakhile Tshabalala explained how he could not forget second accused Thulani Nicholas Dlamini's head.

He told Justice Mr AJ Solomon this week: "It is huge, but his face is small. His jaws are connected to the head, and he has a long sharp chin," said Tshabalala, who works for the Soweto Fire Brigade.

Tshabalala said he went to the Rockville surgery on January 27 to collect a patient to be taken to Bargwanath Hospital.

When he arrived, an "hysterical" woman ordered him to chase two men who had shot Asvat.

However, he lost the fleeing men in a park.

By the time he returned to the surgery Asvat was dead.

Dlamini, 20, and Zakhale Cyril Mbatha, 21, have pleaded not guilty to

a charge of murder, two counts of unlawful possession of firearms, two counts of robbery, and two of unlawful possession of ammunition.

The court also heard that the pair broke into a Nongoma store belonging to Ephraim Mdlalose in

Natal in June 28 last year.

They assaulted him and robbed him of R55 000, his wrist watch and cigarettes.

On the fifth day of the hearing, the defence requested a trial-within-a-trial.

# Thokoza 2 appeal against jail terms

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE

ONE of the longest theft trials in the legal history of South Africa, involving the former mayor and town clerk of Thokoza, ended this week.

The trial of Dikeledi Doris Thinana, 43, of Soweto and Lebethe Gerald Mmamabolo, 45, of Thokoza started on January 6, 1987, and dragged on for 34 months.

The two were sentenced to eight years in jail by IJJ Luther in the Johannesburg Regional

Court. Their appeal will be heard tomorrow.

Passing sentence, the magistrate said they stole council money for their own ends.

They were each sentenced to six years on the first count of stealing R513 083 from the council on April 19, 1986. On the second count, of stealing R164 243 on June 9 of that year, they received two years each.

Thinane said R700 000 had been used to buy two houses. Councillors denied knowledge of this use of council funds.

# SACC <sup>(1/18)</sup> calls for day of prayer

1/10/89.

THE South African Council of Churches has called on its member churches to observe Sunday October 29 as a day of prayer for Namibia.

In a statement the SACC said its regional councils had been invited to organise special ecumenical services 'on that day in anticipation of the forthcoming independence elections in Namibia

The SACC, in conjunction with the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, has prepared liturgies for use by churches in their regular services on Sunday

These are available from church head offices and regional councils.

The SACC has also prepared a document on "Namibia - The Process to Independence" - which gives details of the country's historical background.

10 OCT 1989

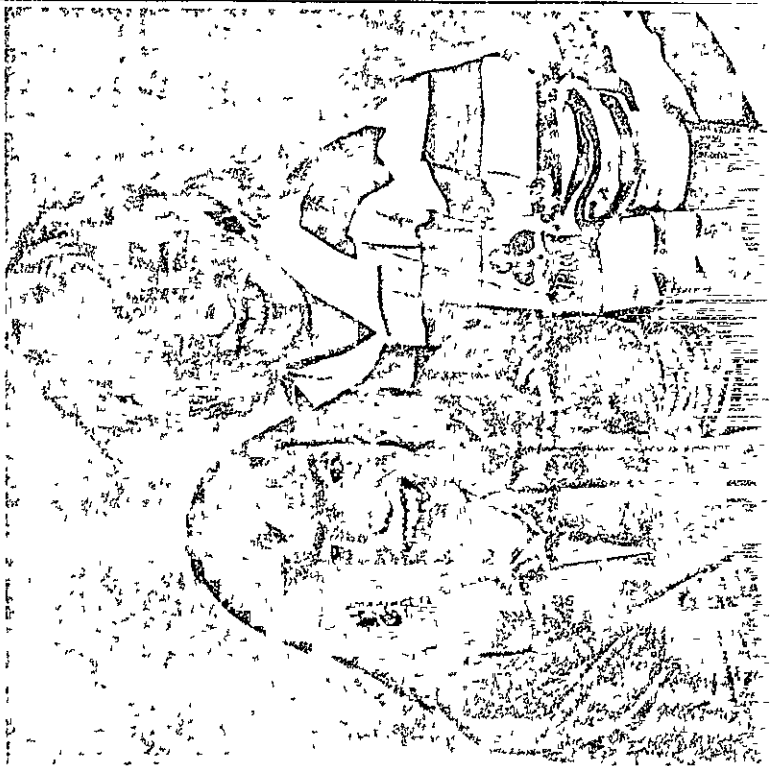
Team with Cabinet ties in secret talks today outside London

# BROEDERBOND TO IMPEL ANC



PROFESSOR MIKE DE VRIES

Annette and Ashley scrum down for new TV drama — on rugby!



By DRIES van HEERDEN

A SECRET meeting between top members of the Broederbond and ANC leaders is to take place today at an undisclosed venue in England.

Among the Broeders expected to meet ANC top brass face-to-face are men with close ties to new Constitutional Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who has been given the task of spearheading negotiations with blacks over a future constitution.

- Sources said yesterday participants may include:
    - Stellenbosch University rector Professor Mike de Vries;
    - The newly appointed editor of Die Burger official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party Mr Ebebe Doms;
    - Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk;
    - Stellenbosch professors Willie Esterhuysen and Sampie Terreblanche;
    - The chairman of the Deonotous Fruit Board Mr Louis Kriel.
- Among the ANC officials at the talks will be Chief of Information Mr Thabo Mbeki, a moderate who is widely tipped as successor to the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo.

### Senior

Mr Mbeki who cannot be quoted in SA made a number of conciliatory remarks in a recent TV debate on the BBC. He has also hosted previous meetings between the ANC and Afrikaner cultural and academic leaders. Some of the South Africans are said to be in Britain for a meeting organised by the Jubilee group — a London-based religious organisation which has in the past been actively involved in seeking reconciliation in South Africa.

## AWB HAS SECRET SUICIDE SQUAD, BOASTS ACTIVIST

By HERMAN JANSEN

AN AWB ACTIVIST arrested in Namibia following an armed attack on a United Nations base has boasted that a secret suicide squad within the organisation had plans to undertake death missions.

Leonard Veentenda, 23, a Johannesburg swimming pool attendant, appeared in court in Oujewango this week with four others in connection with the August 10 machine-gun attack on a UN base in Outjo.

Yesterday the police officer investigating the case disclosed that a cache of arms had been discovered in Namibia.

We found R1 and R4 rifles, rifle grenades and ammunition which were apparently earmarked for future attacks, said Chief Inspector Charl Hennan of the SWA Police.

It was taken into custody, his arsenal, more than 100 rounds of ammunition.

Mr Veentenda, the Sunday Times was told this week of a diabolical counter-revolutionary plan allegedly hatched by members of the AWB's so-called security arm, Aquila.

Award-winning photo-journalist Mr Johan Kuis revealed that he had been told by Mr Veentenda of the AWB leader in Johannesburg that he had been a spy in Africa, "the 'intelligence' and the 'war'".

"I spent a 'brilliant' 13 years in Africa and I became convinced that he was very serious when he said the militants would die for their beliefs."

Mr Kuis said yesterday as follows: "I have been working with Veentenda and other members of the AWB for the past few weeks. But I believe the time has come to talk."

Mr Kuis said that during a two-hour talk.



FOLLOWER Leonard Veentenda with Eugene Terre Blanche, who is said to call him "my little fanatic" Picture JHURAN KUUS



heading negotiations with blacks over a future constitution

Sources said yesterday participants may include

● Stellenbosch University rector Professor Mike de Vries

● The newly appointed editor of Die Burger, official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, Mr Ebbe Dommissie

● Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk

● Stellenbosch professors Willie Esterhuysen and Sample Terreblanche

● The chairman of the Deciduous Fruit Board, Mr Louis Kriel

Among the ANC officials at the talks will be Chief of Information Mr Thabo Mbeki, a moderate who is widely tipped as successor to the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo

## Senior

Mr Mbeki, who cannot be quoted in SA, made a number of conciliatory remarks in a recent TV debate on the BBC. He has also hosted previous meetings between the ANC and Afrikaner cultural and academic leaders

Some of the South Africans are said to be in Britain for a meeting organised by the Jubilee group — a London based religious organisation which has in the past been actively involved in seeking reconciliation in South Africa

For Professor De Vries and Mr Dommissie it will be their first encounter with the exiled organisation

The venue is being kept a close secret but sources said yesterday it will probably be in the English countryside outside London

The meeting is of particular significance because of the Broederbond members' close ties with senior Ministers, particularly Dr Viljoen, at a time when the new De Klerk government is embarking on fresh attempts to get influential black leaders involved in the negotiating process

Although it is not an official delegation of the Broederbond, the fact that so many senior members of the organisation are expected to attend is seen as highly significant.

## Passports

For Stellenbosch rector Professor De Vries, a meeting will be of particular importance. Earlier this year he was involved in a public rumpus with members of his Students' Representative Council who travelled to Lusaka to meet the ANC

He was also, in 1986, the head of the university when then President P W Botha threatened to withdraw the passports of Matie students about to leave on a visit to Zambia

Professor De Vries is on a two-month leave of absence from Stellenbosch and has been in Europe for the past few weeks

Mr Dommissie, appointed editor of Die Burger last month, is the third senior executive of the NP-supporting Nasionale Pers group to meet members of the ANC

Earlier Mr Hennie van Deventer, editor of Die Volksblad, and Dr Piet Muller, editor of the magazine Insig, had similar encounters

But Die Burger's status as mouthpiece of the NP in the Cape makes Mr Dommissie's visit the more significant. In the recent election campaign Die Burger published strident leading articles criticising members of the Democratic Party for their so-called "ANC connections"

Professor Esterhuysen, a professor of philosophy and ethics, is considered to be very influential "behind the scenes" in influencing government thinking

Reached for comment in London last night, Professor Esterhuysen refused to confirm or deny that he was to meet ANC members. "My movements are my own concern and I don't have to report to anybody," he said

According to sources most of the team left South Africa for London on Friday and are expected back early this week, at the latest on Wednesday

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1 October 1987

# Row over communist flags

## Natal's leading churchmen threaten to abandon march

DURBAN — Two leading churchmen, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, and the Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, twice threatened to withdraw from yesterday's "freedom march" in Durban because of the presence of communist flags.

Archbishop Hurley said he was embarrassed by the presence of the Soviet flags. He said he felt communism and freedom were incompatible.

Bishop Nuttall said that he was "very surprised" when he saw that the flags were hoisted to withdraw from the proceedings the first time during the march to the City Hall, when he saw large Russian hammer and sickle flags behind him.

Then, when he was about to address the crowd from the City Hall steps he again objected to the flags, pointing with some agitation at them.

He said there were people who would take political advantage from seeing him with a communist flag.

"Besides, a communist flag is hardly compatible at a gathering where people are objecting to a police state," he said. "Every communist state I know of is a police state."

Bishop Nuttall said that they threatened to stop marching unless the flags were moved away from them.

"The first idea we heard that this might happen was when we heard the communist flag was raised in the Maritzburg march."

"I was surprised to see two such flags raised today. Sometimes it was in front of us, sometimes behind. The unfortunate thing is we are photographed with these flags over us and there is not much one can do to move away."

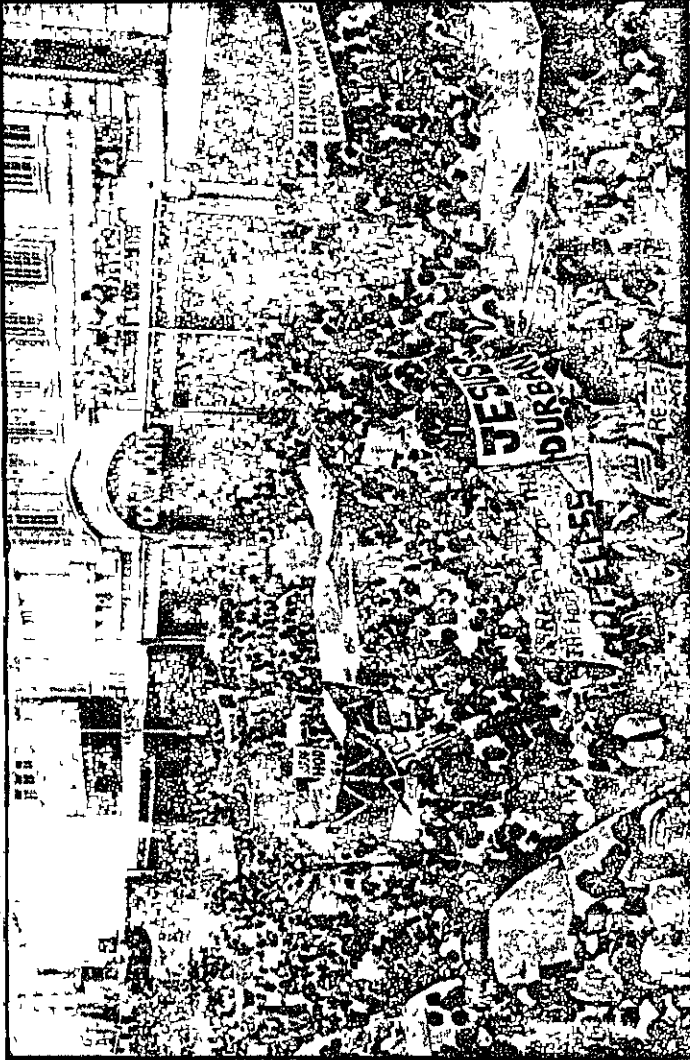
"We are here to show our solidarity and support for what this march signifies, but we do not

support communism. I think they want to hijack the church," said Bishop Nuttall.

The peaceful banner-waving marchers made their way through central Durban from the Emmanuel Cathedral, down West Street to the City Hall.

The police kept a low profile. Magistrates in major cities appealed to march organisers to give the authorities seven days notice of street rallies in order to clear the legal procedures.

In Oudtshoorn a crowd of about 1,500, consisting mostly of school children, marched through the centre of the conservative Little Karoo town to hand over petitions to the municipality and police.



**FREEDOM MARCH** The scene in Durban's West Street yesterday when the sight of the hammer and sickle caused some consternation among Anglican clerics who felt communism and freedom were incompatible and the church was being hijacked

### Ban overturned

The march was closely monitored by police and traffic officers but no incidents were reported.

In Boksburg, a ban on a proposed protest march by Reiger Park residents on the Town Council was overturned yesterday evening after lengthy consultations between the organisers and two police officials.

Mr Danny Cassels of the Save Boksburg Committee said they had earlier been refused permission for today's march by the Chief Magistrate of Boksburg.

"This afternoon, however, our committee was visited by two senior police officials who discussed the nature of the march, the duration and the route."

"After lengthy consultations, the two officials said they would not be against the march if we changed the route and ensured it was peaceful."

"This evening, we were informed that the magistrate had revoked his earlier ban. And we will assemble as planned tomorrow morning," said Mr Cassels.

— Sapa, Correspondents.

35 340 275

# Gangsterism in townships at 'all-time high'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and CHRIS BATEMAN

A NUMBER of township leaders support the claim by Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck that gangsterism has reached an all-time high in their areas

Mr Van Eck has claimed that gangsters have obtained a stranglehold on township community life and ascribed this to the crumbling of credible civic leadership structures through police arrests and detentions since 1985

According to him this leadership vacuum had been systematically filled by gangs who were successfully channelling the frustrations and anger caused by the political system into crime and gangsterism

Police were now almost totally lacking in local black townships, Mr Van Eck said, and gangs were running free "attacking and robbing anyone who crosses their path"

The police last night said Mr Van Eck's allegations appeared "untested and unsubstantiated" and claimed that there had in fact been a drastic decrease in gang-related crimes

But the chairman of the Phumlani Old Age Association, Mr Sonny Tya Tyam, said township folk had "certain norms which are severely restricted — these youngsters have realised we are powerless and take full advantage"

Mr Tya Tyam said that unlike white politicians, black local authority officials had no power-base or credibility because of the system they were asked to administer

"Also, just compare police response to township complaints of assault and noisy neighbours with that when the word ANC is whispered," he said

### Closer liaison

Mr Johnson Mpukumpa, chairman of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association, said anyone who mobilised themselves into forming a united body to fight gangsterism would find themselves "more prosecuted than any criminal"

The Mayor of Lingeletu West Town Council (Khayelitsha Sites C and B), Mr Mali Hoza, agreed "wholeheartedly" with this, saying he and his council bore testimony to

prosecution for trying to enforce social and traditional norms

Expressing his concern at "rising" gangsterism, Mr Hoza called for closer liaison between law-enforcement agencies and "the traditions of the Xhosa people"

Mr Van Eck said many parents who wanted their children to attend school were keeping them at home because of gangsterism

The community was unable to mobilise a united approach to eliminate gangsterism because people's organisations were unable to meet to decide on a common strategy, he said

The lack of policemen to fight gangsterism was in sharp contrast to the "literally hundreds" of police who always seemed available to hound political opponents

Mr Van Eck said the government should immediately unban all the political organisations and cancel all restrictions on political leadership so that the community could reassert its control — a control it had immediately prior to the declaration of the 1986 State of Emergency

(Report by A Johnson and C Bateman 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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# Tambo in hush-hush

S/Times 1/10/89  
Sunday Times Reporter  
London

## transfer

AILING ANC president Oliver Tambo has been transferred from a London hospital to a convalescent centre deep in the heart of the English countryside

Senior ANC sources in London say the 72-year-old leader was secretly moved last Sunday — more than six weeks after suffering a “brain spasm”

### Paralysis

Mr Tambo was flown to Britain during August in a Lear Jet owned by the Lonrho Group, and admitted to the London Clinic, which has never formally admitted his presence

At the time the ANC denied he had suffered a stroke, claiming he was suffering from exhaustion and undergoing “routine medical checks”

But later an ANC spokes-

man admitted Mr Tambo had a “brain spasm”, but released no further details.

It is reliably understood that he has been left with a degree of residual paralysis down the right side of his body, although this is described as “fairly minor”.

This week an ANC representative in London, Mr Mendi Msimang, confirmed to the Sunday Times that Mr Tambo had left “a London hospital” and was to spend an unspecified period “recuperating”

No further details were available, but sources close to the movement said Mr Tambo was being kept informed of all the movement's activities, as well as world events

He was responding “very well” to treatment and making “a good recovery”

# Sabata funeral challenge

CM-  
7/2/89  
2/10/89  
114  
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UMTATA — Anti-apartheid leaders joined tribal chieftains in an unprecedented challenge to Pretoria's homeland policies at the funeral of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, paramount chief of the Tembu clan, at the weekend

Dozens of political, trade union and church leaders were among 10 000 people at the reburial at the Bumbane Great Place on Sunday of Chief Sabata, a cousin of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and a fierce opponent of apartheid

Transkei's military ruler, General Bantu Holomisa, for the first time shared a political platform with Mr Mandela's wife Winnie, as well as Mr Murphy Morobe of the restricted United Democratic Front, and Mr Elijah Barayi of Cosatu

## 'We shall hold a referendum'

"Regimes have come and gone. If the people want to be part of South Africa, we shall hold a referendum," General Holomisa told the crowd

Activists from all over South Africa streamed to the funeral, singing anti-apartheid songs and waving flags of the ANC and the SA Communist Party

"The homeland system must be put into a paper bag and locked up in a strongroom in the Union Buildings," said Mr Peter Mokaba, president of the heavily restricted South African Youth Congress.

"What we have witnessed in the Transkei today is the beginning of bigger things to come"

Anti-apartheid activists have not been allowed to campaign in homelands before — Sapa-Reuter-AP

planation for the sensitivity displayed over the London meeting if it was merely another "contact" event

An ANC spokesperson refused even to confirm or deny that the ANC team was led by their foreign-affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, who is favoured to take over from ailing Mr Oliver Tambo as president next year.

It is understood that another ANC official present was Mendi Msimang, the movement's impressive senior UK representative

Key Afrikaners present with Dr De Klerk included Stellenbosch academics Professor Mike de Vries, the rector, and Dr Willie Esterhuysen, both described as among the most influential Broederbonders

Also reported to be present were liberal-minded academic Prof

*Sample Terrence*  
who has had previous contact with the ANC, and Mr Ebbie Domisse, the new editor of the Burger, mouthpiece of the Cape National Party

The British Foreign Office confirmed that it was aware the meeting was being held but said the government had no part in proceedings

The only official involvement, it is understood, was to provide armed police guards at the secret venue. This is routine protection for top ANC officials in Britain.

The latest speculation that South Africa might release Mr Mandela came yesterday in a report in the Sunday Telegraph, which said such a move would undermine Mrs Margaret Thatcher's pro-sanctions critics at the Commonwealth meeting in Malaysia

But even Mrs

Thatcher's personal aides admit privately that they see no prospect of Mr Mandela's release till early in the New Year. They say even Mr Mandela feels his release at this time would be inappropriate

British government officials instead expect a significant action from Pretoria in the coming two weeks. They hope it will be the release of the two prisoners closest to Mr Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Oscar Mpetha

# SETBACKS

## ANC on 'Broeder' talks

CM Times 2/10/89 11A

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The ANC last night reluctantly confirmed that there had been a clandestine meeting in London at the weekend with senior Afrikaner academics and Broederbond leaders including President FW de Klerk's brother, Dr Wimpie de Klerk.

Senior ANC members seemed annoyed that the secrecy surrounding the meeting had been broken. They played down the significance of the event, describing it as "routine contact" and "exchange of views" with prominent Afrikaners who were not in the government.

They said the presence of Dr De Klerk had led to "false speculation" that the delegates were in London with President De Klerk's blessings and were bearing important messages from the Pretoria government and negotiating on their behalf.

The news of the meeting was reported in London yesterday amid more speculation that President De Klerk would release Mr Nelson Mandela before the Commonwealth leaders meeting starts in Malaysia in three weeks.

One ANC source said "This is very silly speculation. It is foolish to even think we would indulge in second hand bargaining with Pretoria like this. This was a low level event. No more than an exchange of views."

The ANC declined to say where the meeting had taken place, describing it as just part of the ANC's ongoing "diplomatic initiative" in which they promoted dialogue with representatives of all sides in the South African conflict.

They said there had been a series of similar contacts with prominent white South Africans in a number of countries which displayed the ANC's readiness to hear all points of view.

But there was no ex-

### Drummies march back to town



**DRUMMIE VICTORY** . . . Scoring a first-ever for the Cape, the Settlers High School drummies marched off victorious in the SA National Drum Majorette Championships in Port Elizabeth at the weekend. Celebrating their victory on their return to Cape Town last night are squad leader Hester Basson (front) with team members (back from left) Taren Jordaan, Sharon Wells, Tracy Fisher and (front from left) Lian Meirowitz, Kim Bright and Natalie Innes. Another Cape school, Fairmont High, was placed fourth in the competition.

Picture ANNE LAING

Enjoy the largest selling

To page 2 P.T.O.

# PAC chief slams protest marches

IIA  
S. M. M. M.  
8/10/89

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

THE president of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, yesterday criticised the recent spate of protest marches and warned that only the Government, which granted them, gained political capital. He said the African liberation struggle should not be reduced to the level of mockery.

Mothopeng, who arrived back in the country on Saturday after a two-month trip abroad was relaxing with his family at his Orlando home in Soweto.

Though he would not comment on his visits and contacts he had made while abroad, Mothopeng criticised the new wave of protest marches which he said were not a new thing.

"As far as can be recalled, peaceful protest marches ended in the 60s with the Sharpeville anti-pass demonstration," he said.

He said various marches in recent weeks - for



Zeph Mothopeng

which permission was granted, would ultimately silence the spirit of liberation among the Africans.

Already, he said, F W de Klerk (the State President) and Adriaan Vlok (the Minister of Law and Order) would make gains out of the actions.

## Purpose

President de Klerk has said people who participated in marches had made their point and that the present spate of marches served no purpose.

The PAC president said "Marches have shifted attention from serious matters, for instance, the people who died in Cape Town on September 6."

Mothopeng is expected to address a Press conference today.

● To page 2

# GO SE 18 FF

## Protest marches blasted

● From Page 1

Indication are that he will speak on what has been described as "fruitful talks" he held with several African leaders on his trip.

He is also expected to issue a statement on the PAC's position on negotiations.



8/Day 2/10/89

11A

The mass democratic movement's "cultural desk" has been accused of being a faceless, tyrannical and non-democratic organisation. RIAAN SMIT tried to find it ..

# Control of culture a 'democratic' issue

TRYING to put published accusations that it is a tyrannical institution to the mass democratic movement's "cultural desk" is like attempting to lasso a lump of butter on a hot Highveld day

In a recent article Frontline magazine editor Denis Beckett said it was time to stop pandering to the "two-penny tyrants" of the MDM/ANC and their illusions of being "The People"

A wall of silence greeted attempts to gain a response, and questions were staved off with a stock reply of "we need a mandate from the comrades"

Part of the problem is that it is a misnomer to speak of an "MDM cultural desk" as an organisation with office bearers. There is no national co-ordinating body for "progressive culture", as the UDF cultural desk was called before its effective banning, says Congress of SA Writers (Cosaw) national co-ordinator Junaid Ahmed

Film and Allied Workers' Organisation (Fawo) spokesman Laurence Dworkin also disputes "the notion of

an MDM cultural desk as such"

In place of the UDF desk are regional co-ordinating cultural bodies. These are the Transvaal Interim Cultural Desk (TICD), the Cape Cultural Workers' Congress in the western Cape, the Cosatu Cultural Unit in Durban, and the Port Elizabeth-based Imvaba Cultural Group

Ahmed says the TICD is a "facilitating body" which has not been formally launched as an organisation. Three representatives from each of several cultural organisations forming the TICD meet weekly to co-ordinate culture in the Transvaal, Ahmed says. These include Cosaw, Cosatu Cultural Unit, SA Music Alliance (Sama) and Fawo, among others

He says issues discussed have included participation in the Grahams-town Festival and in events abroad by artists, and the cultural boycott

In the September issue of Frontline, Beckett cited the UDF cultural desk, "reincarnated" as the MDM cultural desk, as an example of the two-penny tyrants

"Nowadays if you want to hear

really anti-ANC diatribes you go to the ANC's fellow-travellers, the people who've tasted the tyranny

"When the microphones are off and there are no ears in the walls, they say things like 'the banning of the UDF cultural desk was the greatest blow ever struck for freedom!'"

Journalist Sefako Nyaka, a former UDF cultural desk office bearer, says that in the haste to get things done when the desk was established in 1986, "a lot of mistakes" were made

The philosophy behind the cultural boycott is to further the isolation of the SA government on cultural terrain. Nyaka says "The issue is very simple where a piece of art is allowed to get out of the country (or into the country) with the aim of promoting the status quo, it is wrong and should not happen"

If a pop group from abroad, for example, wants to play in SA, it has to comply with certain procedures or risk being blacklisted by the UN. The Commodores did not comply and their SA tour was cancelled

Another example the Weekly Mail organised a book festival for November last year and as keynote speaker invited Booker and Whitbread prize winner Salman Rushdie — author of the contentious Satanic Verses — to speak about censorship

After a meeting between a wide range of Muslim organisations, the Weekly Mail and Cosaw withdrew the invitation

Weekly Mail co-editor Anthony Harber says that without the support of Cosaw, Rushdie's visit would have contravened the cultural boycott

"For the Weekly Mail there were a few simple lessons to be drawn from the experience. The first was that the right to freedom of speech is under attack from many quarters, not just the state

"Most striking, however, was the realisation that the anti-censorship fight was rather low on the agenda of resistance movements"



● BECKETT tale of "twopenny tyrants"



● HARBER censorship "low on the agenda"

## Top Afrikaners at talks in London

# Govt 'in indirect contact' with ANC

STAR 2/10/89 (11A)

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Government and the African National Congress have been in indirect contact for several months, well placed sources said last night after reports of meetings currently taking place between leading Afrikaners and the ANC in London.

The sources said the secret meetings were a continuation of indirect contact between the Government and the ANC which began several months ago

### Close contacts

The meetings, including the present round, were arranged by Stellenbosch academic Professor Wille Esterhuysen, a man with close contacts inside the Government

The source said although the talks were not initiated by the Government, the Government knew about them, and Professor Esterhuysen would be reporting back to the Government.

They said there was no doubt that Professor Esterhuysen had reported back to the State President's Office after arranging

talks with the ANC several months ago

Sources said the present talks, which are believed to be taking place in London at the moment, included Mr Ebbe Dommissen, the newly appointed editor of *Die Burger*, the official mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, and Professor Mike de Vries, rector of Stellenbosch University

Others who are believed to be participating in these talks are Dr Wimpie de Klerk, brother of State President Mr F W de Klerk, Stellenbosch Professor Sampie Terblanche, an economic adviser to the Democratic Party, and Mr Louis Kriel, chairman of the Deciduous Fruit Board.

The ANC delegation is believed to be headed by Mr Thabo Mbeki

The involvement of Mr Dommissen and Professor de Vries in particular has surprised political observers as Mr Dommissen's paper, *Die Burger*, has been at the forefront of attacks on the DP for holding talks with the ANC, and Professor de Vries

strongly opposed a meeting between Stellenbosch students and the ANC earlier this year

Sources said that though many of the Afrikaans leaders meeting the ANC were Broederbonders, this was not important. The importance of the talks lay in the fact that they constituted indirect contact between the Government and the ANC

They said that Professor Esterhuysen, Dr de Klerk, Mr Kriel and Professor Terblanche had also been at the previous meeting which took place several months ago

### Major development

Mr Wynand Malan, Democratic Party co-leader who has wide ANC contacts, said "I believe the more contact there is with the ANC the better

"This is a major political development."

ANC sources in London have played down the significance of the current talks

They were described as "one of a series of routine meetings" and did not signify any change in the organisation's stance

PAC man <sup>9/16</sup>  
gets warm <sup>1/10/89</sup>  
welcome <sup>11A</sup>

**JOHANNESBURG**

The president of the exiled Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Zeph Mothopeng, received a rousing welcome when he returned on Saturday from a two-month overseas trip.

Scores of singing, chanting people welcomed Mr Mothopeng on his arrival.

While overseas he met with the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU), UN officials and African leaders. Much of his time, however, was spent receiving treatment for tuberculosis and other ailments. His wife, Urbania, underwent hip replacement surgery.

Mr Mothopeng said he would hold a media conference next week.



**L**HE news came through on the wires shortly before 10am last Friday — three men had been hanged at Pretoria Central Prison at dawn

Shucks had done better and he'd done worse. But to save two lives in one week is something worth doing in anyone's book

"Shucks" is South Africa's "execution monitor". Every week he goes out to bat for those miserable people on death row and uses every trick and talent he's got to save them. It's a terrible job, terrible having to go and talk to those guys, knowing that the next morning they're going to be corpses, terrible having to tell the families that the next morning their sons are going to be corpses, and above all terrible because to the world they are already nothing but corpses

"another three hanged in Pretoria yesterday... 43 have died so far this year on the gallows"

Shucks is not his real name. If you want to be formal it's Huggins Sefanyetso, but everyone knows him as Shucks. He's not sure where it came from, but it suits him — it's sort of township beat and so is he. "Cool, man, cool," he's always saying, half listening to the telephone clutched to his ear, his other hand frantically scribbling instructions for an advocate or an announcement to the press. He looks a bit like Sammy Davis jr, with those quick, nervous and yet graceful movements. But the gravelly voice is all Satchmo. Every now and then his eyes go into a sort

**The last hope on  
Death Row:  
Shucks, the  
gambler under  
the gallows**

*The very last man to whom condemned policeman Almond Nofoniela turned for help was Shucks Sefanyetso, whose job it is to gamble against the odds on Death Row. Often he loses but he's won more than 50 times.*

**DAVID BERESFORD reports**

ranging from child abuse to economic rights for the aged, from military conscription to glaringly inadequate inquest laws. They became closely involved in capital punishment last October, when they heard there was a man on death row who was about to be hanged although his lawyers had not got around to filing a petition for clemency to the state president.

They decided to try for a stay of execution, on the grounds that the prisoner had not explored all legal remedies open to him. And the director, Brian Currin, asked Shucks to handle the application to the supreme court. He did and won the case and then another one and so the process snowballed until Shucks found himself working full time on the job.

The great scandal of South Africa's legal system is the inadequacy of legal representation. The vast majority of people who appear in court — who are black and poor — get sent to jail without the privilege of a professional defence.

In capital cases, however, *pro deo* lawyers are provided. But the fees for such work are so pathetic that the briefs are usually picked up by newly qualified youngsters, or old hacks.

Which makes for a fairly lethal combination and results in people being hanged without exhausting the appeals procedure. Shucks must have saved more than 50 lives. The way he does it is to hang around Pretoria Central Prison

he became an articled clerk and then he was taken on by Lawyers for Human Rights

The Lawyers for Human Rights was set up in 1979 by some of South Africa's top advocates. It's a noble organisation that tries to push black lawyers with training and scholarship schemes and campaigns on issues

of spasm of white flickering and you realise there's a lot of tension in Shucks.

He landed in this terrible job of his by chance. Shucks had always wanted to be a lawyer and he did study law, at the University of the North. But his studies were disrupted by political unrest on the campus. Instead

# Pressure on for SA talks with ANC

The Argus Foreign Service in London, Washington and Paris

ARGUS 11A  
3/10/89

THE African National Congress says it is planning several more meetings with South Africans, including two with large groups early next year

A spokesman for the organisation's London office said these included a meeting with more than 100 Afrikaans women which was planned for January in Amsterdam. He said a total of more than 200 delegates would attend

Another large-scale meeting with "Afrikaans intellectuals" was being planned for early in the new year, but the spokesman said he could not give details at this stage

## Prospects

He said that several smaller meetings between white South Africans and the ANC, such as the one in London at the weekend, had been organised for the next few months

He declined to give names or any indication of who would be attending

In Washington prospects for possible negotiations for the dismantling of apartheid were among the items discussed by senior officials of the ANC and the Bush Administration yesterday

The director of the ANC's department of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, met the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, at the State Department

A US official afterwards described their talks as detailed, wide-ranging, positive and useful

"Among the subjects discussed were prospects for possible negotiations towards the dismantling of apartheid," the official said

He added that the meeting was fairly routine and in keeping with the stated US policy of meeting with a broad range of South Africans

The official pointed out that ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, had met the Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration and the US embassy in Lusaka maintained frequent contact with members of the ANC

Mr Mbeki was scheduled to visit Capitol Hill today where he was to meet with a number of senators and congressmen

## Negotiate

He was at a well-attended breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday

The meeting heard the ANC would not be prepared to negotiate with the government of Mr F W De Klerk while the new president insisted on negotiating on the basis of group identities. However, if group identities were placed on the table for negotiation, that could form part of talks

The meeting was told the ANC would not be prepared to sit at the same negotiating table with leaders elected in

apartheid structures, such as homeland leaders and representatives of coloured people and Indians. But certain such leaders could also be categorised as legitimate leaders in their own right, and as such would be acceptable

## Summit

Two who could fall into this category would be Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Enos Mabuza, provided they did not represent any homeland

In Paris President Mitterrand is planning to hold a major peace summit on South Africa, involving all concerned parties, diplomatic sources have revealed here

The summit venue is likely to be Versailles, and the date about mid-November, on the eve of the annual Franco-African summit which is usually held early each December

The envisaged summit would include South African cabinet ministers, parliamentarians and intellectuals who would face ANC leaders and such personalities as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Buthelezi. But all South Africa's communities would be represented

President Mitterrand and selected French cabinet ministers would attend, and also four or five African leaders. President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, are being mentioned

The summit would also include observers from the United States and the Soviet Union

President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha would be invited. But the French side would also like to see Glenn Babb in the SA delegation, for he speaks fluent French and knows the scene here

President Mitterrand is known to have often wished to play a leading role in Southern Africa

● President de Klerk has claimed the right for the Government to decide when and under what conditions talks should be held with banned organisations, including the ANC

## Broederbond

In a statement Mr de Klerk denied the government was involved directly in the so-called Broederbond talks in Britain over the weekend with the ANC

Mr de Klerk said however well intended, "the general result of such discussions is that they are exploited by the ANC and others to conceal the true nature of revolutionary organisations and to promote the undeserved image of reasonableness of these organisations

"Participants in discussions of this nature play into the hands of forces which are still intent on destabilising South Africa and on destroying good order"

POLITICS

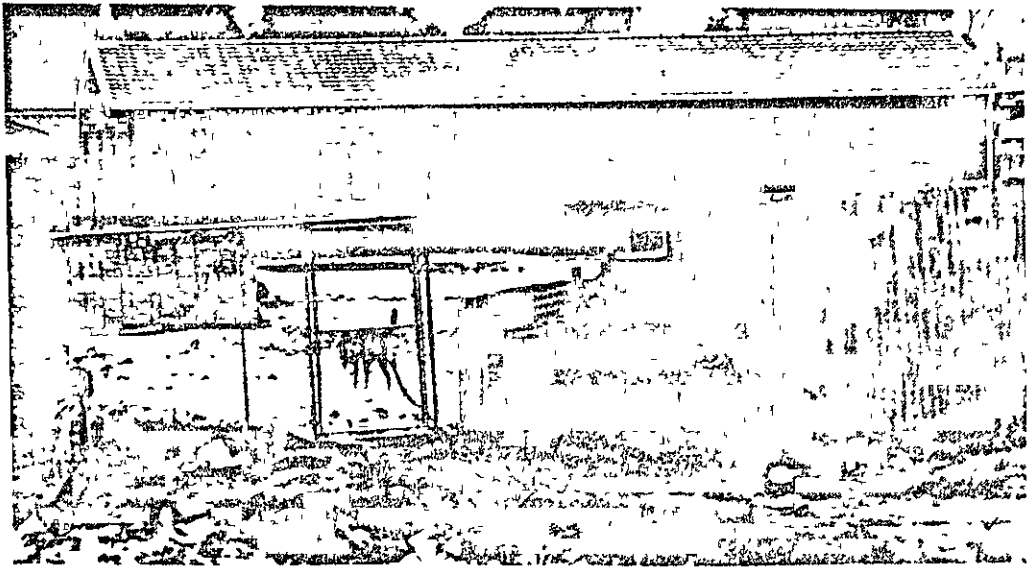
CMT- tents 3/10/89

11A

#### DONATED

... The home of Old Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, built for him at no cost by Bester Homes, among the shanties and tents of the controversial township

Picture OBED ZILWA



## Probe: Ngxobongwana lawyer talks

By CHRIS BATEMAN

WHILE police are still probing the use of community funds — conservatively estimated at R150 000 — by Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, his lawyer has disclosed how most of this was spent

The police probe was sparked by a palace revolt among headmen in Old Crossroads who have accused Mr Ngxobongwana of the misuse of tithes collected from Crossroads families since 1986

Fourteen "rebel" headmen out of a total of 19 have claimed that the money collected was earmarked for housing — and that Crossroads residents are now "infuriated" as outsiders buy up available houses

Mr Jan van Eck, DP spokesman for black affairs in the Western Cape, said the disappearance of the funds had led to "tremendous

tensions within the community" and has called for Mr Ngxobongwana's suspension till the probe is over

The controversial Crossroads leader lives in a comfortable three-bedroomed brick home built at no charge for the "incumbent mayor" by Bester Homes about two years ago, a director of the company, Dr Julian Evenwell, confirmed

Most Crossroads residents are still housed in either shacks or tents

Dr Evenwell said the donated home was "nothing unusual" and that his company had donated creches to communities in Belhar and Mitchells Plain and an administrative office to Khayelitsha residents

It was also reliably learnt that since 1978 Mr Ngxobongwana has bought three cars with funds ob-

tained from his community

Yesterday Mr Ngxobongwana's lawyer, Mr Werner Welgemoed, told the Cape Times that from an estimated R150 000 collected since 1986, large amounts had been spent on supplementing monthly CPA salaries of R300 each for Old Crossroads committee members, funeral fees for two committee members, receptions for visiting VIPs, blankets for the "destitute", Christmas parties for the aged over the past two years, and donations to local schools

Mr Welgemoed declined to comment on figures and reliable information that only 2% of the R150 000 was now left (R3 000)

● In October last year Mr Ngxobongwana's appointment as mayor of Crossroads by the Cape Provincial Administration was overturned by the Supreme Court. He was re-inaugurated as mayor two weeks ago

~~SECRET~~ 3/10/89 SFAK (11A)

Broederbond also denies links

# Govt 'not involved in talks with ANC'

The Star's London Bureau and Sapa-Reuter  
The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday dissociated himself and his Government from talks which took place in London over the weekend between a number of prominent Afrikaner leaders and the ANC  
In a further development, both the ANC and Professor Willie Esterhuysen, a member of the party of Broederbonders who attended the talks, have denied that the talks were on behalf of the Broederbond or the South African Government  
According to reports, the group of Afrikaner leaders included Mr de Klerk's brother, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange, Professor Esterhuysen, head of the political philosophy department at Stellenbosch University, and Professor Sampie Terblanche, prominent Stellenbosch economics academic  
President de Klerk said in a statement "The Government was not involved, directly or in-

directly, in the discussions which, according to reports, took place over the weekend between a number of prominent South Africans and the ANC  
"On June 22 1989 I clearly stated the Government's viewpoint on discussions involving a variety of groups who, without a mandate or accountability, try to enter into dialogue with the ANC. However well it may be intended, the general result of such discussions is that they are exploited by the ANC and others to conceal the true nature of revolutionary organisations, and to promote an undesired image of reasonableness of these organisations."  
**Destabilising**  
"Participants in discussions of this nature play into the hands of forces which are still intent on destabilising South Africa and on destroying good order  
"It is, pre-eminently, the responsibility of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to investigate the situation of banned organisations vis-a-vis peaceful negotiations and, in

this light, to evaluate and regulate their legal position"  
Professor Esterhuysen said he and others in the group had met the ANC's chief of information, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in their individual capacities, as they had done on a number of occasions already. He said that he deplored the fact that the media linked the group's discussions with the ANC to the Broederbond and the Government  
An ANC spokesman yesterday indicated the organisation's attitude was that it had met an individual group, not representatives of the Broederbond  
The spokesman said press reports "of ANC officials meeting a formal delegation of the Broederbond" were untrue.  
"It's possible some were members, but this was a meeting with Afrikaner intellectuals, not Broederbond," he added  
The spokesman said he did not "rate the talks as very significant"  
"We've had 20 meetings with Afrikaner intellectuals in recent years, in various places — most of them unpublicised."

CAP/6 Tint 3/10/87 (11/1)

# Govt invited to major ANC talks

Own Correspondent:  
LONDON. — France has invited the South African government to attend a major Indaba in Paris from November 20 to 25 between the ANC and nearly 200 key figures from across the SA political spectrum.

This unprecedented event, thought to be the brainchild of President Francois Mitterrand, was confirmed by sources close to the French Foreign Ministry, French anti-apartheid groups and the ANC.

An organiser of the In-

daba, which is being wholly financed by the French government, said it would be a fitting climax to the 200th anniversary celebrations of the French Revolution.

It will bring the most senior members of the ANC face-to-face with the most prominent personalities — both black and white — of the SA political arena and increase global pressure for meaningful talks between the ANC and Pretoria.

To page 2

From page 1

CAP/6 Tint 3/10/87 (11/1)

## Paris Indaba

The delegates will include members of the SA government, Afrikaner business, the tricameral Parliament, the UDF, Inkatha, the Mass Democratic Movement, organised labour, the legal profession, banking and the clergy.

On the provisional guest list are government ministers Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrikse, MDM leader Mr Murphy Morobe, NUM president Mr Cyril Rhamaphosa, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly, Rembrandt chairman Dr Anton Rupert, rugby entrepreneur Mr Louis Luyt, Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris

Stals and clergymen the Rev Frank Chikane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu

The organisers are still feverishly working on what they describe as the "incredible logistical effort" of bringing together so many people.

The ANC is thought to have sounded out the Broederbond on eventual participation at the secret meeting that took place in London at the weekend.

The Indaba will run for five days, and will include debate on the recent OAU peace proposals on SA, ANC constitutional proposals, the SA Law Commission Report, the view of the SA government on the negotiation process and the SA economy.

The main aim of the French government is to bridge the gap between

black political aspirations and white fears, said an official.

"The fears of white South Africans, especially Afrikaners, is a crucial issue that has to be addressed before any meaningful negotiations about eventual black government can take place," he said.

This Indaba dwarfs anything undertaken by any government or political organisation since the much-talked-about Dakar meeting between the ANC and SA representatives.

© There was no comment from State President FW de Klerk last night. A spokesman for his office said Mr De Klerk was unlikely to react to the latest initiative till he had seen details of the proposal.



# FW, NP 'not involved in ANC talks'

PRETORIA — President F'W de Klerk yesterday dissociated himself and his government from talks which took place at the weekend between a number of prominent Afrikaner leaders and the ANC in Britain

According to reports, the group of Afrikaner leaders included Mr De Klerk's brother, Dr Wimpe de Klerk; Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange, Professor Willie Esterhuysen, head of the department of Political Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, and Professor Sampie Terblanche, prominent Stellenbosch economics professor

President De Klerk said in a statement that the government was not involved "directly or in-

directly" in the discussions and did not approve of them

In London, the ANC yesterday said its secret talks on Sunday with Afrikaner intellectuals had given the white South Africans a better understanding of ANC goals

"We think it was a useful contribution to clearing up some misconceptions," an ANC spokesman said "People who come expecting to find bush fighters, their faces twisted in terror, in fact find sensible human beings who care about the future of their country"

The spokesman stressed that this was a meeting "with Afrikaner

To page 2

From page 1

## FW on talks intellectuals, not Broederbond

"We've had 20 meetings with Afrikaner intellectuals in recent years, in various places, most of them unpublished. This only aroused so much attention because of the press reports that we were meeting Broederbond."

President De Klerk's full statement to Sapa read: "The government was not involved, directly or indirectly, in the discussions which, according to reports, took place over the weekend between a number of prominent South Africans and the ANC.

"On June 22, 1989, I clearly stated the government's viewpoint on discussions involving a variety of groups who, without a mandate or ac-

countability, try to enter into dialogue with the ANC.

"However well it may be intended, the general result of such discussions is that they are exploited by the ANC and others to conceal the true nature of revolutionary organisations, and to promote an undeserved image of reasonableness of these organisations.

"Participants in discussions of this nature play into the hands of forces which are still intent on destabilising South Africa and on destroying good order.

"It is, pre-eminently, the responsibility of the government of the Republic of South Africa to investigate the situation of banned organisations vis-a-vis peaceful negotiations and, in this light, to evaluate and regulate their legal position." — Sapa-Reuter

cialists disbanded the notorious Koevoet police unit and returned them to commu-

five DTA supporters were attacked at a general store and bar — known as a cuca

rested another man, Mr Johan Co questioning on the attacks

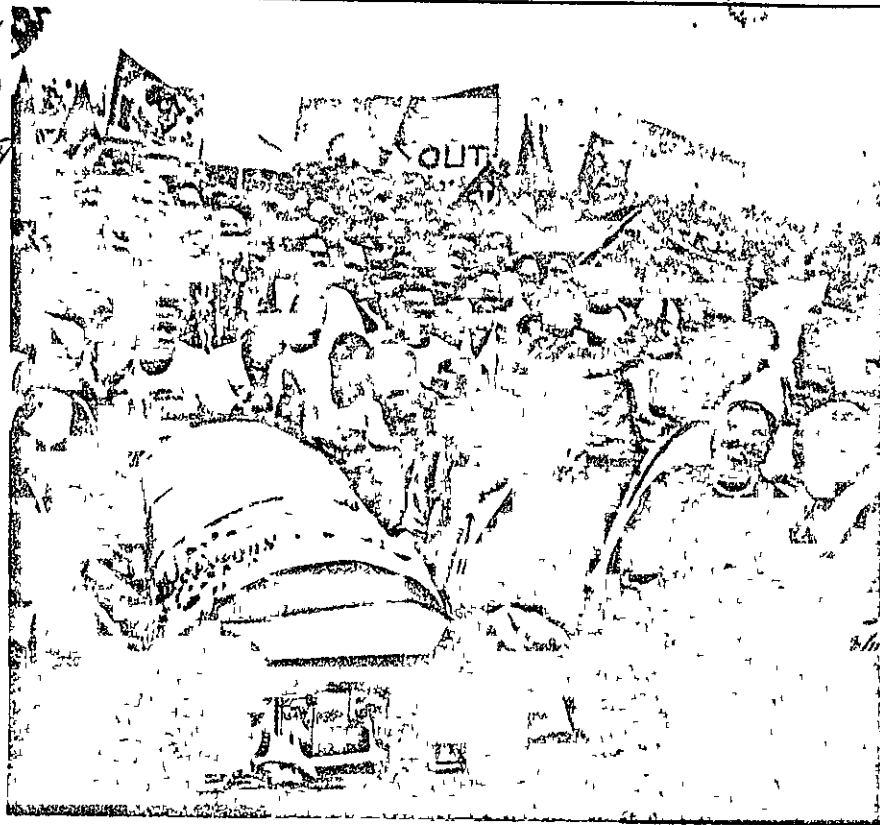
# 25 000 march in Umtata

*CAF 3/10/87*  
*11/12*  
*11/11*

**JOHANNESBURG**  
An estimated 25 000 people demanded clemency for two condemned ANC guerillas yesterday in the largest protest march ever held in Transkei

The marchers, most of them schoolchildren paraded peacefully through the centre of Umtata. Some carried ANC flags and placards urging the release of the two guerillas

The protest came a day after Transkei's military leader, Major General Bantu Holomisa, declared at a funeral service that he would consider holding a referendum to let homeland voters decide if they wanted to rejoin South Africa — Sapa-AP



**FINAL REST ...**  
Amid a blaze of colour, the remains of the late Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo are interred at Bambane, Transkei, at the weekend.

Picture ERIC MILLER

*ent. 11.30*  
*olite) wreaks hav.*  
*a Beverly*

once had ar- | number and moved that ago. He had just re-  
Coetzee, for | a man in his situation turned from studying in  
can still think about in- | the United States.

# Prof De Klerk is likely to brief FW

CM 1 T/15 3/10/81 114

## Political Correspondent

AS both the ANC and a group of prominent Afrikaners moved to play down the significance of their weekend meeting in London, Matie rector Prof Mike de Vries has categorically denied that he was involved in the initiative

And the University of Stellenbosch's Professor Willie Esterhuysen, who did participate in the "proximity" talks, said the prominent Afrikaners attending the meeting were not doing so on behalf of either the government or the Broederbond.

But most significance is being attached to the presence at the talks of President F W de Klerk's brother, Professor Wimpie de Klerk

Professor De Klerk, who has vacillated between scathing

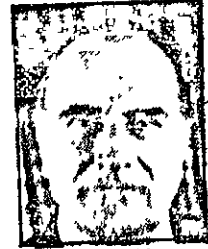
criticism of the government and pleas to "give FW a chance", will almost certainly brief his brother on the outcome of the talks upon his return to South Africa

Professor De Klerk, who is said to have been upset by the National Party attempts to discredit groups interested in talking with the banned organisation before the election, is well placed to serve as a go-between for the government and the ANC

Surprise and significance is also being attached to the presence at the talks of the new editor-elect of the Burger, Mr Ebbe Dommissie

In the run-up to last month's election, the Burger published scathing leading articles condemning the Democratic Party for its "ANC connections".

2/10/89 (11A) STAR  
**Govt unlikely to attend the Paris 'indaba'**



President Mitterrand force behind summit

The Star's Foreign News Service and Political Correspondent

The South African Government seems unlikely to attend the major "indaba" with the ANC which is being organised in Paris

Cabinet Ministers Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe are on the huge guest list for the indaba, according to reports from Paris

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today that as of late yesterday evening the Government had received no invitation to the indaba

But his reaction indicated it was unlikely the Government would attend

He said "SA's problems ought to be solved by South Africans inside South Africa"

President Mitterrand is behind the planning of the major peace summit on South Africa, involving all concerned parties, diplomatic sources revealed today

The summit venue is likely to be Versailles, and the date about mid-November, on the eve of the annual Franco-African summit which is usually held at the beginning of every December.

The summit was planned to include SA Cabinet Ministers, parliamentarians and intellectuals who would face ANC leaders and such personalities as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

President Mitterrand and selected French Ministers would attend, and also four or five African leaders. President Kaunda of Zambia and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast are being mentioned, as well as President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire

The summit would also include observers from the United States and the Soviet Union

President de Klerk would be invited, and so naturally would Foreign Minister Mr Botha. But the French side would also like to see NP member Mr Glenn Babb in the SA delegation, for he speaks fluent French and knows the scene here

President Mitterrand's chief aides in arranging this summit are his wife, Danielle, and his youngest son, Jean-Christophe

She founded the France-Liberte Association in 1982 which has close links with Africa. For several years one of her closest aides was Breyten Breytenbach

Jean-Christophe is at present his father's chief adviser on African affairs. Ten years ago he was a foreign correspondent in West Africa for Agence France Presse

3/10/89  
**School wants to question Clase**

By Peter Fabricius and Sue Valentine

Representatives of the Johannesburg High School for Girls want to question Minister of Education and Culture Mr Piet Clase before deciding the school's fate

No final decision was taken at last night's meeting of the management council and the Save Our School (SOS) Committee

SOS Committee chairman Ms Sharon Bond said the school's management council would prepare the questions to put to Mr Clase

Ms Bond said most of the questions were on the issue of the school choosing to become a non-racial school in a free settlement area

To what extent the Government would subsidise it also needed clarification

The Johannesburg High School for Girls really has only two immediate options - to apply to become a private school under present policy with a maximum subsidy of 45 percent or to be transferred to another education department, according to Government sources

Asked to clarify official policy on multiracial schools, the sources conceded it was not a practical option for the school to apply for its neighbourhood to be declared a free settlement area

Even if the area did become a free settlement area this would not take place before the end of the year, too late for the 1989

3/10/89  
**865 workers reinstated**

The Industrial Court yesterday reinstated 865 Sasol workers, basing its decision on the legitimacy of the strike which led to their dismissal

**Restrictions**

# PAC boss says marches are futile

11A  
Sawelaw  
2/10/89

THE ailing president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, yesterday explained his condemnation of the recent spate of State approved marches.

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**

He also revealed that he had tuberculosis.

Mothopeng said that he admired the courage and readiness of the masses to be mobilised but feared the marches were futile. "How much closer to liberation did they bring the oppressed?" He asked rhetorically at a Press briefing yesterday, provoking laughter and a round of applause from a large contingent of followers.

While doctors at Charing Cross Hospital were treating him for throat cancer they told him that he had tuberculosis, he said. It was later in Zimbabwe discovered that Mothopeng had fluid in his right lung and it was drained. The doctors in London told him that the disease had started four to five years earlier.

"I was surprised, because in that time I had been through so many doctors here at home," he said. He said that many people have been found to suffer from this disease after their release from South African jails.

This prompted the start of a campaign by the PAC and the International Red Cross of which the aim was to launch a system where after every five

years of imprisonment medical examinations should be conducted on prisoners, he said.

Mothopeng's wife underwent an operation on her hip in Zimbabwe after surgery and treatment for a number of years in South Africa failed to ameliorate her condition.

When asked about the Africanist's position on the *Contérence - for a Democratic Future*, Mothopeng said (to applause and laughter from the gallery). "The PAC is a banned organisation and I don't think the UDF would invite them."

Mothopeng seemed ignorant of the CDF and was assisted by an aid, Mr Benny Alexander, who explained to the PAC president what it was. Another question of which Mothopeng's response was thoroughly enjoyed by the crowded gallery was, whether he would consider having another meeting as the one arranged after his release had been banned.

Alexander said that the first meeting was to welcome the ailing president of the PAC, home after 10 years and another would not be necessary.

# PAC leader: No talks at this stage

CAPT  
T17/5  
3/10/89  
114

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiations between the South African government and black leaders, with the political balance of power as it stands today, approximates a master and slave relationship, Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Zeph Mothopeng told a news conference here yesterday.

"Uncle Zeph", as he is called by his followers, said nothing had been done to warrant negotiations at this stage. "We need to negotiate on equal grounds," he said

"No dictator abdicates there is nothing new about negotiations The tricameral Parliament and the bantustans are the result of negotiations so go and negotiate if you want to," he said to laughter

Mr Mothopeng, who has just returned from a trip to Britain and the United States, said he had also addressed an ad-hoc meeting of the frontline states in Zimbabwe

At the conference, he had not argued to stop the ANC from negotiating, he said

"But generally these (negotiations) include arm-twisting, which my or-

ganisation does not tolerate

"My task is to continue to unite the people under the banner of African nationalism

"The campaign for sanctions must be put into the hands of the toiling masses they must decide, not the capitalists and the financiers"

Referring to the defiance campaign mounted by the so-called Mass Democratic Movement, the PAC president said that what had undermined some of the marches was the fact that permission had been sought

"My mind is liberated If I call a meeting it must be under the understanding that I am not going to ask for permission

"I am not blaming the masses It only shows they are ready for action But our struggle is just beginning"

The defiance campaigners had let Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and State President F W de Klerk "off the hook"

The campaign had allowed Mr De Klerk, in granting permission for some of the marches, to appear as "a great statesman"

Mr Mothopeng said he did not have a problem with marching as a form of protest, but the objective of the march was important — Sapa

# PAC man to serve 10 years in jail

3/10/89  
Sowetan

By SONTI  
MASEKO

CONVICTED Pan Africanist Congress man Vusumuzi Wellington Mandoyi was sentenced to an effective 10 years imprisonment for terrorism in the Johannesburg Regional Court

Mandoyi, who was also convicted on two counts of belonging to an unlawful organisation, was sentenced to a further two years on each count

The prison terms for membership of the PAC will run concurrently with the sentence for terrorism.

After the sentence Mandoyi turned to face the public gallery and giving a salute, shouted "Izwe lethu", to which the people responded, "Africa".

The magistrate, Mr S J Lombard, said that two witnesses who testified against Mandoyi, Mr Sidney Nhlapho and Mr X3, would be released from police custody and would not be prosecuted.

The witnesses, one a PAC defector and another an accomplice in one of the offences for which Mandoyi was convicted, were earlier warned that if they testified satisfactorily they would be exempted from prosecution.

## Handgrenade

Mr Lombard said the court had to consider that Mandoyi was a member of the PAC for 10 years, was trained militarily, and had brought weapons into the country with the intention of using them against the police.

Referring to an incident last year in which it was testified that Mandoyi threw a handgrenade which exploded and injured a policeman, Mr Lombard said that showed that Mandoyi not only stated the intention to use his weapons but he also fulfilled the intention.

"That the handgrenade did not kill the policeman was not through your will. A trained person like you knew what harm it could cause. You had the intention to seriously injure or kill," Mr Lombard said

Pleading in mitigation, defence lawyer Mr B Ngoepe asked the court to consider the circumstances that led Mandoyi, who was a school dropout and had a temporary job paying him R20 a week, to leave the country. His frustration with the political situation at that time had made him easily recruitable into politics, he said.

# Cautious nod for US, cold shoulder for French indaba

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa today gave a low-key response to moves in the United States, Britain and France to facilitate or speed negotiations on the removal of apartheid.

The Bush administration's fullest policy statement on South Africa to date — which includes opposition to the further use of sanctions to speed negotiations — has been cautiously welcomed.

But there has been a chilly response to a French move, apparently backed by President Francois Mitterrand, to hold a major conference in Paris in November of more than 200 key South Africans, including government and ANC members, as part of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

## "OWN BUSINESS"

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha indicated that the government was unlikely to take part in negotiations sponsored by another government in another country.

He said that by late yesterday he had received no indication of an invitation to a French-organised conference.

But, he said, South Africa's problems "ought to be solved by South Africans inside South Africa."

Mr Botha said the Bush administration's report to Congress on the results of 1986 sanctions legislation was "in line with the reaction or response of a number of other countries, namely that South Africans should now be able to work out solutions for themselves."

## "DOOR OPEN"

He added. "Our State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has made it clear that the door is open for negotiations and trust that responsible South African leaders will realise that all of us — not only National Party leaders, but all leaders — have an historic opportunity to come to the conference table."

The low-key response comes on the heels of a statement by President F W de Klerk, rapping individual South Africans for holding discussions with the

ANC and saying it is the responsibility of the government to decide on peaceful negotiations with banned organisations as well as to decide on their legal position

Mr Botha declined to comment on a newspaper report on an interview given by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to four black South African journalists in which she again voiced her opposition to apartheid and sanctions

She also said she would not come to South Africa until people like ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been released.

Mr Botha said he could not comment on newspaper reports but added that the government was giving "serious and continuous attention" to the release of security prisoners



**Supreme Court Reporter**  
A WITNESS yesterday told the Supreme Court that minutes after he had seen police opening fire from crates on the back of a truck, he and other people who had sought refuge on a stoep, were arrested on a charge of public violence.

This was said by Mr Rodney Crowley, a quantity surveyor, who was giving evidence in the trial of 13 security forces members who have been charged with murder following the death of Mr Shaun Magmoed in the "Trojan Horse" incident.

Mr Crowley, of St Simon's Road, Athlone, said he and other family members were in their lounge on October 15, 1985 when his sister reported that something must be happening because people were

# Arrested man 'hid on stoep'

*Cape Times 18/10/85*  
streaming towards the intersection of St Simon's and Thornton roads.

He and two other people walked to the corner but because he did not want to be part of the crowd, he had gone inside a corner property.

"I heard someone say a rail-ways truck was approaching and I was still on the pathway when I

ance from around the corner. The truck was stoned.

"Then I saw people jumping out of crates on the back of the truck and open fire into the crowd. I ran for cover on the stoep and people were running in all directions," Mr Crowley said.

When the shooting had stopped, he hid on the stoep in a crouching position along with about five other people for about three minutes.

One of the accused, Sergeant Frank van Niekérk, approached the house and saw the people on the stoep. He ordered them to go to the corner.

They were later charged with public violence and subsequently acquitted, Mr Crowley said. The trial continues today.

*[Faint, illegible text and markings]*

2/089 801

## Further meetings planned

By Chris Whitfield,  
The Star Bureau

**LONDON —** The African National Congress is planning more meetings with South Africans, including two with large groups early next year.

A spokesman for the ANC's London office said these included a meeting with more than 100 Afrikaner women planned for January in Amsterdam.

Another large meeting with Afrikaner intellectuals was being planned for early next year but the spokesman could not give details at present.

Several smaller meetings with white South Africans, such as that in London at the weekend, had been scheduled for the next few months.

"It is a policy of ours to have meetings with Afrikaners so that they can see what we are all about," he said. "People who come expecting to find bush fighters, their faces twisted in terror, in fact find sensible human beings who care about the future of their country."

He said the only reason the latest meeting had aroused attention was because of press reports speculating that the banned organisation was talking to Broederbond officials.

# PAC leader says time not yet ripe for negotiations

By Patrick Laurence

(11A)

In his first public appearance since his return from overseas, Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Zephania Mothopeng yesterday adopted a hard line against negotiations for the foreseeable future

Mr Mothopeng (76) returned to South Africa at the weekend after spending six months in Britain, the United States and Zimbabwe, where he was treated for throat cancer and tuberculosis.

He was greeted with cries of "Afrika, Izwe-lethu" (Africa, the land is ours) A founder member of the PAC with Robert Sobukwe, he was unconditionally freed from jail last year

He told journalists, diplomats and admirers he considered that the time for negotiations had not yet arrived

"Negotiation involves many things, one of which — which is important — is the timing of it," he said before reeling off a series of questions.

"We have to upgrade our people so that they are on an equal footing with the oppressor, so that we can meet on equal terms."

Mr Mothopeng had a stern message for his followers. Negotiations were not new in South Africa, they had led, in the past, to the "bantustan system" and to the tricameral Parliament.

Referring to the future, he said "We expect a call for an intensification of the struggle from everybody, including the international bodies."

Mr Mothopeng was critical of the mass marches undertaken by the organisers of the current defiance campaign, he asked how marching from St Mary's Cathedral to John Vorster Square and back contributed to liberation of the people. They were, in fact, a coup for Mr de Klerk, enabling him to claim that civil rights had not been crushed in the country

message

By mid-morning buses were still arriving. At least five busloads of Cape Town people, and several minibuses and private cars, went to the rally, a source within the Mass Democratic Movement said.

Diplomats representing 15 embassies attended the rally.

The British embassy, represented by acting consul-general Mr. Norman Ling, said the opportunity for the ANC leadership to speak to their people was long overdue and allowing the rally was a welcome move on the part of the government.

In his speech, Mr. Sisulu said that from its inception the ANC had been committed to peace and negotiation.

But there could be no question of the ANC unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle. So far, there was no clear indication that the government was serious about negotiations. All its utterances were vague, he said.

Mr. Sisulu said the government's talk about ethnic elections to choose the leaders of black people was unacceptable. The ANC was looking forward to the election of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

To page 3

# PAM to join talks on SA future

11A  
Soweto  
11/10/89

**THE Pan Africanist Movement has decided to take part in the historic Conference for a Democratic Future which has been rescheduled for December.**

The movement's national consultative conference decided at a meeting attended by 300 delegates in Soweto that the PAM would participate as a full member of the conference's convening committee.

In a statement, the movement said it wished to clarify its posi-

**By THEMBA MOLEFE**

tion on a politically negotiated settlement and the context in which it arose

"We are currently drafting a comprehensive document outlining our position and programme

"We took a decision on mass action and decided to only involve ourselves and support campaigns to which we are invited, if such campaigns strengthen the fighting capacity of the

masses in their struggle for the repossession of the land and the establishment of a socialist democracy," the statement said.

Meanwhile, the co-convenor of the Conference, Mr Haroon Patel, said the meeting had been postponed to December 9 and 10 after it was originally scheduled for October 6

Patel said the meeting would be held in Johannesburg and the postponement was decided upon after the organisers felt every organisation should be allowed enough time to prepare and

ensure the success of the conference.

"The convening committee calls upon our people and supporters locally and internationally to continue demanding that the Government allow the will of our people to be realised in the Conference for a Democratic Future," said Patel

The Black Consciousness Movement and organisations embraced in the Mass Democratic Movement have indicated they would participate in the meeting

# Mbeki-Cohen talks 'positive and useful'

WASHINGTON. — US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen met Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC for an hour on Monday in talks described by a State Department representative as "positive and useful".

The talks were held one day before the administration was expected to announce its formal opposition to further sanctions against South Africa.

The meeting between Mr Cohen and Mr Mbeki, external affairs secretary for the ANC, included discussions about prospects for possible negotiations towards the dismantling of apartheid, the State Department representative said yesterday.

It was characterised as one of a series of continuing contacts with the ANC. For example, Mr Cohen met the ANC last summer during a visit to Southern Africa.

Mr Cohen was scheduled to appear on Capitol Hill yesterday to discuss US policy towards SA.

His appearance coincided with the release of the annual report by the administration on the results of its sanctions against South Africa.

Before the report was available on Capitol Hill, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was already reacting to it in Pretoria, saying "We are encouraged by this statement by President Bush". — Sapa-Reuter

UCLA

CAP 11/1/87 4/1/87

# Paris Indaba snagged by press reports

**JOHANNESBURG** — The proposed Indaba to be held in France between 100 South Africans, including the ANC and government officials, is in the balance after reports of the conference appeared prematurely in the press yesterday.

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said last night that French officials were to meet this morning to decide whether or not the conference would go forward as planned.

"The French government were very embarrassed about the premature announcement as not all invitations had been

sent."

But in the light of a statement yesterday by State President F W de Klerk, the government is, however, unlikely to allow official representation.

The French Indaba was proposed by the liberal France Liberte organisation, headed by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president, which also helped to organise the controversial Dakar safari to the ANC.

A senior spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed the department was not aware of any invita-

tion by the French government to the Indaba.

Idasa was approached several months ago to help the French put the conference together. Dr Boraine said the conference was to form part of the 200th anniversary celebrations of the French Revolution.

The invited delegates include representatives from the government, Afrikaner business, the UDF, Inkatha, the Mass Democratic Movement, organised labour, the legal profession, banking and the clergy.

Meanwhile, our London correspondent reports that the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation has strongly intimated that the Paris Indaba may happen sooner than the originally scheduled dates of 20th-25th November.

There were differing opinions in political and business circles as to whether Mrs Mitterrand has stolen British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's thunder and wrested the political initiative on South Africa from her.

— Own Correspondent

# Inkatha at new European indaba

ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON — Within hours of official confirmation yesterday of the Paris indaba, it emerged that a conference on SA featuring Inkatha — possibly even leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as Soviet African experts and businessmen from EC countries — would take place at the weekend in Saarbrücken, West Germany

It is being organised by the Dutch-based Foundation for Economic and International Co-operation, described as non-aligned but with strong Inkatha links

Meanwhile, the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation, which confirmed it was organising the Paris indaba, has strongly intimated the date may be brought forward from the scheduled November 20-25

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports, however, that the indaba was in the balance after premature reports about it

Last night Idasa executive director Alex Boraine, confirming the organisation had been approached some months ago for assistance, said "The French government was very embarrassed about the premature announcement as not all invitations had been sent"

Sapa reported yesterday that Foreign Affairs in Pretoria had said the department was aware of no invitation by the French government to the SA government.

Comment: Page 12

10am 4/10/87

11B



By AGGREY  
KLAASTE

LONDON - British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told four black South African journalists she would not visit South Africa unless Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released and a climate for negotiation had been created.

The journalists were Mrs Nomavenda Mathwane, of *Frontline* magazine, Mr Khulu Sibuya, editor of *City Press*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan* and Mr Sipho Ngcobo of *Business Day*.

The journalists were

# Release Mandela says Thatcher

However, the meeting was a historic one for the South African journalists because this was the first head of state outside South Africa interviewed by black South African journalists.

The meeting lasted an hour.

Thatcher fielded ques-

tions dealing with sanctions, her relationship with black political organisations, the release of Mandela and others, and her government's attitude to the SA Government under Mr F W de Klerk.

She said the British government was giving De Klerk a chance to

move the country towards a negotiated settlement. She said his Government was under severe international pressure to change some of the fundamental apartheid policies, including the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act.

"I have made very

clear my strong opposition to all racially discriminatory legislation. Such legislation is profoundly repugnant to us. People's futures must not be determined by their race and of course they should be able to live where they want according to their means," she said.

On the question of negotiations she said she knew of no black person who would go to the negotiating table unless Mandela was released.

The journalists had handed the Prime Minister a list of prepared questions, but they were able to ask other questions.

# Angola: How SA was 'sucked in'

**F**OR the first time — and 14 years after the event — the South African Defence Force has released its account of what took place during the invasion of Savannah — Angola in 1975 and 1976

**SAVANNAH**  
Operation Savannah marked the beginning of yet another phase of the Angolan civil war with South Africa throwing its weight behind Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita resistance movement and the Cubans arriving in aid of the defacto rulers of Angola, the MPLA. This led to conventional confrontations between South African and Cuban forces in southern Angola and the extended conflict only ended with the American-backed peace accord between Pretoria, Havana and Luanda earlier this year.

Details of Operation Savannah and how the Pretoria/Unita link was engineered were kept secret from the South African public at the time by the blanket invocation by the government of the secrecy clauses of the Defence Act. Despite widespread publication abroad, details inside South Africa have remained scarce.

This week's revelations are in a book published by the SADF's Department of Public Relations and written by Prof F J du Toit Spies, a Pretoria University-trained historian and formerly a cultural attaché at the South African embassy in Brussels.

**Early objectives**  
As the official chronicle of the campaign Prof Spies had access to the SADF's archives and, thereby, to much previously-unpublished material. It is a tale of how South Africa inexorably became sucked into the Angolan conflict.

South Africa's initial concern was to safeguard the hydro-electric and irrigation scheme at Ruacana/Cauecre partly paid for by South

**Reports by Deon du Plessis, Deputy Editor**

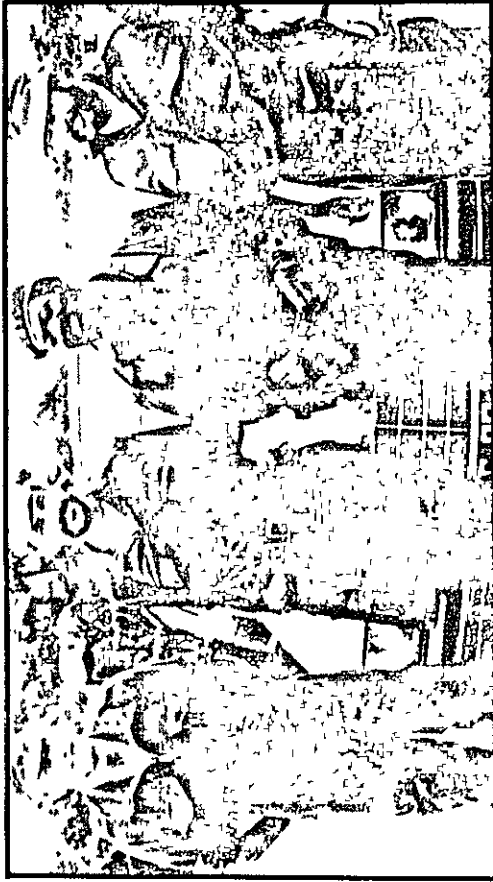
By early 1975 Dr Savimbi had received 402 machine carbines, 100 pistols, 95 000 rounds of ammunition and 200 000 US dollars (then about R143 000).

More meetings followed in March and April of 1975 — and in places as diverse as Gaborone, London and Paris — between Dr Savimbi and the Bureau for State Security. Dr Savimbi pledged now to do all he could to prevent Swapo incursions from southern Angola into Namibia and in return he asked South Africa for light weapons for 8 000 men, a radio transmitter in Nova Lusoba (later Huambo) and financial assistance. These requests were passed on to then Prime Minister John Vorster.

### R20 m in 2 days

At about the same time the South African embassy in London was visited by Holden Roberto, leader of the FNLA who was already receiving assistance from the American Central Intelligence Agency. Roberto was also looking for assistance in his power struggles against the MPLA and, specifically, he asked the South Africans for four million American dollars to buy a half share in a Luanda daily newspaper. His option to buy, however, lapsed before any decision was taken whether or not to help him.

On June 26 1975 the Defence Force presented its Minister, P W Botha, with a memorandum which he passed on to the Prime Minister. It laid out four Angolan options for South Africa ranging from lending support to a united front of the FNLA and Unita in order to create a bulwark against communist expansion in the country to doing nothing and allowing the ascendancy of a communist-uninclined government in



**TOGETHERNESS** With Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, second from right is Comdt A J Snyman, SADF liaison officer Comdt P Lombard, and right Comdt A P R Carstens. Below A Unita soldier gives direction to South African armoured personnel in an armoured car equipped with a 90mm cannon.

were not able stand against the MPLA and the Cubans without much greater help. That MPLA armour was not going to be destroyed in a "one-off" operation. And that the South Africans were going to need far more armoured protection if they were to be kept as safe as higher authority was insisting they must be.

In consequence on October 9, a force of 22 Eland armoured cars plus back-up vehicles was ordered to leave Special Service Battalion headquarters in Bloemfontein and make for the Angolan border. Between October 17 and 22 the armoured cars and their crews were flown from the border to Silva Porto where they joined up with Unita forces.

It was the beginning of an escalation process which, by early December 1975, would lead to Battle Group Alpha at Novo Redondo, Battle

Group Beaver at Lobito, Task Force Zulu incorporating Battle Groups Foxbat and Bravo on the central front, Battle Group X-Ray at Silva Porto which later departed in the direction of Luso and Texeira de Sousa. Battle Group Orange arrived in Silva Porto on December 8 and departed in the northern direction for Mussende and Malanje.

And despite the pullback, decided upon at the Oubos holiday home of Premier Vorster on December 30 1975 when it became clear that the Americans were not going to support the allied front with as much enthusiasm as had originally been hoped and that South Africa was going to have to go it entirely alone if the campaign were to be carried to outright victory, it was a foray which was to cause reverberations throughout southern Africa and set the tone for the decade and a half of war that was to follow.

## The cost — in lives and cash

**T**HIRTY five members of the SADF died during Operation Savannah, according to Professor F J Spies' official history of the campaign.

He notes that there are no reliable figures of how many Angolan soldiers died in the conflict. Twenty eight honours crux medals for gallantry were won during the campaign including two in the gold class to Second Lieutenants Christoffel Hendrik De Wet and David Eric Wessels, both of the Corps of Engineers.

The cost of the campaign, including the R20 million spent on arms for the FNLA and Unita, was R89,9 million — calculated in rands of 1976.

The Department of Defence spent an additional R1,2 million looking after the needs of Angolan refugees who fled south during the fighting of 1975 and 1976.

## The navy was ready

**A** hitherto generally unknown aspect of the 1975/6 campaign in Angola was the role played by the South African Navy.

Two frigates, the President Kruger and the President Steyn, with the supply ship Tafelberg, were prepared in great secrecy for a five-point mission.

- To mount a guard off the Angolan coast.
- To be prepared for a possible evacuation of SADF people from Angola.
- To supply support fire, if necessary, to troops on land.
- To escort supply ships to the Angolan port of Lobito.
- And to mount defence, if necessary, against enemy landings along the coast.

In the middle of November 1975 the submarine Maria van Riebeeck was sent to Walvis Bay, partly to assist with the transport of members of the Reconnaissance Commando on a clandestine mission aimed at the power station at Dondo near Luanada. This plan, according to

the official record, was never carried out.

On November 5 the President Kruger under Captain Roy Kingon left Cape Town for Walvis Bay. From there, under conditions of radar and radio silence, she steamed northwards to within 15 or 20 sea miles of the mouth of the Cunene River.

After three weeks the President Steyn, under the command of Captain Sam Davis, relieved the President Kruger. Both ships were supplied by the Tafelberg which in turn, fetched its supplies from Walvis Bay to where they were flown in from the Cape.

The official record notes that Naval intelligence was hampered by a shortage of experienced officers. "Up to only a few months before the commencement of the naval operation information was mainly gathered from senior British naval officers in South Africa and the American naval attaché. The former source dried up in September/October (of 1975) and after that the navy was entirely dependent upon the latter."

... was to safeguard the hydro-electric and irrigation scheme at Ruacana/Caluque, partly paid for by South Africa but mostly sited inside Angola, from the chaos which was sweeping the territory in the wake of the Portuguese coup in 1974

From there South Africa was presented with the choice of backing one of the warring nationalist factions inside Angola — Unita, the MPLA and the FNLA — to ensure, from Pretoria's point of view, the greatest measure of eventual stability in the country. The first choice fell upon Unita — mainly because of Dr Savimbi's personal appeal and because of his movement's bitter opposition to the avowedly-communist MPLA.

It soon became evident, though, that supplying weapons to Unita was not enough. Unita's rag-tag followers had to be taught how to use them. As the war inside Angola hotbedded the decision to beef up Unita's South African-trained forces with South African units was, as Prof Spies shows, just a short step away.

### Another Vietnam

"It has been shown many times that the manner in which South Africa became involved in the Angolan war corresponded with the manner in which the United States became involved in the Vietnam war. Presumably the American experience in Vietnam escaped the South African decision makers when, in July 1975, they landed in a similar boat," he writes.

By the middle of 1974 the South African authorities were slowly being persuaded that Dr Savimbi was their best bet in Angola. The Unita leader had already, through agents, inquired whether South Africa was prepared to donate him weapons for his struggle against the rival movements. General Hendrik van den Bergh, then head of the Bureau for State Security, did not, reports Prof Spies, believe it desirable to help Unita at that time. But then Defence Minister P W Botha — "to preserve the goodwill of Unita" — gave permission for a small amount of weaponry to be handed over.

This happened at Rundu on October 9 1974 and the shipment involved consisted of 10 9mm machine carbines, 50 9mm pistols and 6 000 rounds of ammunition. It was the first trickle of what would become a flood of South African aid to Unita.

In February 1975 the then head of military intelligence, General H du Toit, met Dr Savimbi in the Angolan town of Luso (later to become Luena). Dr Savimbi was closely questioned on his attitudes to whites remaining in Angola and to Swapo with which his movement had cooperated for years through the liberation war against the Portuguese.

Satisfied with his answers, the South Africans opened the weapons floodgate a little

expansion in the country to doing nothing and allowing the ascendancy of a communist-inclined government in Angola which would benefit Swapo.

It was decided at a meeting in John Vorster's office in June 1975 to explore the possibilities of aiding a united FNLA/Unita front.

A committee headed by General van den Bergh was charged with assembling a list of weapons which the allied front would need. The price tag was R20-million and the recommendation was that the weapons should all be bought abroad because of the clandestine nature of the operation.

### Not enough

On July 14 1975 General Van den Bergh, General R F Armstrong, chief of staff of the Air Force and Mr Brand Fourie, then secretary general of foreign affairs, went to see Prime Minister Vorster who was on a hunting holiday near Mafikeng. The Prime Minister gave his permission that the R20-million be spent.

Within two days General Van den Bergh was in Paris and shortly thereafter he let it be known he had procured the weapons which would be sent to Angola by ship.

It now became clear that the weapons were not going to be enough. The FNLA and Unita recruits were going to have to be trained how to use them. Commandant D J Breytenbach, founder of 1 Reconnaissance Commando, was put in charge of a training project by the end of August 1975.

It was decided to mount the training at the Angolan settlement of Mpupa and the project in fact started on September 15 1975. The FNLA recruits were told they were being trained by mercenaries. But in a message at the time to Defence Headquarters, Commandant Breytenbach was already saying "I believe that the success of the operation depends on good control to the lowest levels — ie white South African control and logistical support."

Commandant Breytenbach would not have long to wait.

By October 1975 another training camp had been opened at Serpa Pinto and a South African liaison officer had been installed there. Shortly afterwards a third training depot was started at Capolo about 60 kilometres away.

A three-phase plan was now in operation. Phase one was to enable the FNLA and Unita to hang on to the territory they already controlled, phase two was to enable the allies drive the MPLA out of the south-western corner of Angola including the cities of Mocimadas, Sa da Bandeira, Lobito and Benguela and phase three was for the allies to establish control over the entire length of the Benguela railway line which bisected Angola, linking Benguela port to Zambia in the east.

All this had to happen before November 11 1975, the

diers, citizen force as well as permanent force men, were called on to help.

They were expected to sign a declaration that they were serving voluntarily. "What it came down to was that they undertook to serve outside (South Africa's) borders in the guise of mercenaries, therefore without identity or under false identity."

"They were also in borrowed feathers. Men who had been disciplined for years to be proud of the SADF uniform were suddenly confronted with Portuguese camouflage or, even worse, with green uniforms of unknown origin.

The SADF's practical bush hat had to make way for a tiny Portuguese cap and boots had to make way for canvas shoes, also of unrecognisable origin. The signing of the voluntary service certificate also made some of them feel that in case of trouble they would not be able to depend on the help of the government.

There were also others who refused to sign. They were men who were convinced that as professional soldiers they automatically had to carry out the wishes of the South African government."

This first battle group left Silva Porto for war on October 3 1975. It consisted of three missile carriers with South African crews, three armoured cars with South African crews, a Land Rover equipped with twin 0.50 cal Browning machine guns and manned by members of the South African Special Services Battalion, a Land Cruiser equipped with an anti-aircraft machinegun and manned by Unita, two 20-ton Mercedes trucks to carry supplies, a 106mm recoilless cannon crewed by Unita, a Unita infantry battalion and Dr Jonas Savimbi in his Land Rover with his bodyguards in two white Volkswagens, one in front and one behind.

### Direct hit

The South Africans were supposed to be there to ensure that their wire-guided missiles would wipe out all enemy armour on the road to Lobito. The South Africans were led by Major Louis Holtzhausen who had been a training officer at Capolo and, so far as the South Africans were concerned, their operational involvement was supposed to be a "one-off".

On October 5 near the town of Norton de Matos the column ran into the enemy. The first shot fired at the South African Defence Force in Angola was a direct hit. Major Holtzhausen's command vehicle was knocked out and then a barrage of rockets and mortar bombs descended upon the column. The Unita infantry ran away. Within minutes the South Africans were alone and had to fight their way out of a particularly tight corner.

The battle of Norton de Matos had far-reaching consequences. Major Holtzhausen was able to tell his superiors that the FNLA and Unita

lead to Battle at Novo Rio

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# Public's needs to be studied

*B/D Day 5/10/89*  
A BROAD study into the public transport needs of the central Witwatersrand area has been commissioned by the Department of Transport and is due to be completed by the end of March 1991

The study is being undertaken by Masstran, a consortium formed by four engineering firms — Keeve Steyn Inc, Scott and de Waal Inc, Stanway Edwards Associates Inc and Watermeyer Legge Piesold and Uhlmann

Full details of the study will be released at the end of October

Masstran's Bob Stanway says "All aspects of land use and transport planning are being taken into account

"Special attention is being given to the financial, economic, environmental and social impacts of the transport systems that will be studied.

"Masstran will seek pro-active involvement by interested groups such as commerce and industry, property owners, concerned parties and the general public"

**CHARLOTTE MATHEWS**

The study will focus on the Johannesburg area between Lenasia in the south, Midrand in the north, Krugersdorp in the west and Germiston in the east

The consortium will do its coarse level planning to 1995, but the actual design year, taking into account population growth and employment levels, is targeted at 2005

Although the study is due to be released in 1991, Stanway said the time period for the implementation of the scheme would depend on the extent to which new infrastructural development was needed

If existing systems were used — such as the upgrading of the present bus system — the plan could be implemented sooner

Stanway said the project would be carried out on the basis of free and open communication with all interested groups to avoid the ill-feeling that sometimes occurred on major development projects.

# Unilateral bid for peace in Natal

*B/D Day 5/10/89*  
THE UDF/Cosatu alliance is to go ahead with the Natal peace process whether Inkatha takes part in talks or not

The alliance told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that it believed KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi wanted to use the peace talks to establish a national political position

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said Buthelezi and the Inkatha Central Committee had repeatedly scuttled talks between the delegations of the alliance and Inkatha

Morobe said Inkatha Central Committee had placed a moratorium on talks between Inkatha and the alliance "This has jeopardised existing local initiatives at peace in certain areas even more disturbing is that very serious new areas of violence have opened up Any peace initiatives to solve these problems are blocked by the Inkatha Central Committee decision. Meanwhile, the deaths and injuries escalate once again," he said

The Natal death toll in the last two years

**THEO RAWANA**

has been estimated at 2 000

"Cosatu and the UDF believe that now, more than ever, a peace process must continue We are therefore deeply concerned at the latest position adopted by the Inkatha Central Committee on the peace process and the proposed meeting between Cosatu, the UDF, the ANC and Inkatha

Asked how they hoped to continue peace talks if Inkatha was not included, Numsa education officer Alec Irwin said church, employer, labour and other organisations would take part

Morobe said Inkatha had scuttled previous agreements by not adhering to signed documents, insisting that matters other than the Maritzburg violence being discussed, by taking no action against offenders and raising various objections

No comment could be obtained from Buthelezi's office at the time of going to Press

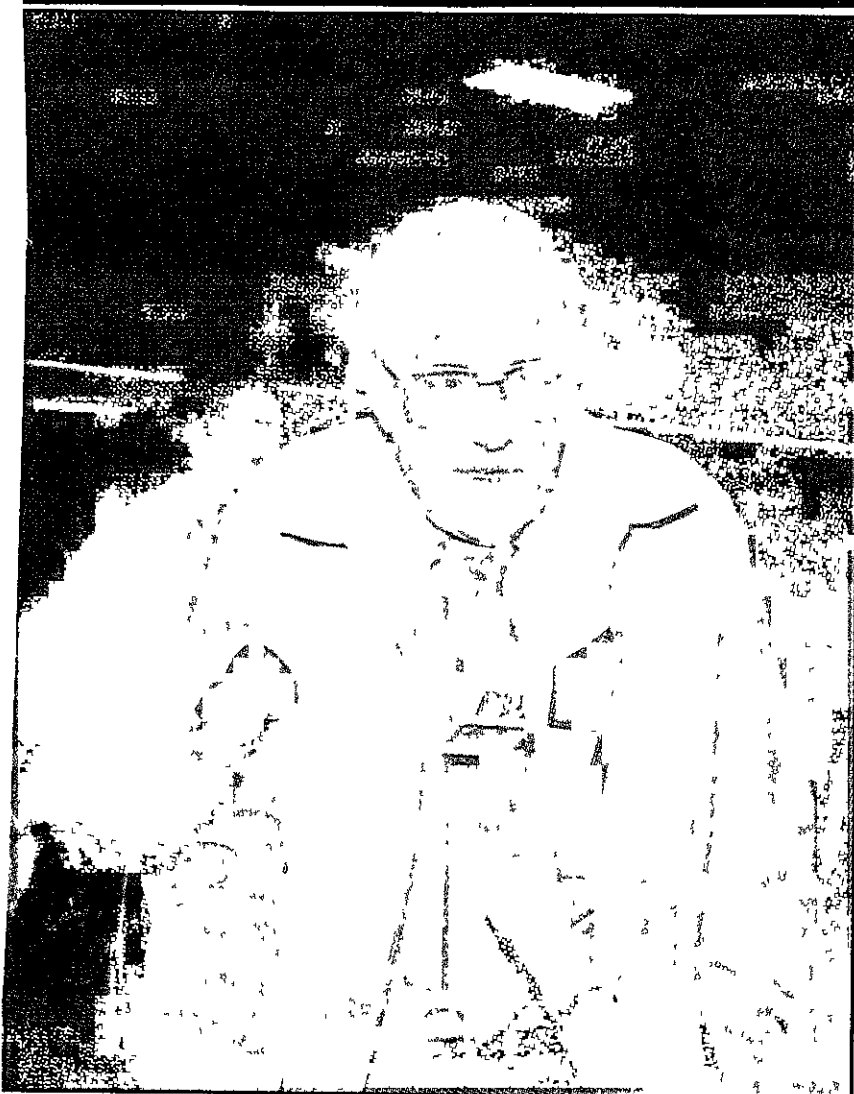
Attention was being focused on the financial electro-

STAR

5/10/89

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Professor Sampie Terreblanche arrives back from London following a series of "investigative talks" with the ANC

● Picture By Herbert Mabuza.

## Academics back in SA after ANC talks

By Jovial Rantao

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, a political economist who was part of the group of white academics who met and held talks of an "investigative nature" with the African National Congress in London, arrived back in the country yesterday

Speaking to the media at Jan Smuts Airport, Professor Terreblanche said the meeting with the outlawed organisation was one of the many he had had in the past two years

Professor Terreblanche said that contrary to reports in the Sunday press, the group did not attend the talks as representatives of the Broederbond.

He said the talks mainly concerned ANC guidelines and a document presented at a meeting in Lusaka this year of the Organisation of African Unity

### NAMIBIAN SITUATION

The group met a delegation from the ANC led by the organisation's director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki

Professor Terreblanche was accompanied by Professor Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of President F W de Klerk, Professor Willie Esterhuyse, professor of philosophy and ethics at Stellenbosch, and three other people whom Professor Terreblanche declined to identify

"We had in-depth discussions with the ANC in connection with the guidelines," he said "We also discussed the Namibian situation, the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and other relevant matters"

Stressing that he attended the talks in his personal capacity and not as an economic adviser of the Democratic Party, Professor Terreblanche said he was in favour of more talks with the ANC as such talks would help create the atmosphere for future contacts between the ANC and the Government



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MAIN CLINIC

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

Speculation is mounting that jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu could be released before the Commonwealth heads of government conference in Malaysia, starting on October 17

Government sources have indicated they would like to release one of the top ANC political prisoners before the conference, to give British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher ammunition as she attempts to fight off further sanctions against South Africa

It is not known if a decision was made at yesterday's meeting of the Cabinet in Pretoria, where it is believed the question was due to be discussed

# Speculation mounts about Sisulu's release

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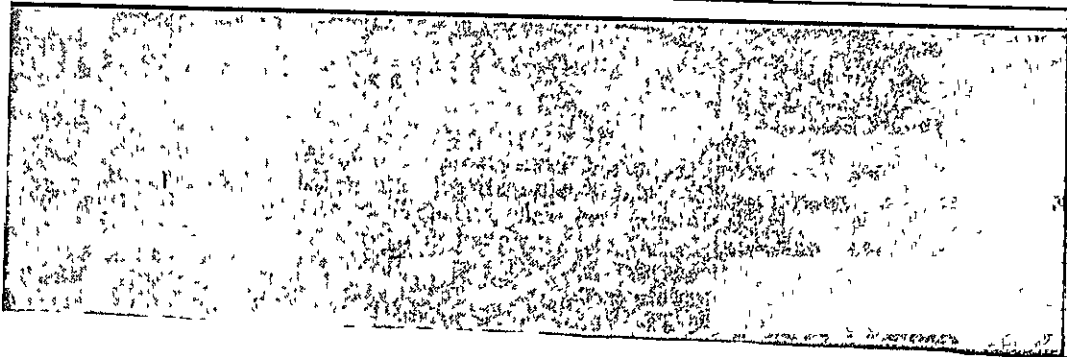
5/10/89

TR

It is possible Mr Oscar Mpetha, the ailing former Cape president of the ANC, could be released along with Sisulu

Speculation of a likely release of Sisulu and Mpetha has been heightened by a report in the *London Daily Mail* which quoted diplomatic sources as saying Sisulu and Mpetha would be released before the conference

However, diplomatic sources in South Africa have been unable to confirm this and Government sources would not say if a decision had been taken at yesterday's Cabinet meeting



# Sisulu, Mpetha 'to be freed by October 18'



● THATCHER

*3/Day 5/10/89*  
LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is confident that President F W de Klerk is on the brink of making a dramatic reform move, according to international businessmen and politicians who have met her in the past week.  
They claim that Thatcher and Foreign Secretary John Major are totally confident that the anticipated move will defuse the sanctions pressure they will face at the Commonwealth leaders summit which starts in Malaysia on October 18.  
The Daily Mail of London, whose editor Sir David English is close to Thatcher, yesterday claimed that she had won a "crucial compromise" from Pretoria that will pre-empt Commonwealth proposals to impose crippling financial sanctions and a world oil embargo on SA.  
The Daily Mail claimed Thatcher had been assured that two of the three most senior political

*11A 328A*  
IAN HOBBS  
prisoners, Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha, would be released with other "important political prisoners" on the eve of the meeting in Malaysia. The releases would strengthen Thatcher's argument that new sanctions should be forestalled.  
□ Nelson Mandela is making arrangements to have a house built in the Transkei, The Independent reported in London yesterday.  
His son, Makghato, has been making the arrangements with Transkeian leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, who told the newspaper he had no objection to Mandela returning to live in his original home territory. The report supports De Klerk's indications that Mandela will be released and unbanned, early in the new year, probably in January.

# Secret deal secures UK rugby stars

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — A secret deal this weekend was yesterday reported to have guaranteed at least 12 of Britain's current internationals, including Lions stars, for the World XV rugby tour due to kick-off against Natal in Durban next Saturday.

Welsh rugby officials say the recruiting coup, sealed in Cardiff on Saturday, led to more English and Scottish and one Irish player — who had all rejected or failed to reply to invitations — being persuaded to sign for the five-match tour by a party of 25 or 26 men from Britain, Ireland, France and Australia, although some will arrive late.

## Unworthy

And the most desperate official tour in the rugby union's history will, after all, be managed by legendary former Ireland and Lions captain Willie-John McBride, with former French centre Roger Bertranne as his assistant and Australia's Bob Templeton as coach.

McBride had dropped out on Friday, stating that he would not travel

## Protesters swarm on as Gatting in to bat

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Anti-apartheid demonstrators invaded the pitch at Lord's yesterday as "rebel" cricket captain Mike Gatting walked out to bat.

Play was held up for more than seven minutes as police and MCC officials battled to remove about 20 banner-waving protestors from the field.

In an obviously well-co-ordinated move, they had appeared simultaneously from various parts of the famous cricket ground as soon as Gatting appeared for his county, Middlesex, in a game against Northamptonshire.

The former England captain was cheered by supporters as he walked out, but the applause soon turned to jeers as the protestors took up position with their banners.

with an unworthy team. Five Australian Rugby Union internationals left for South Africa yesterday to join the international team.

Australian vice-captain Bill Campbell, Ian Williams, Mark Hartill, Tom Lawton and Greg Martin flew to Johannesburg yesterday afternoon, the Australian Associated Press said.

The first British contingent of the World XV should have arrived in Johannesburg yesterday, but the party's secret travel plans have

been left in chaos.

Several of the most sought-after Welsh players, said to include two Lions, turned down invitations after the Welsh RU said any man who missed a pre-season squad session at Aberystwyth next Sunday would not be considered for the All Blacks tour of Wales in October.

But the desperate and ingenious centenary tour organisers have agreed to allow the Welsh recruits to complete Sunday's squad session and then join the tour next Monday.

Because of the last-minute weekend recruitment, the remainder of the British players are now all expected to arrive by tomorrow.

The late tour-saving recruitment of the British players has been attributed to International Rugby Board officials backing Northern Transvaal president and IRB chairman Professor Fritz Eloff's warnings that a rebel faction would split world rugby union if the tour collapsed or a weak team arrived.



# Activist shot because of beliefs, says mother

344 By Stan Hlophe

The shooting of a South African Council of Churches employee and anti-apartheid activist, Mr. But van der Merwe, is a mystery, his mother said last night.

Mrs Mabel van der Merwe told The Star the motive behind the shooting of her son was not known.

However, she said the attack could be connected to his political activities and beliefs.

Mr van der Merwe, an executive member of the banned Alexandra Youth Congress, is battling for his life in a Johannesburg private clinic after being shot by unknown at-

tackers five times in Phase 2, Alexandra, last Friday night.

Mrs van der Merwe said her son was confronted by five men, one of whom for no apparent reason shot him on the side.

"A bitter struggle ensued as my son battled to disarm the gunman and in the process more shots hit him on the side. But he managed to disarm the gunman.

However, the others held him from behind and he was helpless.

"He managed to throw away the gun and free himself. He ran to the nearest home and sought refuge. The homeowner took him to Alexandra clinic."

On Sunday he was referred to Coronation Hospital and later to the Johannesburg private clinic.

"Why they picked on my son remains a mystery.

"He has recently been released from a three-year detention and was employed in a new job two months ago.

"There is no doubt that whoever is behind the shooting is against his involvement with the community. He is well-known in the community and is part and parcel of the mass.

Nobody other than those on the opposite wing would attempt to silence him."

The SACC said in a statement the attack on Mr van der Merwe

was a further attempt to silence voices in the anti-apartheid movement.

"This attack has all the signs of a group or groups of assassins that are studying movements and activities of apartheid opponents, especially the predicted movements of restricted activists," the SACC said.

It added that in the light of the attempts on Mr van der Merwe's life and that of other restricted, the Government cannot escape the responsibility for any attacks on, or loss of life by restricted.

The case is being investigated by the Alexandra police.

# Natal violence: <sup>IIIA</sup> new initiatives

STAR

5/10/89  
Staff Reporter

The drive to end the Natal violence would continue with or without Inkatha's participation, representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front said yesterday.

At a media conference in Johannesburg, Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr Alec Erwin and former UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said there had been an upsurge in violence since Inkatha's moratorium on regional peace talks.

Ten days ago, Inkatha's central committee withdrew from the talks "until there was a prospect of success".

Complaining about the composition of delegations to a proposed conference involving the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha, it also demanded an apology for derogatory remarks by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki.

At yesterday's conference, Mr Naidoo said Cosatu and the UDF had launched "initiatives to bring together like-minded people in the interests of peace".

"The choice facing Inkatha's Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi is whether he wants to be part of this"

Mr Erwin said since the talks broke down, close to 100 people had been killed in Natal

Local peace initiatives were threatened and conflict had spread to the Natal South Coast

In the past two years, close to 2 000 people had been killed, 30 000 homesteads destroyed and up to 15 000 people had become refugees

Mr Erwin also said Cosatu and the UDF remained unhappy about the police role in the conflict. Allegations continued that police were refusing to intervene in attacks on the organisations' members.

● See Page 15.

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## Commission set up to probe Lebowa violence

*App. 1/13/80*  
*(11)*  
LEBOWAKGOMO. — A commission of inquiry is to be set up to investigate the causes of faction fights in Lebowa, the Chief Minister of the homeland, Mr Nelson Ramodike, said late on Wednesday.

A wave of terror is sweeping Lebowa where villagers are being threatened by armed vigilantes.

The Sowetan newspaper reports that one person has been killed and several homes in the Brooklyn, Arthur City and Rooiboklaagte villages have been burnt in the latest violence

Eight activists who are members of the Bushbuckridge Youth Congress have gone into hiding after their homes were razed by a group calling itself "Sofasonke". — Sapa

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# Mbeki fails VIA in bid to <sup>Souly</sup> see Mandela <sub>5/10-11/10/89</sub>

HOPES of an historic meeting between Govan Mbeki and the five Rivonia trialists held at Pollsmoor Prison were dashed this week after the prison authorities did not respond in time to a request for permission for the visits

It would have been the first such meeting since Mbeki's release nearly two years ago

Mbeki's lawyer, Priscilla Jana, said she had applied for permission for Mbeki to visit the trialists, including Nelson Mandela, but the proposed dates clashed with relatives' visits.

She had subsequently applied for visits on an alternative date but had received no response

Mbeki, who is severely restricted, was in Cape Town this week for medical treatment

He had a cyst removed from his right eye

Earlier this year, Mbeki visited Mandela at Victor Verster prison after having been refused permission on two previous occasions.

A spokesperson for the SA Prisons Service said the allegation that a request by Mbeki to visit certain prisoners had been turned down "is devoid of all truth".

"The matter is presently under consideration and Mr Mbeki will be informed of the outcome in due course"

# Esack resigns from Call of Islam

PROMINENT Muslim leader Maulana Farid Esack resigned from the Call of Islam this week after differences over "individualism".

Esack, a founder member of the organisation, said his resignation came after "months of wrestling with differing perceptions of my role in the organisation and the community and in our incompatible understandings of organisational accountability".

He said he had resigned as national co-ordinator in February

and since then had been on the executive committee.

He continued to have a profound respect for the organisation and those who worked in it.

A Call of Islam spokesperson said the organisation had accepted Esack's resignation with "a sense of deep regret and sadness".

In a statement this week the organisation paid tribute to Esack's "fremendous" contribution to both the Call of Islam and the Muslim community as a whole.

The statement said the organisation understood the reasons for Esack's resignation

"For the past few months there have been differences between the Call of Islam and Maulana Farid regarding the key issues of organisational discipline and accountability

"Maulana Farid did not see his way clear to conforming to the organisation on this matter and our integrity as a democratic organisation did not allow us to foster individualism," the statement said.



Farid Esack

5/10 - 11/10/89

(11A) South

# 'Housing no substitute for rights'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — British ambassador to South Africa Sir Robin Renwick says new schemes to encourage black advancement in housing and education are no substitute for access to full political rights.

Speaking at the launch of the Urban Foundation's R1-billion scheme to tackle the acute black housing shortage, Sir Robin announced yesterday that British government spending next year on projects to help black South Africans in all spheres would reach R50-million.

## OBJECTION

The Southern Africa Coalition, a group of 80 organisations campaigning for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa, yesterday objected to Britain's R2-million contribution to the housing project on the grounds that the homes would have to be built in areas designated black under the Group Areas Act

Sir Robin said that Britain — along with West Germany and Switzerland — had only agreed to contribute towards a R20-million loan guarantee fund at the heart of the scheme on condition that South Africa's private business sector committed the bulk of the finance.

And, he said, the British government did not believe that the provision of housing and education could be any kind of substitute for political rights.

●See page 15

# We need clear leadership

11A  
Sowetan 6/10/89

ANOTHER week on the roller-coaster of South African politics has passed the ANC meeting with leading members of the Broederbond in London, FW de Klerk's angry reaction to the meeting, the United States and Britain using the carrot and the stick on the South African Government and the Government's anger at this; and finally news that Walter Sisulu might be released before the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference on October 18.

Headly stuff all this but besides knocking us dizzy, where is it taking us?

Let us start with the ironies of the London meeting the name Broederbond still sends a shiver down some of our spines This conspiratorial organisation hammered out the National Party policies that have driven this country to its present crisis

It had its tentacles in every location of power in the nation Some newspaper reports have suggested that the organisation will play an even bigger role under De Klerk's presidency

The members of the group who were in London denied that they were representing the organisation, and Professor Sampie Terreblanche said the meeting was one of many he has had with the

ANC in the past two years.

But De Klerk, whose brother attended, condemned the talks "the general result of such discussions is that they are exploited by the ANC and others to conceal the true nature of revolutionary organisations and to promote an undesired image of reasonableness of these organisations

"Participation in discussions of this nature plays into the hands of forces which are still intent on destabilising South Africa and on destroying good order"

### His terms

It is clear that De Klerk will talk to the ANC only on his terms - that they renounce violence

Is the real reason for the meetings, in spite of what De Klerk might be saying publicly, not an attempt to get the ANC to renounce armed struggle, and thus lose some of its leverage?

The group itself says it

met an ANC delegation led by its director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and that they discussed the ANC's constitutional guidelines and the document on negotiations that the ANC presented to the Southern African Ad Hoc Committee of the Organisation of African Unity

### Exchange

What is clear at this stage is that there is a very serious exchange of information between the South African Government and the ANC, even if the mechanics of this exchange remain unclear You will probably recall that the ANC-UDF-Cosatu discussion paper on negotiations said that Sisulu was likely to be released shortly after the elections and before Nelson Mandela?

That the ANC is using the meetings for its own propaganda is also clear they now have a series of these meetings lined up, including one with a party

of 100 Afrikaner women. The ANC is intent on touching up its image.

The irony is that in all this, we have not heard of the ANC talking to the Pan Africanist Congress or to the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Is talking to the Broederbond more important than talking to other parties in the liberation movement?

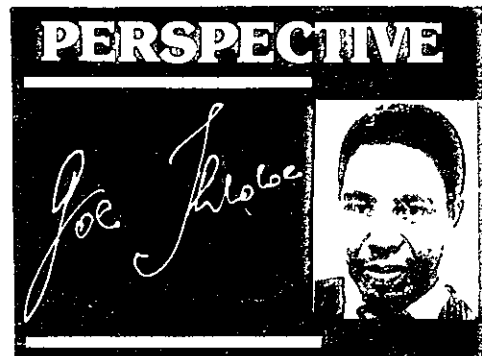
### Leadership

At the Ad Hoc committee meeting in Harare in August, the ANC and the PAC seemed to be talking different languages, and it

appears this will continue as the document adopted there is presented to various world forums

We need clear leadership, both on the side of whites and on the side of the oppressed At this point there is still confusion and jockeying for positions, but no clear indication of where we are going to and how we get there

The planned Conference for a Democratic Future might just show that talk among the oppressed - even across ideological barriers - is possible, and this could lead to them drawing up an agenda for the whole nation



# Thatcher: 'One step at a time'

**AGREY KLAASTE** What are your views on the Population Registration Act, Group Areas and all the structures that underpin the policy of apartheid and the possibility that these policies will continue to help keep power in the hands of white people?

## INTERVIEW

**Mrs Thatcher.** I have made clear my strong opposition to all racially discriminatory legislation. Such legislation is profoundly repugnant to us. People's futures must not be determined by their race and of course they should be able to live where they want according to their means.

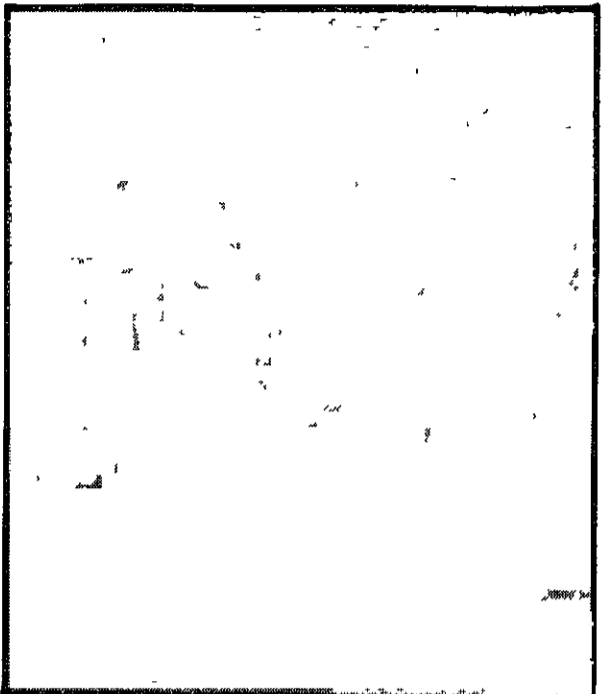
What we want to see in South Africa is equal rights and equal opportunities for all South African citizens when the Group Areas were abolished in Namibia, that had a very positive effect on race relations. Many of the amenities in South Africa are now open to all races surely the time has come for them all to be

So long as the Population Registration, Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts remain, South Africa will not be regarded as a normal society. We hope that every one of those Acts will be reviewed and that a stop will be put to attempts to restore petty apartheid by some municipalities. Those attempts must not succeed.

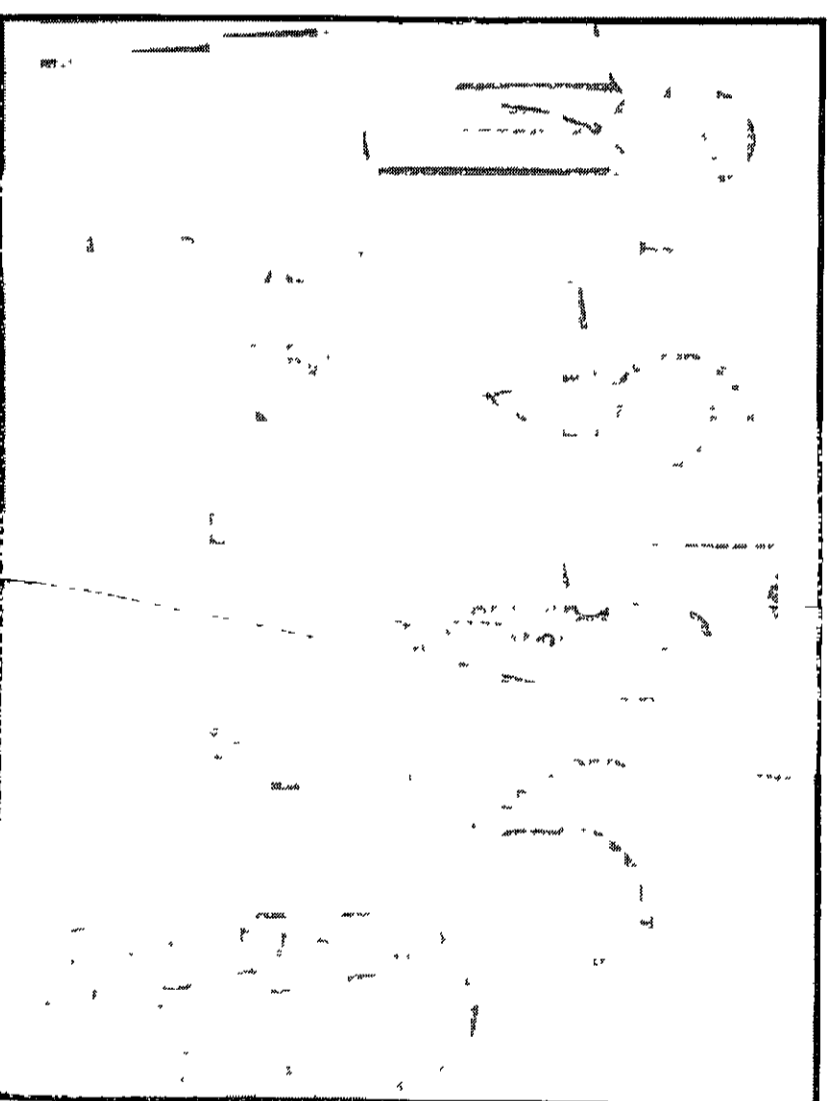
**Klaaste:** Do you believe that if apartheid goes there are workable possibilities of averting or at least alleviating socio-economic and political problems so graphically seen in other independent countries?

**Mrs Thatcher:** That will depend on neither the Government nor its opponents wrecking the economy meanwhile. With the population of South Africa increasing by three quarters of a million people a year, economic progress is essential to provide food, jobs and housing for them. We do not want to see a future government which really does represent the majority of South Africans inheriting a wasteland and a situation in which no-one could cope because the economic circumstances would be hopeless. In far too many countries in Africa "liberation" has been followed by economic disaster and has brought few practical benefits to ordinary people. This can and must be avoided in South Africa.

**ON Monday** this week Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, was interviewed in London by three black South African journalists, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, Mr Sipho Ngcobo, of Business Day and Ms Nomavenda Mathiane of Frontline magazine. These are excerpts from their conversation.



British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher



With Mrs Thatcher in Downing Street is Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, Sipho Ngcobo of Business Day, and Ms Nomavenda Mathiane of Frontline magazine

**Klaaste:** What is there for us to hope for in democracy, in capitalism, taking into account the centuries of suffering that have caused not only hatred but suspicion of Western ways of doing things? What can we learn from Mikhail Gorbachev's new Russia, or Communism etc? Has that era come to an end and if so, is that good for the world?

**Mrs Thatcher:** What you can hope for from democracy and capitalism — is economic progress for ordinary people. The free enterprise system is based on freedom of choice and equality of opportunity that is the antithesis of apartheid.

The only way in which the South African economy can be freed to realise its full potential is by abolishing many of the restrictions which stem directly from the apartheid system. In fact many of those regulations are simply being side-stepped anyway through the development of the informal sector.

The black taxi operators have virtually taken over the transport industry. As for democracy, the two most successful economies in Africa at present are those of Botswana and Mauritius and it is no accident that those two countries have multi-party systems.

As for what can be learnt from Mr Gorbachev, what he is saying is that the Communism which has existed in the USSR — and far too often been exported — simply does not work. I do not believe that any form of Communism can work.

State socialism has led to economic decline in all those countries which have sought to follow that model. That is as true in Africa as in Eastern Europe. That is why there is a world-wide movement away from it.

**Klaaste:** How do we tell the people in South Africa that the building of structures and institutions must come before the getting of the political kingdom? Is this a fair question to ask of oppressed people and how should the pragmatic route be made attractive to them?

**Mrs Thatcher:** Well, you do have to tell people that rewards can only come through the efforts they make themselves. There is a tendency in South Africa to believe that everything must be achieved at once and that nothing is worth having until there is a total transformation. But a total transformation will only come about progressively. South Africa will have to go through the sort of stages in

its development that other countries have done. The pragmatic route has to be made attractive to those who want change because there is no other route to achieving it.

**Klaaste:** Having answered those questions how then do we get the suspicion out of peoples' minds that Great Britain is perhaps involved in a great conspiracy between Western leaders to keep whites in power? In the same way how do we get the thinking straight that the refusal to impose sanctions is therefore part of that conspiracy?

**Mrs Thatcher:** I would simply point out that the British Government since 1945 has granted independence on the basis of one-person-one-vote to all our former colonies comprising together nearly 20 per cent of the world's population. We have not sought to perpetuate white domination anywhere else. Why on earth should we seek to do so in South Africa?

A South African Professor said recently that continued domination of the majority by a minority is "practically and morally unsustainable". Those are my sentiments exactly. One of the first tasks of my Government was to bring Zimbabwe to independence on the basis of universal suffrage. We are striving today

for a similar result in Namibia.

As for sanctions, we apply very rigorously the arms embargo. We are also committed to the Gleneagles agreement which discourages sporting links. But we shall continue our opposition to economic sanctions.

They would destroy the livelihood of thousands of black South Africans and result in a collapse of the neighbouring countries, which are far more vulnerable to economic warfare than South Africa, without achieving the objective of bringing down apartheid.

**SIPHO NGCOBO:** Most black South Africans do not regard President De Klerk as a reformer. Why do you?

**Mrs Thatcher:** During the South African elections Mr De Klerk campaigned on a reform programme against opponents on the right who want to try to put the clock back in South Africa. He has made a lot of statements emphasizing his commitment to work for change and a new South Africa in which all the people would be fully represented. He has said he wants to discuss with black leaders ways to achieve progress. These are declarations of intent. Obviously the South African government, like all the rest of us, are going to be judged not by what they say but by what they do. But we have welcomed some of the early decisions that have been taken — in particular to allow the large peaceful demonstration which took place in Cape Town on September 13. That is a welcome break from the past.

**NGCOBO:** President De Klerk has outlined his five year plan. What are your views?

**Mrs Thatcher:** The South African government certainly does not have five years to get negotiations with black leaders going. They have said that they intend to open negotiations on a new constitution. The National Party has set out its ideas but the ideas of others will have to be taken into account in any genuine negotiation and the outcome will depend on the negotiation.

I am not going to set some arbitrary time limit but the South African government obviously will be judged by what it can achieve and it does not have unlimited time to achieve results. That is true at least as much for internal reasons as for external ones. I do not know when Nelson Mandela will be released. That is a question which can

only be answered by the South African government. But I hope it will be very soon.

I have made it clear that I do not believe that there will be a real normalisation of the situation in South Africa or in South Africa's relations with the outside world before Mr Mandela is released. I also have made clear my hope that other prisoners will be released.

**NOMAVENDA MATHIANE:** I personally will not consider the South African Government legitimate until I am a 100 percent citizen. Why should black people collaborate with reforms designed to give us improved participation?

**Mrs Thatcher:** But the process of change in South Africa is precisely that — a process of complete transformation is not going to take place instantly in South Africa. It is a long and difficult struggle. When you make gains in that struggle it is sensible to accept them and make good use of them to achieve further progress towards your goal.

What we have to do is try to help accelerate the pace of change. That does include acknowledging the value of real reforms when they do take place. The legalisation of black trade unions, scrapping of the pass laws and ending of job reservation were real reforms. There are difficulties in the attitudes of both left and right in South Africa.

What some opposition leaders seem to be suggesting is that there is nothing to negotiate all that is required is a transfer of power and, meanwhile, nothing less will be worth having. But that is simply unrealistic. A new South Africa is not going to be achieved in one step and anyone who pretends that it will be is misleading you.

**MATHIANE:** There is a view among South African blacks that Western tolerance of racial minority rule would be different if the disenfranchised majority were white people. What are your views?

**Mrs Thatcher:** I will support people anywhere who do not have opportunity freely to choose their own leaders, whether they are in Eastern Europe, Africa or anywhere else. That includes the majority of people in South Africa. My whole philosophy is based on political freedom and equality of opportunity and those are concepts that are colour-blind.



# Natal killings prompt calls for inquiry

POLITICAL killings devastated the Natal midlands this week, and unrest monitoring groups are predicting that September will produce the highest death rate yet in more than two years of violence in the region

This week also brought growing calls for a commission of inquiry into the Natal violence.

Among those urging an inquiry is prominent Natal chief, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who said yesterday he hoped to see the state president as soon as possible to renew his call for an inquiry

Maphumulo was speaking at a news

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

conference called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of SA Trade Unions to respond to Inkatha's moratorium on further peace talks. The conference followed a week of murder, arson and pitched battles.

A joint statement issued by UDF and Cosatu said it was imperative that a peace process be initiated with or without Inkatha, alleging that Inkatha's leadership was using peace talks not to end the violence but to "establish a national political position".

The statement also gave a history of attempts to initiate a peace process over the last two years and claimed that Inkatha had been responsible every time these attempts broke down.

Speakers at the news conference included women from Mpumalanga, the area worst hit with eight deaths in three days this week. The township saw a massive display of hostility on Monday as opposing "armies" totalling about 800 armed men squared up to resolve the situation.

Violence began on Saturday night when a wedding party at the home of

a "comrade" was attacked.

Guests in the wedding tent were shot and several were hurt. The following day the comrades allegedly retaliated, and on Monday morning the "armies" came out.

Among the calls for urgent action this week were members of the Mpumalanga business community who said the situation was now "intolerable".

The violence has been affecting business in the area and shopowners said the sharp fall-off in customers was making it difficult to meet bank repayments.

Democratic Party regional director Roy Ansley said the DP had received many calls from residents who urged that the army be brought in to stop the fighting, as they no longer had faith in the police.

Ansley said the August death rate in the Durban townships was 47 and he expected September to be the worst recorded by his unrest monitoring unit since they began their work over two years ago.

He said Maphumulo's call for an inquiry was a good idea which deserved support.

According to Maphumulo, de Klerk was "a new man with new ideas" and his ideas had to be tested.

"We want him to reconsider the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry," he said, "as well as the withdrawal of special constables and the riot unit from our trouble-torn areas."

"We want the local police stations to do the policing of those areas instead of the riot unit. If a need arises then the SADF should be called in."

"The inquiry should be about the causes of the violence, the involvement of the police and the total breakdown of government structures like courts which are failing to stop this violence."

Other calls for an inquiry came from DP officials and MPs in the area who are to meet top ranking police officers on Monday.

The MPs have also written to the ministers of justice and of law and order as well as the state president about an incident in which riot police allegedly "ran out of control" in Richmond last week.

Police have been investigating formal complaints made by a party of ministers and students who witnessed the incident, but the MPs said this "was just not good enough."

"We want to know how such things happen and what is the chain of command which would permit it," said Greytown MP Pierre Cronje.

## Buthelezi promises to probe Inkatha's police recruitment

ALLEGED recruitment drives by Inkatha came under the spotlight this week with an investigation into recruitment among KwaZulu Police, and a row over whether teachers have been told to "join Inkatha or quit their jobs".

Last week a Natal Supreme Court judge said he was concerned about allegations made during a murder trial that new members of the KZP were told during their training that they should join the Inkatha movement.

The judge said it was important that the police should not be biased to ward either side in the continuing Inkatha/United Democratic Front conflict, and asked that the minister of police in KwaZulu should "earnestly" consider his comments and investigate the situation.

This week the chief minister of KwaZulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also minister of police and president of Inkatha, issued a statement clarifying his approach.

He said he was aware of the "serious nature" of the allegations and gave the assurance that the matter was being fully investigated.

Buthelezi said in the interim he wanted to stress that he had always said the KZP should act impartially and that they had done so.

"Members of the KZP have arrested members of Inkatha when necessary as well as anyone else, on a totally impartial basis and in the pursuit of their normal duties," he said.

A report is to be issued when the investigation into the allegations has been completed.

There have also been serious allegations stating that senior members of the KwaZulu government addressed teachers in Durban and told them if

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

they did not join Inkatha they would lose their jobs.

In particular it was alleged that KwaZulu MP Winnington Sabelo said: "Be warned that we have been instructed by Umlazi to move from school to school compiling lists of all teachers - the lists will uncover all those who are not part of us."

Education and Culture minister Oscar Dhlomo said the threat would be "clearly in conflict with the policies of the Department and the ... cabinet" and that he had asked those who allegedly made the remarks to clarify what they had said.

Sabelo, together with a number of other officials, subsequently issued a statement saying they held a series of meetings with teachers "to motivate education personnel to maintain a high morale particularly in the forthcoming end of the year examination period".

"As an aspect of this motivation the (Umlazi members of the Legislative Assembly) invited teachers to join Inkatha, so that they may in turn be able to organise Inkatha Youth Brigades in the schools."

Sabelo said it was well known that the Department of Education and Culture encouraged the establishment of the Youth Brigade in schools, and that a strong IYB presence in the schools would help the schools "to withstand the disruption that is planned by certain organisations."

"The absence of Inkatha Youth creates a convenient vacuum for those organisations which want to see a collapse of KwaZulu education."



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... The matter is being investigated

Sabelo said he was misquoted and that it was untrue teachers were ever threatened "to sign up or else". He said he was at great pains to emphasise that membership of Inkatha was "absolutely voluntary".

Allegations of recruitment drives in which people are threatened with serious repercussions if they do not sign up as members of Inkatha have surfaced repeatedly in Natal's violence-stricken townships. However, these allegations have been denied time and again by Inkatha officials.

"Loyalty pledges" to Inkatha and KwaZulu's administration have also been a contentious issue particularly among professionals, and at one stage was blamed for the shortage of doctors in the KwaZulu health service.



# Rebel chiefs who are breaking with their past

A POTENTIALLY historic crack appeared in the edifice of apartheid last weekend when a young major-general, dapper in a dark suit, made his way to the microphone at a king's funeral on a South African mountain-side.

General Bantu Holomisa was making his peace with the anti-apartheid movement in whose eyes the ersatz country he rules is a symbol of the system they are fighting to destroy. And he drew an excited ovation from thousands of mourners as he offered to abandon the Transkei to the cause of South African unity.

It was a fitting occasion for the gesture. At the general's feet as he spoke lay the golden coffin of King Sabata Jonguhlanga Dalindyebo, the tribal monarch whose life was spent repudiating the kingdom which could have been his and whose death has come to represent the cause of wider unity.

The reburial of King Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Thembu tribe — the largest sub-group of the Xhosa people — turned into a startling demonstration of what is beginning to look like the political renaissance within South Africa of the outlawed

**The reburial of the Thembu king was symbolic of shifts in the tribal system throughout South Africa and the rejection of independent homelands**  
By DAVID BERESFORD

African National Congress. From the black, green and gold colours lying with a king chechah s pelt on the coffin itself to the huge ANC banners brandished over the crowd, it was as much a political celebration as the burying of a king.

Marshals in the uniforms of the ANC moved around the crowd, thousands of small ANC pennants were brandished with a gaiety which paradoxically suited the solemnity of the occasion and, up on the platform of VIPs, Winnie Mandela in an ANC beret reminded the crowd of the missing chief mourner, Nelson Mandela — a member of the Thembu royal family who had played a key role in the weekend's events from behind his distant prison walls.

"Roar, young lions, roar," cried Peter Mokaba, a former Robben Island prisoner invoking the battle cry

of the South African Youth Congress of which he is founder president. "We have come here from Cape Town in 18 buses to declare the ANC unbanned. It is now unbanned," he said.

The South African Youth Congress met the African National Congress recently. We've met the political military command. We have met military intelligence. We have met the structures involved in the struggle in South Africa, because we are a component led by the African National Congress.

But if fiery speakers like Mokaba served notice that the revolutionary fervour of the ANC was in the ascendant again, it was the comparatively quiet intervention of General Holomisa that suggested King Dalindyebo's funeral could find a notable place in the history books.

The young general, trained at Staff College in Pretoria, took over the independent homeland of the Transkei in 1987. Seeming at the time to be just another military dictator, he has adopted an intriguing role, treading a tightrope between his mentors in Pretoria and the ANC — a tightrope which last month took him on a little publicised visit to Lusaka for talks with the guerrilla organisation.

The general was introduced almost diffidently by the master of ceremonies, the rebel Zulu priest, the Rev Mcebisi Aundú — who pointed out that at least the general had allowed the funeral to take place.

The apologetic note proved unnecessary. The general drawing roars of approval as with his habitually poker face, he told the crowd that in any war there were some who had to go away to fight and others who had to stay at home and look after the people.

Speaking in Xhosa, he said that if the people wanted to change the independent status of the Transkei he was prepared to hold a referendum and carry out their wishes.

The offer was breathtaking, amounting to a declaration of his willingness to abandon the "independence" of the Transkei. Oldest and largest of South Africa's four homelands, the Transkei is a cornerstone of "grand apartheid". If the general goes ahead with his offer, the effect will be considerable, in effect throwing the Transkei behind the ANC.

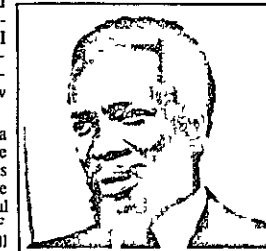
Whether the offer will be realised remains open to question. But added force was given to it when the general's brother, Sango Holomisa — sporting ANC colours — brought the funeral to a climax with a farewell message from the ANC's exiled leader, Oliver Tambo.

Appealing to the blacks of South Africa to close ranks, he said this would be the final tribute to King Dalindyebo. "May our soldier king rest in peace" — The Guardian, London.



More than just the burying of a Thembu king while the golden coffin of King Sabata Dalindyebo, above, is carried to its final resting place a 'young lion roars', right.

Pictures: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP and ERIC MILLER, Afrapix



Not going anywhere Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo

## Me go to hell, Chief? Hell no, says Conralesa's defiant Maphumulo

A WEEK after he was told to "go to hell" by the most powerful man in kwaZulu, controversial Natal chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo is quietly adamant that he is not going anywhere at all.

He has even postponed his British Council scholarship to study in Britain, saying that his duty was to be with his people "in these troubled times".

Maphumulo was the target of attacks by kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, during a meeting of chiefs.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Conralesa), of which Maphumulo is interim president, also came in for criticism as being a spear "thrust" by the African National Congress into the very heart of Zulu unity.

Buthelezi claimed Maphumulo and Conralesa were trying to divide the chiefs against each other and to undermine their strength.

He told the chiefs, "We have come to close ranks and to rejoice in our unity and to tell Inkosi Maphumulo to go to hell".

In subsequent resolutions, the chiefs listed their "charges" against Maphumulo.

Despite attempts at peace negotiations between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress, the chiefs' resolutions appear to indicate their continued hostility against these organisations. They noted the following "charge" against Maphumulo and Conralesa: "that Conralesa is an affiliate organisation to the UDF which in turn is part of the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance sworn to political vengeance against the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and therefore against His Majesty and the people of kwaZulu".

By CARMEL RICKARD  
Durban

At the end of his angry speech, the king said, "Let there be no ambiguity about what we do and how we speak today. Let the amakhosi (chiefs) of kwaZulu now speak finally and let us bury Inkosi Maphumulo in yesterday's problems. Let us make him totally irrelevant for the future."

"We read in the newspapers that he is going overseas to study. Let him go for good and never, ever think he will be welcome in our midst again. He is a muck stirrer and let him go and learn more about this from his political mentors in Lusaka and in England. Politically speaking, if he goes all we can say is rest in peace, Maphumulo."

Asked to comment on the king's tirade, Maphumulo said: "I do not think it is right and proper for a king to make such statements."

He said it was "well known" that Conralesa was not formed to threaten the unity of Zulu chiefs.

"It was formed by kwaNdebele chiefs in 1987 and I only joined them in June this year."

"The chiefs from various homelands decided to elect me as president."

"It is also incorrect to say it was formed by the ANC. The ANC has nothing to do with Conralesa. We decided ourselves to visit the ANC in August as it is the future government."

Before the Conralesa row, Maphumulo was best known for the peace in his own tribal territory of Maqongqo outside Pietermaritzburg.

Refugees from both sides in the Natal civil war have fled to his area where they live side by side without fighting.

Maphumulo said: "Until today there has been peace in my area. That is

why Ulundi is making such a big noise."

Asked whether he did not fear for his safety given the high profile conflict between himself and kwaZulu leadership figures, Maphumulo replied, "I have said for years that I have only one enemy — that is Inkatha and Ulundi. If I disappear tomorrow then the whole world will know who is responsible."

He was a close friend of Londa Shembe, the charismatic leader of the Shembe church, shot and killed in his sleep earlier this year. Both Shembe and Maphumulo tried to tread a careful line between Inkatha and the UDF. Does Maphumulo not fear he will share the same fate as Shembe?

"If it does come, let it come," he replied.

Maphumulo has been rapped over the knuckles for insulting the king. He had an appointment to see the king to introduce Conralesa to him, but then never arrived. Instead he sent a fax requesting that the meeting take place in the king's traditional seat of Nongoma instead of Ulundi, because of Ulundi's "political" connotations and because he did not believe he would be safe there.

Buthelezi took exception to the tone of Maphumulo's letters to the king as well as to the fact that he refused to meet the king in Ulundi.

Buthelezi also said it was rude of Maphumulo to imply that he would not be safe in Ulundi. "Who in Ulundi would dare intercept a visitor who by arrangement was coming to see His Majesty?" Buthelezi demanded.

Maphumulo said this week that no such assurances of safety were forthcoming when in October 1983, members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade attacked him in Ulundi and knocked him unconscious.

## Congress wins more members

DESPITE the vitriol directed against it by some members of the Zulu royal house, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Conralesa) is drawing support from chiefs across the country.

The organisation's national president, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, revealed this week that he attended last weekend's reburial of King Sabata in the Transkei.

Some 80 percent of the Transkei chiefs indicated they would be joining Conralesa, he said.

Referring to a recent demand by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini that he quit Conralesa, Maphumulo said "there is no way of leaving it. It will be a big force in South African politics," he predicted.

One of the most significant of new members is the senior prince of the Zulu royal house, Prince Mchayizwe.

The prince, who has come under

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

fire from the king and from anti-Conralesa chiefs among the Zulu traditional leaders, was told to have nothing further to do with the congress. But, like Maphumulo, he has ignored these instructions.

Maphumulo said the prince joined as a full member last month and that his decision was "very significant".

"People are encouraging me to continue," Maphumulo said. "Last week there was a phone call from the south coast. Some chiefs in the area wanted to join. This is happening all the time."

According to Maphumulo several hundred chiefs have already joined — among them more than 50 from kwaZulu, where their decision to sign up has infuriated many of other chiefs who strongly disapprove of Conralesa, seeing it as anti-Inkatha, anti-Zulu unity and pro-UDF.

# Cabinet 'differs' on release of prisoners

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

IT IS understood there are differences in the Cabinet on the release of ANC members, including leader Mr Nelson Mandela

The differences are understood to hinge on the conditions of release.

No decision has been made by the government, in spite of intense diplomatic pressure that at least some should be freed before the Commonwealth heads of state conference starts on October 18.

It is understood the issue

was not discussed at the last Cabinet meeting, senior government sources said today.

There have been reports that senior ANC men, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Oscar Mphahlele would be released before the start of the Commonwealth conference at Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia.

It is understood the government has received indications from the British Government that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will find it difficult to argue against the imposition of further sanctions if some ANC prisoners are not released.

ARGUS 6/10/89  
11A

# Tutu wants 'urgent'

# meetings within F.W.

MCC's  
6/10/69  
(11)

The Archbishop says he is not a leader of the Mass Democratic Movement and has no desire to become involved in politics or government as a political leader. He wished to see the church retain its autonomy, and act as the conscience of society.

## Speak to leaders

On meeting the President, the Archbishop said "I would have hoped that by now, as a man who has taken the trouble to go to Mozambique and to Zambia, he would decide that it was time he spoke to leaders within the country.

"I'm keen, as most of us are, that all should happen that can resolve the crisis of our country as quickly as possible."

The Archbishop said the President could dramatically alter the climate in South Africa "almost by the stroke of a pen" ... by lifting the state of emergency, releasing detainees unconditionally, unbanning organisations, or lifting restrictions on them, and scrapping the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and Population Registration Acts

He said. "If he did that, how could anyone stand up in the international community and say we want more sanctions? And I think that those engaged in the armed struggle would find it very difficult to continue to persuade people, even in the black community, that there was any justification for continuing the armed struggle."

Even if Mr De Klerk took a limited step, like lifting the state of emergency, "that could buy him time by impressing people that he is serious", the Archbishop said.

If he "does nothing or something almost inconsequential, it will be difficult to persuade es-

pecially the more radical, the younger (people), that there was merit in giving him a chance."

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has asked for a meeting with President F W de Klerk "as a matter of urgency" and discussions on the timing of the meeting are taking place, a statement by the Archbishop says today.

"I have asked for the meeting so that we can spell out to Mr De Klerk the steps he needs to take to create a climate conducive to genuine and productive negotiations to resolve the crisis facing South Africa," the statement says.

Mr De Klerk, on the basis of statements he has made since the election, particularly in relation to the ANC, "does not appreciate the far-reaching nature of the steps he must take to get negotiations off the ground".

## Not as negotiators

Archbishop Tutu says it is not the intention to go to Mr De Klerk claiming to be negotiators. "We would not go to him with any mandate to enter negotiations. As church leaders we would see ourselves as facilitators who would try to help create the climate for negotiations. The negotiations themselves would not be conducted by us - they would have to be entered into by those identified by our people as being their true political leaders," the statement says.

Earlier, the Archbishop indicated it would be easier for him to urge "our people" to be "slightly more patient" if Mr De Klerk took a step which clearly demonstrated his commitment to end apartheid.



Here to stay: Mathopiestad residents celebrate their reprieve from removal Picture: GILL DE VLIEG, Afrapix

## No Commonwealth stamp for ANC plan

WMAJ 6-12/10/89  
THE ANC/OAU settlement plan for South Africa will not be formally endorsed at the crucial Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) meeting in Kuala Lumpur on October 18.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

that of the remaining Rivonia trialists and United Democratic Front leader Oscar Mpetha

Despite intensive speculation that the African National Congress document — which was adopted by the Organisation of African Unity in Harare in August — would also become Commonwealth policy, highly-placed Commonwealth and diplomatic sources say it will not come up for formal consideration in Malaysia.

alistic at this stage, and therefore potentially counter productive.

Thus conflict between some European and African member states could be avoided by confining the ANC proposals to the realms of informal discussion during sessions on southern Africa in Kuala Lumpur

The British scenario for change in South Africa under De Klerk is one of the "erosion of apartheid", in which changes are delivered incrementally. A maintenance of this attitude will depend entirely on the substance of those changes

This will be a source of relief to the South African government, whose own plans for negotiations were preempted by the ANC move to map out its own position on a peaceful settlement, although it does not imply a Commonwealth rejection of the ANC principles

It remains uncertain whether the expected clashes between leaders of the Frontline States and the British will materialise in the next fortnight. Certainly on the perennial issue of increased sanctions against Pretoria, Commonwealth officials believe that a workable agreement is attainable.

"We think there is a general feeling," a Commonwealth source told the *Weekly Mail*, "that there will be little question of the CHOGM pushing for further sanctions beyond putting pressure on financial institutions not to roll over loans for South Africa."

A source in the Commonwealth office in London told the *Weekly Mail* yesterday that the official position was that the Commonwealth already had its own document, in the recommendations of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

If this consensus holds, it will mean a firm commitment to maintaining economic pressure at its present levels, and a clear message to President FW de Klerk that major moves toward fundamental change are expected within a definite time-frame. This is not dissimilar to current United States policy on Pretoria.

"The ANC/OAU document is not very far from our own," according to the source, "and so I would be very surprised indeed if it was to be formally proposed."

It is understood that the ANC/OAU proposals are not even included among the "background documents" being prepared for the week-long CHOGM meeting.

British sources expect isolated calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions to be made at Kuala Lumpur, but believe these will be ritualistic rather than a point on which the Commonwealth will suffer serious divisions.

There are, however, significant differences between the EPG proposals and the ANC/OAU document, and it is believed that one or more Commonwealth leaders would refuse to endorse it if forced into such a decision

And despite reports that, in order to defuse expected pressure on her in Malaysia, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would be able to "deliver" a released Walter Sisulu, British sources say they have "absolutely no indication" of when the ANC veteran will come out.

Most crucially, while the British are known to have no problems with the document's preamble — or, indeed, with some two-thirds of the ANC's conditions, which overlap with those of the EPG — Whitehall will not go along with demands for an "interim government", believing it to be unre-

They think it highly unlikely, however, that he will be freed before October 18, although pressure is being maintained for his release along with

# PAC leader condemns marches

"WHAT do you gain by marching from St Mary's Cathedral to John Vorster Square and back?"

This was the question asked by the ailing president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Zeph Mothopeng, at a press conference in Johannesburg earlier this week.

The conference was called to brief the press on Mothopeng's travels during a six-month trip outside the country, the state of his health, and the PAC's stance on current political developments within the country.

He attacked the notion of negotiations as well as the defiance campaign which had spread countrywide in recent months.

Mothopeng said sporadic marches in recent weeks had let both State President FW de Klerk and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok "off the hook"; the fact that permission had been received for the marches to take place had portrayed De Klerk as

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

a "great reformer"

Regarding negotiations, he argued that the time was not ripe for such a venture since the "masses of Azania" were still in an inferior position to that of the government.

On sanctions he said, "The campaign for sanctions must be put in the hands of the toiling masses of Azania, not the capitalists and the financiers. The people of Azania must decide and nobody else."

His task, he concluded, would be to continue uniting the people under the banner of African nationalism.

During his stay overseas Mothopeng addressed the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement and anti-apartheid rallies in the United Kingdom and the United States, and met Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe.

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# Embassies support concert for activist

8/Day 6/10/89  
THIRTEEN embassies have pledged support for a "solidarity" concert in Johannesburg tomorrow which is being held to raise funds for poet and anti-apartheid activist Mzwakhe Mbuli, a West German embassy official said yesterday.

Mbuli goes on trial with his wife Nomsa at the Protea Magistrate's Court on Monday on charges under the Arms and Ammunitions Act.

In a statement, the West German Embassy, one of the main organisers of the event, said it hoped this action would help

DANIEL SIMON

Mbuli to overcome the problems he is currently facing

The charges against Mbuli and his wife follow their arrest on March 17 for the possession of explosives Mbuli's Pimville, Soweto, home was also the target of a hand grenade attack in August.

The West German embassy's cultural affairs official Klaus Bönemann said 12 other embassies had pledged to send representatives to attend the concert at Johan-

nesburg's Market Theatre Warehouse

The other nations were Britain, Austria, Australia, Canada, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany and Japan

The feeling in diplomatic circles following the handgrenade attack on Mbuli's home was that if the Soweto poet was given "international attention", suspected right wingers who have been harrasing him would refrain from further attacks

Tickets for the concert will sell for R5,65 and all proceeds will go to Mbuli

## Mandela release soon, says Inkatha leader

*Cpt Taps 7/10/87*  
DURBAN — A top Inkatha official says KwaZulu has reached an agreement with the government on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said he was sure the prisoners would be released in the near future.

Dr Dhlomo said this in West Germany yesterday while addressing the conference of the Foundation for European and International Co-operation.

Dr Dhlomo said prospects for constitutional negotiations were extremely promising and, if the government removed some of the obstacles in the way of starting the negotiation process, peaceful change could soon take place in South Africa.

He said negotiation and not revolution was the gateway to a new democratic South Africa.



# MIDM clerics to meet FW on SA 'crisis'

Cape Times 7/10/89

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and ANDRE KOOPMAN

STATE President Mr F W de Klerk will meet a top delegation of anti-apartheid clerics this Wednesday to discuss "the crisis facing South Africa".

Mr De Klerk agreed to hold talks at the Union Buildings next Wednesday with three of the government's arch-foes — Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane

The talks were initiated by Archbishop Tutu who said he wanted to "spell out to Mr De Klerk the steps he needs to take to create a climate conducive to genuine and productive negotiations to resolve the crisis facing South Africa"

Archbishop Tutu, who emphasised that the church leaders aimed to act as "facilitators" rather than negotiators, said he did not believe that Mr De Klerk appreciated "the far-reaching nature of the steps he must take to get talks off the ground"

Mr De Klerk responded positively to the request within hours, signalling his willingness to talk to leaders regarded as key figures in the Mass Democratic Movement

Significantly, the Union Building talks follow hot on the heels of talks this week between the Transvaal Administrator, Mr Danie Hough, and members of the Soweto Peoples' Delegation, including Archbishop Tutu,

the South African Council of Churches' Mr Chikane, the National Union of Mineworkers' Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the UDF's Mrs Albertina Sisulu

These talks on local issues such as rents, services and housing were widely seen as an acknowledgement by Mr De Klerk's new administration that government could not have constitutional talks without the involvement of the extra-parliamentary opposition

## 'Demands of the people'

In a joint statement yesterday Dr Boesak, Dr Chikane and Archbishop Tutu said "We want to see Mr De Klerk as soon as possible because we want to establish before the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting later this month whether he is serious about dismantling apartheid and entering negotiations to bring about a truly democratic South Africa"

"Dr Boesak will attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting Dr Chikane travels to Canada next week.

"Before they go, we want to hear from Mr De Klerk personally His response to the demands of our people, whether he persists in his refusal to talk to the African National Congress and what concrete steps he intends to take within the next six months to abolish apartheid and introduce a non-racial democracy," the statement said

# SA Info

CPI- Times 7/10/89

# Woman vanishes in SWA

PRETORIA. — Speculation is rife in Namibia that a member of South Africa's Bureau for Information attached to the Administrator-General's office may have tried to defect to the Soviet Union after spending just two weeks in the territory.

The staffer, Mrs Sue Dobson, has left behind a trail of mystery, with sources saying yesterday that the puzzle began on September 20 when she travelled to Oshakati with a foreign television crew, apparently to film the peace process there.

On her return to Windhoek three days later, on September 23, she apparently shunned colleagues.

That evening she turned up at the offices of the national electricity supplier, Swawek, but left after finding the building closed.

She then left for Suiderhof military base, where senior UN officials held discussions with her. She spent the night at the base, the sources said.

The following day she was taken by Untag to the Soviet observer mission in Windhoek, where she held discussions with Soviet officials.

She left the Soviet mission after two hours, rented a vehicle, telephoned her husband in Pretoria from Windhoek Airport, then returned to Windhoek.

The following morning, she drove into South Africa, spending several hours in Upington. She then crossed into Botswana, from where she and her husband, a Briton, flew to Britain.

In a statement released yesterday, the Bureau, which declined to comment on her last 72 hours in Namibia, said that Mrs Dobson had not yet given any reason for her behaviour to authorities, and that her services with the Bureau have been "terminated".

The Cape Times London correspondent reports that senior ANC and Swapo officials were "not available" last night to comment on suggestions that Mrs Dobson may have been linked to them.

One ANC source denied knowledge of her, as did a Swapo member, who noted that her disappearance coincided with the murder of Swapo member Mr Anton Lubowski. — Sapa

**BUCHIZYA MSETEKA**

**DAKAWA (Tanzania)** — Far from its beleaguered homeland, the African National Congress (ANC) runs an ambitious project to teach its members useful skills for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Aided by the Scandinavian governments, the ANC has transformed this remote village 260 km west of Tanzania's capital Dar es Salaam into a thriving settlement for 1,000 members. Gullies have given way to large fields of maize and vegetables. Pigs, cattle and chickens

arrive here next year under plans to build up the ANC presence in Tanzania, a safe border from the South African border. Dakawa is self-sufficient in food and produces enough to supply ANC members elsewhere in Tanzania. The settlement hopes ultimately to produce a

surplus of grain, meat and vegetables to sell to its Tanzanian neighbours. Nothing in the rural peace of South Africa's largest guerrilla movement of the violent unrest at home or the repeated detentions most of them suffered before fleeing into exile.

Manager Mr Dennis Oswald and his labour force of about 90 grow 90 tons of maize a year and grind it into meal, the staple food at the centre. They

hope to double production this year. They grow a variety of vegetables, and keep 800 pigs, 600 cattle, 1,000 goats and 3,000 chickens to feed more than 2,000 ANC members in Tanzania from the organisation's own resources.

The ANC runs another large farming and educational settlement at Mororo, 55 km south of Dakawa, and diplomatic sources say the guerrilla movement has secret military training

centres to teach carpentry, plumbing, electrical and pre-chemical engineering, textile processes and brick-laying. A neat 100-bed hospital stands out as you enter Solomon Mahlangu. Built by the Dutch in 1933, it caters for both ANC members in Tanzania and the Tanzanian residents of Mororo town. — Reuter

filed in 1964 to join the ANC. "As most homes are under construction, accommodation here is still a problem," he says, pointing to about 20 tents scattered around the camp. "But we are provided with food, welfare, education and health care."

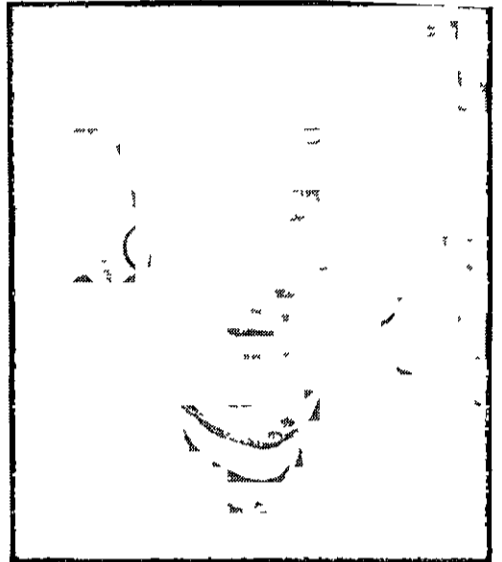
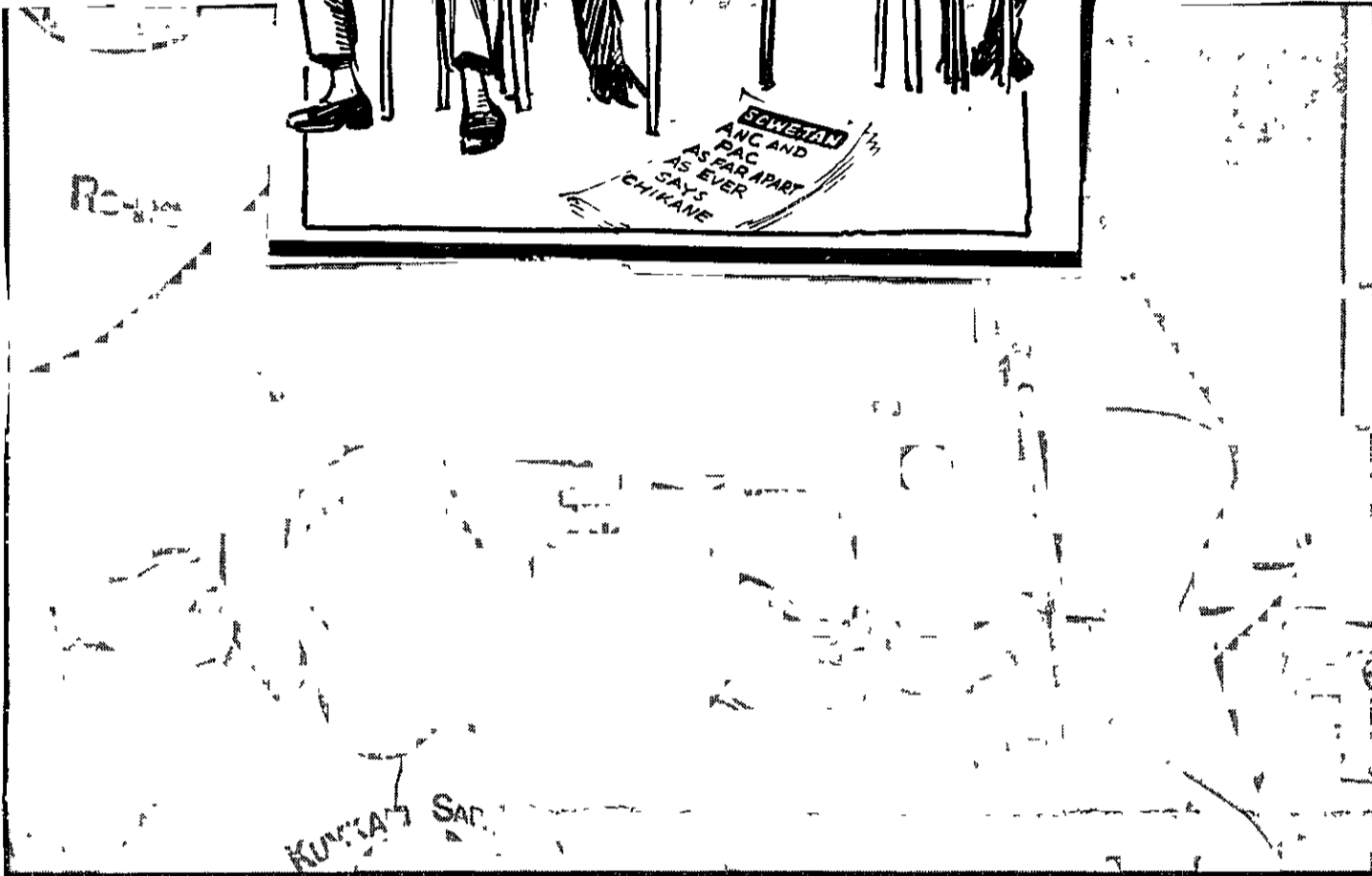
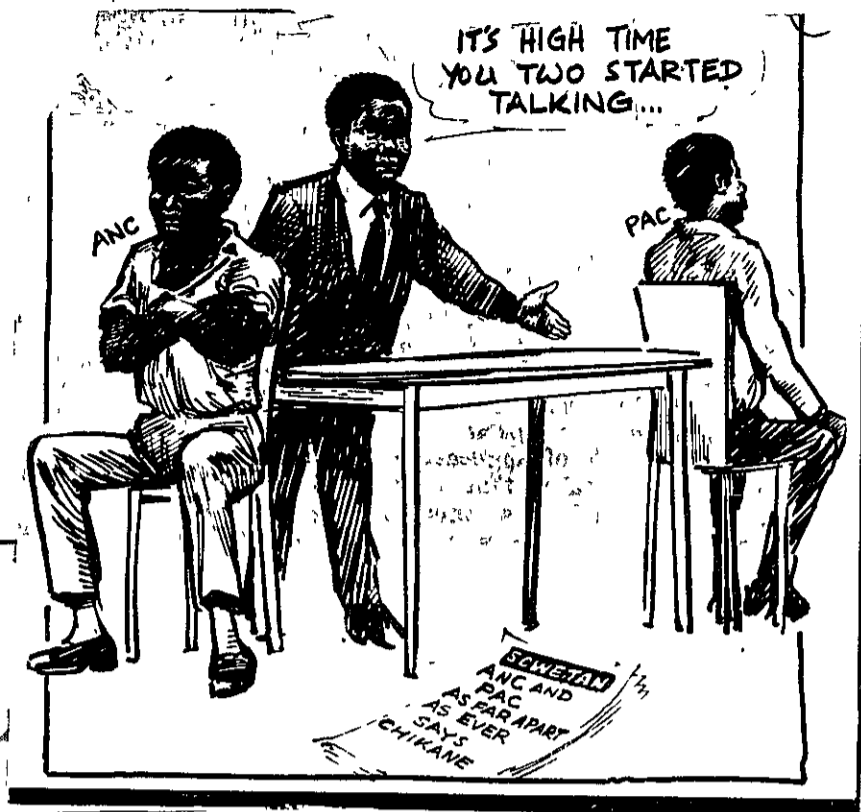
The camp is preparing to accommodate 7,000 new members next year when 180 homes now under construction are completed. Site workers provide their

own building materials and expertise and make their own bricks. Mr Oswald, an ANC veteran who fled South Africa in the 1960s, has been instrumental in building both Dakawa and the Freedom College at the nearby Solomon Mahlangu settlement.

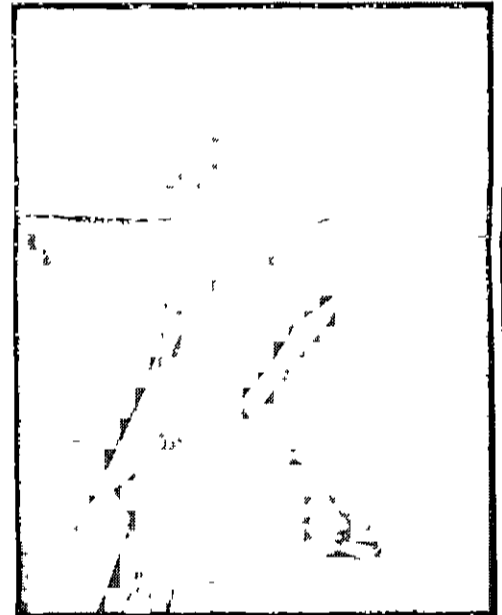
He said that in addition to feeding the ANC in Tanzania, the two settlements train people in agriculture, industrial trades and business administration. Mr Veli Kataja (81) heads a

# In Dakawa, ANC exiles train for the day apartheid goes

15-man Finnish team running the leather factory at Dakawa, training apprentices to make shoes, boots and sandals. Dakawa and another settlement, Solomon Mahlangu, both have their own primary and secondary schools and vocational centres to teach carpentry, plumbing, electrical and pre-chemical engineering, textile processes and brick-laying. A neat 100-bed hospital stands out as you enter Solomon Mahlangu. Built by the Dutch in 1933, it caters for both ANC members in Tanzania and the Tanzanian residents of Mororo town. — Reuter



Mrs Winnie Mandela at the funeral.



Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa at the Dalindyebo funeral.

Flags and banners carried at the Dalindyebo funeral included the colours of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

# Question mark hangs over the Transkei

w/c Argus 7/10/89

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By LOUISE FLANAGAN, Weekend Argus Correspondent in EAST LONDON

**L**AST weekend's huge funeral of Sabata Dalindyebo indicates not only the family's re-gaining of power, but also a significant shift in Transkei politics.

The change has both undermined Chief Kaiser Matanzima's claim to traditional leadership in the area and given rise to a chieftaincy seen as being firmly linked with the African National Congress.

This is likely to give support for the ANC in Transkei a huge boost.

The military rulers seem now to be making contact with the ANC, either directly or indirectly.

Military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa is rumoured to have visited Oliver Tambo recently, although he denies this. His brother Patekile, who lives in the same house as him, recently paid a visit to Mr Nelson Mandela.

**T**HIS week there were reports that Mandela wishes to build a house in Umtata — a project which Holomisa said he is quite happy with. Such a move on Mr Mandela's part suggests respect for Holomisa.

In a further twist, the change in the paramountcy has been openly supported by General Holomisa, whose father was a chief under Chief Sabata. This means Holomisa is being seen as tolerant of ANC supporters and popular leaders in the territory.

The military has also apparently quietly dropped its original claims to be staying out of politics and simply "holding things together" until civilian handover.

Instead the council, particularly Holomisa, is talking about looking at Transkei's future, "doing their homework", and possibly even allowing greater political expression in the territory.

**A** CASE in point is Holomisa's announcement this week of a possible referendum.

The referendum idea seems to be linked to Transkei fears that South Africa's President F W de Klerk will start negotiations and forget to include the "independent" states.

Holomisa's plan seems to be to have a referendum so he can gauge what Transkeians want in the event of negotiations to retain "independence", to be part of a federation of states or to re-integrate with South Africa.

There seems to be no plan to simply implement such a referendum's outcome: there's no question about Transkei staying separate while the National Party rules.

"We are not going into South Africa under De Klerk," Holomisa stated firmly. "We are not going to commit that suicide."

While the referendum idea is limited and seems likely to cause the military more headaches than it is worth, it does at least indicate a willingness to look into and plan for the future, as well as a certain liberalism that can allow even the thought of re-integration to be contemplated.

**O**N another level, the funeral is just one indication of a more liberal attitude to opposition among the military rulers.

Only a few months ago a funeral like Chief Sabata's would have been unthinkable.

Last weekend there was open and enthusiastic support for both the ANC and South African Communist Party among the 15 000 mourners, and not a uniformed policeman in sight to take any action.

Mass Democratic Movement speakers attacked the bantustan system and "unbanned" the ANC and other organisations in Transkei. They spoke on a platform with Holomisa listening next to them.

The armed forces were represented by only a handful of soldiers, whose sole role seemed to be to put up tents and run generators, and traffic policemen who even joined in the shouts of support for the dead king.

**A**FTER the funeral, Holomisa said he had no problems with being on the same platform as the MDM leaders and that nobody would be prosecuted for anything said on the day.

"I think they are entitled to express their opinion and I can't say shut up," he said, adding that trying to prosecute people was "completely out".

The change in the way Transkei dealt with three recent ANC linked funerals is quite remarkable.

Less than four months ago Transkei police slapped heavy restriction orders on the funerals of two men who died in a car crash.

Lungisa Matutu and Justice Ndlangu had both been acquitted on ANC-linked charges shortly before their deaths and police prohibited their funerals from taking place over a weekend, restricted them to only four hours, prohibited all speakers except ministers of religion, prohibited criticism of the Transkei government and banned all banners and flags.

**E**QUALLY interesting are Holomisa's references to "asking the people what they want" — a strange thing for a military dictator to be saying.

Although he candidly admits they seized power and "we cannot be wished away", he continually refers to "getting mandates" and doing what the majority of the people want.

While a return to civilian government is

no longer on the cards — "Not yet, that's not in the programme yet, it's not in the programme at all" — an easing up on the current ban on political activity seems very likely.

For the Dalindyebos and their supporters, it's been a year of success.

Not only have they won the paramountcy back for Chief Sabata's heir, the young Buyelekhaya, but they have exhumed their king from his commoner's grave and reburied him in the paramount chiefs' graveyard next to his father and grandparents.

The change in the Thembu succession has been a bad blow for the Matanzima brothers. Chief Sabata was Chief Kaiser Matanzima's long-standing enemy and his ghost has now arisen to again threaten Chief Kaiser's legitimacy.

**T**HEMBULAND was originally split by South African ethnologists to create a paramountcy for Chief Kaiser, to give him a platform from which to rule Transkei. It seems likely that the Dalindyebos and their supporters will now try to rejoin Thembuland — under Buyelekhaya — and have Chief Kaiser's paramountcy declared illegal.

Transkeians have already seized the gap after the Thembuland funeral, with two marches taking place with no interference by police.

In Umtata on Monday, the day after the funeral, several thousand protesters marched under an ANC banner from the centre of town to the house of state president Tutor Ndamase. They carried a petition for the lives of Transkei's two political prisoners on death row, as part of the recently launched Save the Patriots campaign.

Police were nowhere to be seen. At Lady Frere the same day, 1 500 people marched to the local magistrate with a similar petition.

**WALTER SISULU**

Born December 18 1912 into a peasant family in the Encoho area of Transkei. Forced to leave school in Std 4, aged 15, to seek work in Johannesburg. Joined the ANC in 1940 and became treasurer of the ANC Youth League. Served on the planning council of the Defiance Campaign in 1952. Banning orders forced him to resign from the ANC in 1954 but he secretly continued to work for it. From December 1956 until March 1961 he was one of the defendants in the treason trial who were acquitted.

After the banning of the ANC and the PAC he was detained, placed under house arrest and arrested six times.

After going underground to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, he was arrested on July 11 1963 at the ANC headquarters at Lillesleaf Farm in Rivonia. On June 12 1964 he, Nelson Mandela and others were convicted for planning acts of political sabotage and revolution and were sentenced to life imprisonment. He was sent to Robben Island and transferred with Mr Mandela to Pollsmoor Prison in April 1982.

**AHMED KATHRADA**

Born August 21 1929 in Schweizer-Reneke. Politically involved from age 11. Member of

the SA Communist Party in the 1940s, and general secretary of the TIC

During 1950s and 1960s was tried, jailed and detained several times. Was one of treason trials. In 1963 went underground and joined Umkhonto high command after being house-arrested. Arrested at Lillesleaf farm with Mr Sisulu and others and sentenced to life in prison in Rivonia trial. Is now in Pollsmoor.

**ANDREW MLANGENI**

Failed after Rivonia trial. Born May 30 1926. Completed Std 8 in Johannesburg. Worked as clerk and bus driver. Joined ANC Youth League in 1951. In 1958 was elected secretary of the ANC's Soweto region. Went underground in 1960s and according to Rivonia trial evidence, he and Elias Motsaedi joined the Johannesburg command of Umkhonto and were responsible for explosives for sabotage

**ELIAS MOTSOAEDI**

Born July 26 1924 in Sekhukuneland (now Leboya). Son of a migrant labourer. Completed Std 6 and was then forced to seek work in Johannesburg. He joined the Leatherworkers Union and, in 1949, the Communist Party. Joined ANC in 1948 and became member of the Transvaal executive. Was detained during

the Defiance Campaign, and held in detention for three months in 1960. Went underground and joined Umkhonto. Arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment at Rivonia trial.

**WILTON MKWAYI**

Born December 24 1923. Was ordered to return from military training abroad to become commander-in-chief of Umkhonto inside SA after the Rivonia arrests.

In 1964, he and four others appeared in a sabotage case which became known as the "little Rivonia trial". The judge found that Mr Mkwayi had become a leader of a new national high command of Umkhonto. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

**RAYMOND MHLABA**

One-time commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Born on December 2 1920 in the Eastern Cape. Did 10 years' schooling and joined the ANC in 1944.

From 1947 to 1953 was ANC branch chairman in Port Elizabeth and became secretary of the local branch of the Communist Party.

Helped organise the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and was elected to the ANC's Cape executive in 1954. From 1956-57 he was banned. He was arrested at Lillesleaf Farm and

sentenced to life imprisonment.

**GOVAN MBEKI**

Born July 18 1910 in Transkei, son of a chief. Completed a BA and teacher's diploma in 1937 at Fort Hare University. Joined the ANC in 1935 while a student. From 1955 edited the leftist *New Age* in Port Elizabeth.

In 1963 defied house arrest to go underground and join Umkhonto, becoming secretary of its high command. He was arrested at Lillesleaf Farm and given a life sentence in June 1964. Was released in November 1987 and lives under restrictions in Port Elizabeth.

**HARRY GWALA**

Born in Edendale near Maritzburg and trained as a teacher at Adams College. He was considered one of the leading members of the ANC and Communist Party in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s and headed the ANC in Maritzburg for a time.

In 1964 he was sentenced to eight years in prison for sabotage. He was released in 1972 but rearrested and detained for two years.

In 1977 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for furthering the aims of the ANC. He was freed in November 1986, suffering from an incurable neurological disease

**OSCAR MPETHA**

Born on August 5 1909 at Mount Fletcher, Transkei. At 80 he is probably South Africa's oldest political prisoner.

In 1934 he moved to Cape Town where he became active in trade unions. Was elected general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers in 1951 and joined the ANC, becoming its Cape chairman in 1958. Was a founder member of the SA Congress of Trade Unions.

In 1978 he rejoined the African Food and Canning Workers Union as national organiser. He was also chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association which fought the planned demolition of Crossroads squatter camp.

In March 1981 he appeared in the Cape Town Supreme Court with 18 others on two charges of murder and several of terrorism, arising from the murder of two whites. In June 1983 he was found guilty of terrorism and given the mandatory five-year sentence. He has spent most of his prison term under armed guard at Groote Schuur Hospital, suffering from chronic diabetes which has partially blinded him.

● Acknowledgements to Shelagh Gastrow, "Who's Who in South African Politics"

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# Some ANC veterans may go free

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THERE is growing speculation that some of the remaining Rivonia trial prisoners are about to be released.

There were strong hints this week that Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha might be freed before Margaret Thatcher goes to the Commonwealth summit which starts in Kuala Lumpur on Wednesday.

In the shadow of the now almost-mythical Nelson Mandela, six other veterans of the African National Congress old guard are also languishing in prison in the 26th year of life sentences.

Names like Wilton Mkwayi, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Mtsosedi probably ring no bells with the man in the street here or elsewhere. Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada are more familiar.

Yet all, like Mr Mandela, were officers of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) jailed in 1964 and now entering their second quarter-century under lock and key.

## Shadow

Now, with the likelihood that others might precede Mr Mandela out of jail, they might be about to emerge from his giant shadow.

Last week the Release Mandela Campaign brought attention to the lesser-known veterans of MK by placing newspaper advertisements calling for their release along with Mr Mandela.

They also called for the release of former ANC Cape president Mr Mpetha and for the lifting of restriction orders on Mr Govan Mbeki, who was convicted in the Rivonia trial and released in November 1987, and on Mr Harry Gwala, the veteran Natal trade unionist and ANC activist released from jail in November last year suffering from a paralyzing illness.

Together these 10 are considered the elder statesmen of the ANC, veterans of the 1940s, '50s and '60s when the ANC made its historic transition from a civil rights movement. Five of the 10 — Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, Mr Kathrada, Mr Mhlaba and Mr Mkwayi — were members of the MK high command.

Mr Mtsosedi and Mr Mlangeni were members of the MK Transvaal regional command. Mr Mhlaba took over from Mr Mandela as commander in chief of MK when Mr Mandela was arrested on August 5 1962 — and jailed for five years in November — for incitement and illegally leaving the country.

After Mr Mhlaba was arrested

## Sisulu and Mpetha could be first on list

PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Correspondent

ed with others at the MJ high command headquarters at Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, in July 1963, Wilton Mkwayi briefly took over as MK commander.

All but Mr Mkwayi were sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage in June 12 1964 at the end of the famous Rivonia trial in the Pretoria Palace of Justice. The State alleged that they had embarked on a campaign to overthrow the Government by violent revolution and by assisting an armed invasion of the country by foreign troops.

Mr Mkwayi was arrested shortly afterwards and in 1964 also received a life sentence for involvement in 58 acts of sabotage in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg.

Of these MK members, all except Mr Mbeki are still in jail. He was released in 1987 partly as a humanitarian gesture as he was old and sick, and partly as a trial run for the possible release of Mr Mandela.

The Government later said in private that the "experiment had failed" — because Mr Mbeki had been taken under the wing of the United Democratic Front and severe restriction orders had been placed on him.

Since then, Oscar Mpetha's name has been added to the

high-priority list of political prisoners to be freed.

This is mainly for humanitarian reasons. Mr Mpetha — often described as the father of trade unionism — turned 80 in August this year, is suffering from chronic diabetes, had a leg amputated recently and has spent most of the last few years in Groote Schuur Hospital under armed guard.

In 1985 he began serving a five-year sentence for involvement in a riot at Crossroads, Cape Town, when two white men were murdered.

Mr Mpetha was convicted under the old Terrorism Act which stipulated a mandatory minimum sentence of five years.

Both the trial judge and the appeal judge said they would not have jailed him for five years if they had had a choice.

## Gesture

The British government has focused its appeal for the release of political prisoners on him, Mr Sisulu and Mr Mandela.

There is mounting speculation that one or more of these three will be released during the next six months.

It is said that Mr Mpetha could be the first to go, followed by Mr Sisulu — possibly as a gesture to Mrs Thatcher before she heads for Malaysia.

# Group to visit Natal 'killing fields' soon

By S'BU MNGADI

AMBASSADORS, clergy, business people and newspaper editors will visit the "killing fields" of Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale on Tuesday.

The Cosatu-UDF alliance yesterday said they had arranged the tour to give them first-hand accounts of the devastating effects of violence in the region.

Since last Saturday more than 30 people died in fierce fighting in Mpumalanga.

Local business people this week dubbed the area "Beirut".

This prompted the president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, Chief Mhlabuzima Maphumulo, and Democratic Party MPs, to renew their calls for a commission of inquiry.

Maphumulo is also seeking a meeting with

President FW de Klerk.

The group will visit both Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha "territories" and seek interviews with leaders of warring factions.

"They will interview residents who have been directly affected by the violence and are living in fear of their lives," said a Cosatu-UDF statement.

The alliance announced on Thursday it was "imperative a peace process be initiated with or without Inkatha".

The alliance claim Kwazulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi and the Inkatha Central Committee (ICC) wanted to use attempts at peace talks over two years to establish a national political position.

A fortnight ago, Inkatha stopped peace talks with the UDF and Cosatu "until there is a prospect of success".

8/10/89



# Who is this Sisulu?

Rumours abound that Walter Sisulu, one of the Rivonia trialists serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor prison, could be released any day. The possibility of Nelson Mandela's release has been ruled out this year but critics believe Sisulu and United Democratic Front leader Oscar Mphetha may be released before British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher faces her critics at the Commonwealth meeting on October 18.

City Press looks at the man behind the myth.

WALTER Max Ulyate Sisulu was born into a peasant family in Transkei in 1912

He was raised by his mother and an uncle, who was a headman. He attended school at the local Anglican Institute, but left in Std 4 after his uncle died and was forced to find employment in Johannesburg.

Sisulu returned to Transkei and underwent Xhosa initiation rites before going back to Johannesburg in 1929. He later moved to East London, where he came into contact with Clements Kadali's Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.

He moved back to Johannesburg with his mother and sister in the early 1930's and worked in factories.

He studied privately and took part in cultural groups - including the Orlando Brotherly Society, a Xhosa organisation which encouraged members to aim for economic independence from whites.

In 1940, while working in a bakery, Sisulu organised a strike for higher wages and was fired. After clashes with other employers he established his own real-estate agency, but this closed down after two years.

In 1940 Sisulu joined the

December 1949, helped get the Youth League's programme of action accepted at the ANC Conference.

He was elected secretary-general of the organisation, defeating Dan Tloome.

In 1950 the ANC, the Indian Congress and the South

much of his leadership role. He served on the joint planning council of the Defiance Campaign and led a group of passive resisters, with the result that he was arrested and banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Kingdom. He was impressed with Soviet industrial development but was repelled by Stalin's harsh regime. After working with Indians during the Defiance Campaign, this tour changed his views from a racially exclusive nationalism to the

## Young lion in 1940, life in 1964

African National Congress and became Treasurer of the ANC Youth League.

During the war he campaigned against blacks joining the army and, with other ANC activists, pressed for a more radical form of nationalism within the ANC.

In 1946 he tried to start a general strike in support of the black muneworkers' strike. Sisulu rose to the Transvaal provincial executive of the ANC and, in

In December 1952 Sisulu, Mandela, Moroka and 17 others were tried under the Suppression of Communism Act for their part in the campaign. All twenty were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour, suspended for two years.

Sisulu was re-elected secretary-general in the same month and, in 1953, spent five months touring China, the Soviet Union, Israel, Rumania and the United

point where he supported the multi-racial Congress of the People's alliance in 1954. His banning order, which prevented him from attending meetings, was re-enforced and in mid-1954 it was extended to force his resignation from the ANC.

Although Sisulu played a leading role in organising the 1955 Congress, he was unable to participate but secretly continued to work for the ANC.

In December 1956 he was among 156 people arrested for treason.

The preparatory examination of the 'Treason Trial' began on December 19, 1956, in the Johannesburg Drill Hall and lasted for nine months.

The trial lasted until March 1961, when Sisulu and the other accused were acquitted.

After the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, Sisulu was placed under house arrest.

In 1962 he was arrested six times but was only charged once.

Finally, in March 1963, he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC by organising the stay-at-home protest in May 1961. He was released on bail and placed under house arrest.

On April 20, 1963, Sisulu went underground to join Umkhonto we Sizwe. He

made a short broadcast from a secret ANC radio station on June 26.

On July 11 that year the ANC's headquarters at Liliesleaf Farm were raided by police. Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others were captured.

Sisulu was held in solitary confinement for 88 days. The trial opened in October 1963 and on June 12, 1964, Sisulu was convicted of planning acts of political sabotage and revolution and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

In April 1982, he was admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town for a "routine medical examination". That month he and Mandela were moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison.

Sisulu's wife Albertina, whom he married in 1944, is president of the United Democratic Front in the Transvaal. They have five children.

# A people's man who was also a hard politician

P. T. O.

By CHARLES MOGALE

WALTER Sisulu was a people's man, admired even by his political foes

Those who knew the secretary-general of the ANC from the 1930s marvelled at his tireless efforts to uplift blacks economically in the face of massive exploitation

"But he was a hard-core politician," said Duke Moleko, a retired journalist who knew both Sisulu and Mandela

"He was outstanding. You could disagree with him on everything, but you could not help admiring the man's intellect and integrity. He was tough."

Moleko said that unlike most politicians of today, Sisulu and his peers allowed and even welcomed disagreement

"If they come out of jail and join politics, we will have some direction and sense."

Another counterpart of Sisulu is George Xorile of Orlando West, Soweto. Xorile is a neighbour and distant relative of Sisulu's wife Albertina, and once led the all-powerful Asinamali Party which was at the forefront of civic politics in the townships in the 1950s.

Despite past differ-

ences, Xorile considers Sisulu a great leader. "Walter was a great man, respected by everybody. Even though we were at loggerheads politically, we remained great friends."

Xorile made it possible for the ANC to use the Orlando Communal Hall for the conference in which Robert Sobukwe and Zeph Mothopeng broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress.

"I am among the first to call for the release of our people on Robben Island. They are not criminals," said Xorile.



George Xorile - Sisulu was a great leader.



# Mandela to return to Transkei?

By SAMKELO KUMALO

SPECULATION is rife that ANC leader Nelson Mandela wants his rural home at Qunu, 20km from Umtata, renovated and ready for his release.

However, it is not clear whether he wants to live there or in Soweto.

A member of the Dalindyebo family told *City Press* that Mandela had been visited by Tembu chiefs before the funeral of his cousin, King Sabata Dalindyebo.

He was asked what he intended doing about his home in Qunu.

Mandela "expressed the view that he would like to have his old home renovated".

Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said the Transkei government would have no objection if Mandela

returned to his home.

Many former ANC and PAC prisoners had returned to Transkei and Mandela would not be restricted or refused, he said.

A Dalindyebo family member said "The feeling is that Mandela would like to spend most of his

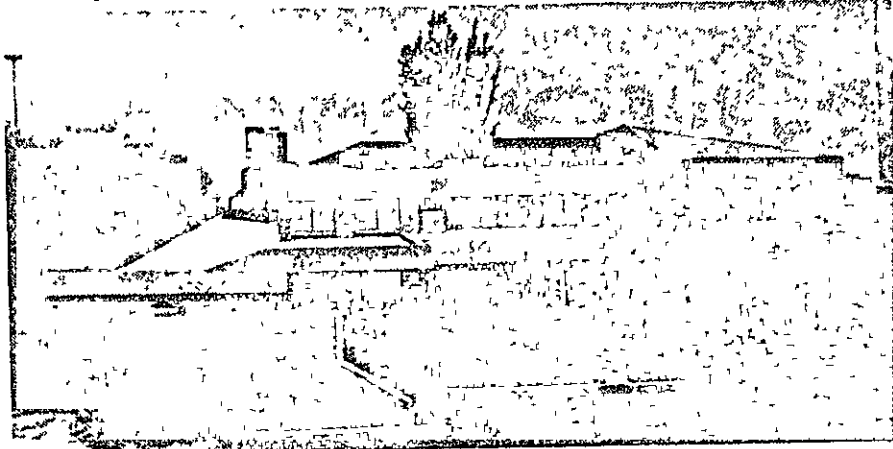
time after his release in Qunu, although he would not be confined to the homeland."

Another source said Winnie Mandela was expected at Qunu to finalise plans for the renovation.

According to rumours in Umtata, Mandela's son from his first marriage,

Makgatho, is planning to rebuild his father's home. This could not be confirmed.

It had been expected that Mandela would live in Soweto after his release. Winnie Mandela could not be contacted for comment yesterday.



The uncompleted Soweto "mansion" built by Winnie Mandela.

# No

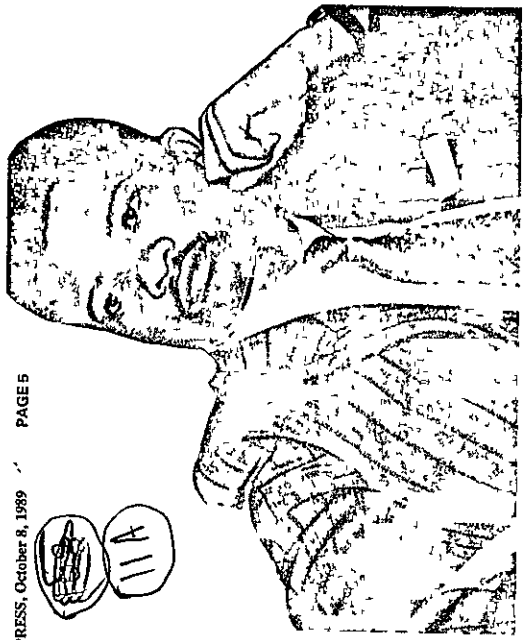
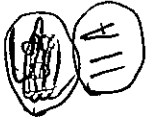
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# Crawling

# Transkei

CITY PRESS, October 8, 1989

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**THE days of Transkei's lip-service to Pretoria was over and "we have told Pretoria openly our lip-service is over", Gen Bantu Holomisa, military ruler of Transkei, told City Press this week.**

He said not a single promise made to the people of Transkei had been fulfilled.

"The people of Transkei had not enjoyed their independence. The whole thing needs to be reviewed."

This follows a statement made at the funeral of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo last week, that Transkei might hold a referendum to decide whether to be reincorporated in South Africa.

He allowed the ANC to hold a major rally during the funeral in Bumbane. Four ANC flags and three SACP flags were flown at the funeral attended by nearly 40 000 people.

During the 90-minute interview Holomisa said he and his military council were studying the ANC's guidelines on negotiation.

It is possible that we may ask the ANC to clarify aspects of the documents. They are the authors. Possibly we will approve it.

Holomisa said Transkei and South Africa had no agreement on the ANC. The only agreement was that South Africa would not be attacked from Transkeian soil.

Asked about the ANC presence at the funeral of

King Sabata, he said "We were fully aware that Sabata's funeral would have these groups. I have allowed banned organisations to be represented at the funeral of King Sabata Dalindyebo. I have allowed restricted persons from anti-apartheid organisations to address people here."

It is known Holomisa allowed his brother Phakiso to hold talks with top ANC men including Joe Slovo and the chief of staff of the

we committee to consider the advisability of a referendum on Transkei's constitutional future. To look at the mechanics of conducting such a referendum. To recommend suitable forums where the referendum issue could be debated to ensure broad participation in this deci-

want reintegration into South Africa. "Our royalties from our platinum resources are substantial and we have a growing industrial sector in Bophuthatswana."

"We don't really think there would be much value in pulling our independence to pieces."

Cooper said Holomisa's 'attitude' stemmed from his desire 'to gain traditional support which he has lacked from the time he came into power after his coup.'

Holomisa's rejection of independence could well be "a political ploy" to strengthen his support he said.

The deputy Director-General of Ciskei's Department of Foreign Affairs Headman Somtunzi, described Ciskei's independence as 'firm'. He said a referendum was held in Ciskei a year before independence and that 99.8 per cent of the population voted for an independent Ciskei.

"Our people have already assessed the track record of their government and there would be no point in going back to them to ask whether they wanted to be part of South Africa after eight years of independence."

With almost 99 per cent of present facades and many housing schemes having been established after independence becoming a part of South Africa was out of the question.

Somtunzi however left the door partially open to General Holomisa about his intention to seek the support of homeland leaders.

## Kei lip-service to South Africa over as Holomisa mellow to ANC

Unkhonto we Sizwe, Citrus Ham Pathekie Holomisa an advocate donned a cap with ANC colours at the funeral and read a message from the ANC headquarters.

The Transkei government said in a statement on Friday that discussions on Transkei's constitutional future in a post-apartheid South Africa were held at a joint sitting of the Transkei Council of Ministers and the Military Council in August this year.

Holomisa said at the meeting Transkeians themselves had to decide on a constitutional future by means of a referendum. He said economic problems in the other homelands could make them

TRANSKEI is on a collision course with the South African government after Gen Bantu Holomisa's suggestion that a referendum be held on the possible reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa. Holomisa's government is studying the ANC guidelines on negotiations he also allowed a major ANC rally at an important funeral

Venda was non-committal on the issue of integration into South Africa. But the Secretary-General of the Office of the President, JT Ludovho, confirmed that Transkei invited the government of Venda to a meeting of homeland leaders.

The letter of invitation did not include an agenda or a subject of discussion and the meeting has been indefinitely postponed.

**COMRADE** *City Press 8/10/89*  
**CHIEF DALINDYEBO SABATA** *11A*  
**YOUR REBURIAL IS A VICTORY FOR THE STRUGGLE!**



**YOUR UNDYING SPIRIT AND THAT  
OF COMRADE CHIEF ALBERT  
LUTHULI WILL CONTINUE TO POWER  
THE WHEEL OF LIBERATION.  
REST IN PEACE!!!**

*Released by the MANDELA CAMPAIGN 37 JORISSEN STR, BRAAMFONTEIN*

# Cassiem, Actstop share human rights award

CAPE TOWN — Achmad Cassiem, jailed leader of the Cape-based Qibla movement, was named joint winner of *The Indicator* Human Rights Award 1989 at a function attended by more than 600 people in Lenasia on Friday night.

Readers of the Lenasia-based "alternative" newspaper voted Mr Cassiem co-winner with the Johannesburg political pressure group Actstop.

Actstop started in 1977 as an anti-Group Areas Act lobby group and has played a key role in forcing the desegregation of public facilities and residential areas in the city.

*The Indicator* also awarded its honorary Human Rights Award to Mr Hassan Howa, former president of the SA Council on Sport and the SA Cricket Board, and named the banned African National Congress as its Newsmaker of the Year.

The guests gave a standing ovation when the ANC was named as Newsmaker of the Year.

The award was accepted by Mr Laloo Isu Chiba, who spent 18 years on Robben Island for Umkhonto we Sizwe activities. — Sapa.

# Meeting will 'test FW

*Sawotum 9/10/89*  
LUSAKA - The outlawed African National Congress said over the weekend that this week's meeting between South African President FW de Klerk and clergymen would test the sincerity of his promise to abolish racial segregation. De Klerk said on Friday that he had agreed to meet anti-apartheid cleric Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Reverend Frank Chikane at their request to discuss ways of opening dialogue between the state and its opponents.

"The meeting itself is not an indication that De Klerk is serious," top ANC official Mr James Stuart said in Lusaka.

"They (the clergymen) are testing his avowed public statements that he is ready to enter into some negotiating process to dismantle apartheid," he added.

De Klerk has promised to give the voteless black majority a limited role in government over the next five years.

The three clergymen

the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Reformed Churches leader and the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches - have been pressing the government to talk with movements such as the ANC, the main guerilla group fighting white rule.

Asked whether the clergymen had consulted the ANC before arranging the meeting with De Klerk, Stuart added: "They are National leaders in their own right."

He said Tutu wanted negotiation to start and would try to "remove the remaining whatever obstacles there may be in the way of starting negotiations." Sapa-reuter.

# UDF's Titus Mafolo released

STW 9/10/89  
By Janet Heard (11A)

A key United Democratic Front activist Mr Titus Mafolo was released from emergency detention on Friday, lawyers have confirmed.

Mr Mafolo (34), who was part of a delegation that held talks with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and American president Mr George Bush earlier this year, was detained on September 22 and transferred to Grootvlei Prison, Bloemfontein, after embarking on a hunger strike. He resumed eating last week.

This was the seventh time Mr

Mafolo has been detained. He was first detained in 1976.

Lieutenant Peet Bothma, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said that fewer than 50 people were currently being held in detention under the emergency regulations. Eight of them were under the age of 18.

He was responding to the latest report by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) which recorded on October 3 that 231 people were in emergency detention, nine of whom were under the age of 18.

The HRC recorded that a

total of 645 people had been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

The HRC said the lives of many restricted people were in danger. This was highlighted in Alexandra last week when a group of gun-wielding men attacked and seriously injured Mr Buti van der Merwe, a worker for the South African Council of Churches.

Forty-one people were being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act as at September 22, according to a police spokesman. He said 10 people were being held under section 10 of the Act.





Some of the people who headed the Sowetan's Prayers for the Nation call held at Regina Mundi yesterday. They were urged to strive for unity and peace

# PRAY FOR PEACE

11A  
Sowetan  
6/8/10/9/9

By PHANGSILE MTSHALI

CHURCH leaders yesterday called for unity, peace and justice in South Africa at the official opening of the Nation Building Week, held at Regina Mundi in Soweto

Uniformed police kept a watchful eye from outside the church in an army vehicle.

Eight prominent church leaders, including

Bishop Peter Storey, Bishop Mamas Buthelezi and Bishop TW Ntongana, offered prayers for the nation

Speaking on the theme *The Cry and Hope of the Nation*, Bishop Stanley Mogoeba, head of the Methodist Church, called on blacks to uphold their roots and dignity

He said the South African black nation was a nation in agony and despair

Our freedom song *Senzani Na* sums up our cry for basic human rights - food, shelter, clothing and equal opportunities. It is a cry, and a clamor of what is rightly ours

"Our people have developed a philosophy of life which places human dignity at the centre of life. *Ubuntu-Boho* is deeply ungranted in our system

"Our survival as a people depends on our unity," he said. "If we father or fail on this issue we may as well call it a day. We have shown weakness on the question of unity on important matters"

Mogoeba warned the black nation of the dangers of allowing themselves to be manipulated by others

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# Sisulu freed soon?

CHT TMS 9/1/69

**SOUTH AFRICA'S most prominent political prisoner after Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, is confident of his release following reports that the government plans to free him later this month, relatives said at the weekend.**

Government sources said South Africa had approved the release of Mr Sisulu, 77, and another important prisoner, 80-year-old Mr Oscar Mpeha, ahead of a summit of Com-

monwealth leaders starting on October 18 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The sources, who declined to be named, said the men would probably be freed a few days before the summit opened on October 18. The decision to free Mr Sisulu and Mr Mpeha before the summit was designed to ease pressure on British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher who opposes efforts by her Commonwealth colleagues to impose further sanctions on South Africa. "We owe Mrs Thatcher a favour," one source said.

Mr Sisulu was visited in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday and on Saturday by his wife, UDF co-president Mrs Alberta Sisulu, who intends to visit him again today and tomorrow. Mrs Sisulu, who is restricted and may not speak to the press was accompanied on Saturday's visit by her daughter, Mrs Nkululeko Mavumbe, her son-in-law Mr Clive Mavumbe and two grandchildren, Zwelethu (1½) and Vuyelwa (4).

Mrs Mavumbe said the visit had been a surprise to her father. He had made no preparations or plans for his release, but he believed that reports which appeared first in the British press and then locally were accurate. Mr Mpeha, South Africa's oldest political prisoner, was convicted of terrorism in 1987 and jailed for five years. He is in poor health in a Cape Town hospital.

A diabetic who has had one of his legs amputated, Mr Mpeha is in Groote Schuur Hospital serving out a five-year prison sentence which was handed down after a two-year trial. His grandson, Mr Prince Mpeha, said yesterday that Mr Oscar Mpeha had told him anything either. Asked about the possible release of Mr Sisulu and Mr Mpeha, a spokesman for the South African Prisons Service said last night that it was not their policy to "speculate on the possible release of any individual."

**DEATH CRASH ... One of the two involved in a head-on collision ...**

After the release of Mr Sisulu and Mr Mpeha, the government will see how the country, particularly the black majority, reacts before freeing other prominent imprisoned leaders. "He (Mr Sisulu) knows that his behaviour will have a bearing on the release of others," one government source said. The sources said Mr Mandela's freedom would come last — at his own request.

"He does not want to be released while his friends are still in prison. He wants to come out with a clear conscience," a source said.

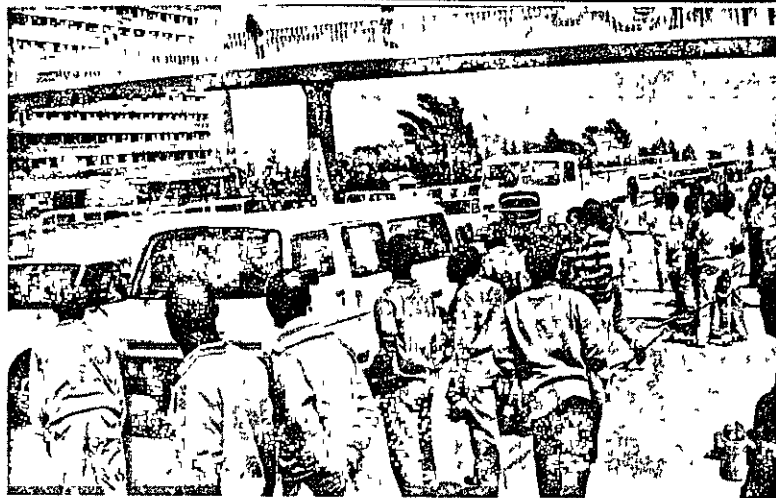
Mr Mandela's release might even come before Christmas, the sources said, but added that no date had been set.

"The whole cabinet agrees they must be freed. They are unanimous," one source said. Differences continued however, over what would happen when heroes of the black nationalist movement were released back into society, the sources said.

One group in the cabinet feared an explosion of black protest against South Africa's white-led rulers, while others thought the release of Mr Sisulu and others could defuse tension because "the masses will feel they have more freedom." — Sapa-Reuter, UPI and Staff Reporter

# Sisulu, Mpetha to be released

Sowetan 9/10/89



Taxi drivers converge on the Baragwanath tax rank, where they held a meeting with taxi association officials

**WALTER SISULU**, South Africa's most prominent political leader after Nelson Mandela, is confident of his release following reports that the Government plans to free him later this month, relatives said.

Government sources earlier said South Africa had approved the release of Sisulu (77) and another important prisoner 80 year-old Oscar Mpetha ahead of a summit of Commonwealth leaders starting on October 18 in Kuala Lumpur.

The sources who declined to be named said they would probably be freed a few days before the summit opens.

The decision to free Sisulu and Mpetha before the summit was designed to ease pressure on British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher who opposes efforts by her Commonwealth colleagues to impose further sanctions on South Africa.

"We owe Thatcher a favour," one source said. Sisulu's daughter and son-in-law spoke to the Press after they and their two children, along with Sisulu's wife Albertina visited him in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town on Saturday.

Nonkululeko and Tay Mavube said the authorities had said nothing to Sisulu regarding his release but he was confident of freedom after reading speculation about it in the newspapers.

The former secretary general of the ANC was sentenced in June 1964 with Mandela at the Rivonia treason trial to life imprisonment for plotting sabotage and revolution.

Mpetha, South Africa's oldest political prisoner, was convicted of terrorism in 1987 and jailed for five years. He is in poor health in a Cape Town hospital.

Sisulu knows that his behaviour will have a bearing on the release of others, one source said. The sources said Mandela's freedom will come last - at his own request.

"He does not want to be released while his friends are still in prison. He wants to come out with a clean conscience," a source said.

Mandela's release may even come before Christmas, the sources said but added that no date had been set.

The release of political prisoners will be an important move in the campaign of its new President FW de Klerk to win international respectability - Sapa-Reuter.

## Commuters are stranded after Soweto taxi strike

SOWETAN REPORT

SOWETO taxi drivers went on strike on Friday morning, leaving thousands of commuters stranded in the area.

Commuters who turned to railways for alternative transport discovered it was just not their day - trains were running late, thanks to a technical fault in the South African Transport Services' rail system.

Townships affected by the one-day strike were Senoane, Protea, Tshlawelo, Dlamini and Naledi.

The drivers, who parked their kombis near Baragwanath Hospital, Diepkloof, were protesting

against what they termed "bad working conditions". Their grievances included ill treatment by taxi owners, who they claimed often called them "boys".

The strike was suspended after Soweto Taxi Association officials, addressing the drivers at the AME church in Tshlawelo on Friday, promised to investigate the complaints. The two parties will hold another meeting on Wednesday.

"One of our grievances is that whenever there is a disciplinary case against a driver only the complainant and taxi association officials are allowed to attend the hearing," a taxi driver told the Sowetan.

## Meeting will 'test FW

LUSAKA - The outlawed African National Congress said over the weekend that this week's meeting between South African President FW de Klerk and clergymen

would test the sincerity of his promise to abolish racial segregation. De Klerk said on Friday that he had agreed to meet anti-apartheid clerics Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Reverend Frank Chikane at their request to discuss ways of opening dialogue between the state and its opponents.

"The meeting itself is not an indication that De Klerk is serious," top ANC official Mr James Stuart said in Lusaka.

"They (the clergymen) are testing his avowed public statements that he is ready to enter into some negotiating process to dismantle apartheid," he added.

De Klerk has promised to give the voteless black majority a limited role in government over the next five years.

The three clergymen -

the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Reformed Churches leader and the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches have been pressing the government to talk with movements such as the ANC, the main guerrilla group fighting white rule.

Asked whether the clergymen had consulted the ANC before arranging the meeting with De Klerk, Stuart added: "They are National leaders in their own right."

He said Tutu wanted negotiation to start and would try to 'remove the remaining whatever obstacles there may be in the way of starting negotiations' - Sapa-reuter.

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**FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter**

THE OWN OPERATIC ARTIST TO SELL OVER A MILLION COPIES OF 'MARIO LANZA' AND IRONICALLY THE SUCCESSFUL PRICES DID NOT COME FROM AN OPERA. IT WAS BE MY LOVE.

THE IRISH TENOR JOHN FRANCIS BORMACK (88) HAS GIVEN A RECORD TO CAPACITY AUDIENCES IN A SINGLE SEASON IN 'NIGHTS' HIS REPERTOIRE RANGED FROM 'PURA IRISH BALLADS TO GRAND OPERA.

OF GREAT FORTUNES EARNED BY OPERATIC SINGERS' SHEET ON RECORD FOR A WOMAN TO THE \$3,000,000 RECEIVED BY THE SPANISH COLLABORATOR ANSELITA GALLI CURC (67) HAS OBTAINED HER CASES.

IT'S THE GRAY SONG FROM 'ALICIA' 'Banco'

Drawn by DICK MILLINGTON

# Missing Info

CM 7/1/10/10/1979

## woman not with ANC, says father

JOHANNESBURG. — The father of missing Bureau for Information official Mrs Sue Dobson has confirmed that his daughter told a Soviet official in Windhoek she was an ANC operative, but he believes her claim is untrue.

Her father, Mr A E Millson, said Mrs Dobson had been in an extremely agitated state when she arrived at the office of the Soviet observer mission in Windhoek, according to South African officials who had been in contact with the Russians.

Mr Millson said his daughter appeared to have been in a confused and emotional state and he did not believe she was a member of the ANC.

He said she had not been involved in politics and in her confused state had thought of herself as of a sort of "James Bond" figure.

### Soviet denial

She had done nothing wrong and he hoped she would be able to return home if the matter was not blown out of proportion.

He said the security police had assured him they did not believe she was a member of the ANC.

Mrs Dobson went missing from Windhoek where she had been seconded to work in the office of the administrator-general and fled to London via Botswana on September 24.

In London the Soviet embassy yesterday formally denied any involvement with Mrs Dobson.

A spokesman said "The stories in the British press are not true. She has not defected, nor is she with us."

A spokesman for the South African embassy in London said it had no information on Mrs Dobson.

It has been stated in London that if Mrs Dobson was an agent, or even a member of the ANC, the organisation would have been quick to claim credit for her "defection" or "escape" in view of her secondment to the Namibian Administrator-General's office in Windhoek and her likely access to confidential information. — Sapa

# Wimpie says ANC is ready to compromise (11A)

STAR 10/10/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Rand Afrikaans University professor Dr Willem de Klerk believes the ongoing discussions between South African academics and the African National Congress could play a vital role in paving the way for negotiations between the Government and the banned organisation.

In his first interview since the recent meeting between prominent academics and a top ANC delegation in London, Dr de Klerk said a range of burning questions had been discussed — to a “very positive” effect

Dr de Klerk, brother of President F W de Klerk, disclosed that he had been involved over the past two years in discussions between academics and the ANC. This was his third encounter with an ANC delegation.

“The discussions are confidential, thorough and positive. The ANC is prepared to make strong compromises. They openly say that their documents are not the holy Gospel”

Dr de Klerk, a political commentator and founder member of the Democratic Party, indirectly dismissed speculation that he was keeping mum about his ANC contact because it was perceived as an embarrassment to the Government.

He said “I will continue to be part of the South African group. In this way I am doing something for my country and for politics”

He said the academics had “no direct intention” to play a mediating role between the Government and the ANC.

They did not want to interfere with the Government’s schedule or actions.

Asked whether he would discuss his experiences with his brother, he said “Yes, I will. I am making my experiences and viewpoints, as continually polished through the discussions, available to anyone.”

He refused to reveal the venue of the London meeting, saying he did not want to “embarrass our host”

# PAC leader returns

THE PRESIDENT of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, received a rousing welcome when he arrived back in South Africa last night after a two-month trip abroad.

STW 11/10/87  
Among the scores of people who welcomed Mr. Mothopeng was the president of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr James Mndaweni. Mr Mothopeng was released from prison last year. (11A)

MA  
C. Press  
10  
PAC man  
gets 10  
year rap

By HAPPY ZONDI

PAC member Wellington Vusimuzi Mandoyi, 31, was sentenced in the Johannesburg magistrate's court this week to an effective 10 years' imprisonment on a charge of terrorism.

Passing judgement, Magistrate SJ Lombard said he found it strange Mandoyi confessed to the inspector of detainees that he had been assaulted, yet he said he did not believe in any law-enforcing bodies.

After the passing of sentence, Mandoyi turned to the public gallery and, with a broad smile, gave them the PAC salute. The public roared their response.



# MDM, Mandela meeting paved way

Argus 11/10/87 11P

**From PATRICK LAURENCE  
The Argus Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG** — A confidential meeting between the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and a high-powered delegation of Mass Democratic Movement leaders formed the backdrop to last night's announcement by President De Klerk of the decision to unconditionally free eight political prisoners.

The meeting, at the bungalow in the Victor Verster Prison grounds where Mr Mandela is a prisoner, took place late yesterday.

The MDM leaders included Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the United Democratic

Front and wife of ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF.

It fuelled conjecture that Mr Mandela was a party to the imminent release of the prisoners, five of whom were co-accused with him at the Rivonia trial in 1964.

Mr De Klerk hinted as much in his statement last night, when he said "Discussions were held with him (Mr Mandela) and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda".

When the five sentenced to life with Mr Mandela — Mr Si-

## BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

sulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni — are released, Mr Mandela will be the only Rivonia trialist left as a prisoner.

Seven men were originally jailed with Mr Mandela One, Mr Dennis Goldberg, was released in 1985. He accepted an offer from the then President, Mr P W Botha, of freedom in return for a renunciation of violence. The second, Mr Govan Mbeki, was released unconditionally in 1987. He has since

been fettered by a restriction order.

The release of the five Rivonia trialists and three other political prisoners — Mr Oscar Mpeetha, Mr Wilton Mkwayi (who was jailed in the so-called "Little Rivonia trial" and Mr Jafa Masemola — was seen by political observers as a mere preface to the release of Mr Mandela himself.

Mr Mandela's tactical thinking in securing freedom for his political comrades first triggered intense speculation. It would, however, help to achieve two key objectives.

● It would contribute to the de facto lifting of restrictions

on the ANC by freeing ANC leaders under conditions which do not prevent them from resuming their roles as political — as distinct from guerrilla — leaders. They could possibly do so as "honorary" leaders of the MDM.

● It would help prepare the way for his own release, provided the freeing of his comrades did not precipitate violence.

The men best equipped to ensure a trouble-free return to society of eight men named by Mr De Klerk are the MDM leaders Hence, observers reckoned, their meeting with Mr Mandela yesterday



# Prisoners' release makes front-page news overseas

MC 4/11/0/89

**From GARNER THOMSON**  
**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**LONDON** — The unconditional release of eight of South Africa's best-known political prisoners has made front-page news in Britain and the rest of Europe.

However, every report and commentary on the move remarks on the exclusion from the gesture of Nelson Mandela, regarded as the most influential of all South African fighters for rights.

Mrs Winnie Mandela told a morning BBC news programme today that the release of the eight would have "no significance" for her husband.

## Meeting

Several newspapers — including the International Herald Tribune in Paris — see the move as a bid to help Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, fight off further economic sanctions against South Africa during the October 18 meeting of Commonwealth leaders in Malaysia.

Mrs Thatcher has indicated that the release of Mr Mandela remains one of the benchmarks of true progress demanded by Britain as South Africa's last influential international ally.

"It is a major step in the right direction," she said last night, but added significantly:

"Naturally, we all hope that it will lead on to the release of Nelson Mandela and will open the way to negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa."

## Not unexpected

The release is not entirely unexpected, the papers agree, although some, including The Guardian, which gives a detailed profile of Mr Sisulu on an inside page, speculate that President De Klerk's move "substantiates conjectures that he wants to work towards the freeing of his political comrades and the de facto lifting of the restrictions on the ANC."

The Guardian adds that Mr De Klerk has resumed "in spectacular fashion" the stalled process of freeing political prisoners but cautions that for the African National Congress to resume a political ("as distinct from guerrilla") role, the release of ANC leaders would have to proceed without violence.

News of the release, reported in detail by the British Press, broke too late for most newspapers to comment in any detail on its political significance abroad.

The Financial Times, however, carries a detailed commentary in which it insists that Mr Mandela is probably the only leader able to break the logjam.



**SMILES ALL ROUND:** Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak share a joke during a meeting following the announcement by President De Klerk that several jailed black nationalist leaders will be released soon.

# Step in right direction British govt

By Chris Whitfield,  
The Star Bureau

**LONDON** — The British Government last night enthusiastically welcomed the decision to release Mr Walter Sisulu and seven prominent political prisoners

Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who reportedly heard the news direct from Mr F W de Klerk in a telephone call to the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool, said it was a "major step in the right direction"

Foreign Secretary Mr John Major, tipped to succeed Mrs Thatcher as party leader, said: "Well, I very much hope that good things are now going to happen. It was perfectly clear from the election results that the South Africans were in a mood for reform. This movement within a very brief period of the elections is very helpful indeed."

## MANDELA

Labour party leader Mr Neil Kinnock, an outspoken critic of apartheid, said "This is great news. Surely now the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela cannot be delayed"

BBC television news featured clips of the SABC television news in which newsreader John Bishop announced the release

The BBC also showed Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Sisulu's son, getting the news from the teleprinters at his newspaper offices. However, it could not record his response because the newspaper editor is banned from giving interviews.

The BBC pointed out that the timing of the announcement was carefully chosen just ahead of next week's Commonwealth conference, at which Mrs Thatcher will again defend South Africa against mandatory comprehensive sanctions

# 'SA needs honest broker'

The Argus Foreign Service

BLACKPOOL — Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has assured himself a seat at the negotiating table by telling the conference of the British Conservative Party that Britain should lead an international settlement for South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi also appealed to Mrs Thatcher to continue her opposition to economic sanctions at the Commonwealth conference and for Britain to inhibit European Economic Community funding of "those who seek to support revolutionary violence" in South Africa.

Speaking at a "fringe meeting" attended by about 350 delegates, Chief Buthelezi said the prospect of negotiations to dismantle apartheid and establish a just society in South Africa

## Another slide by pound puts pressure on UK

LONDON — Pressure on the British government to reconsider its strong opposition to full membership of the European monetary system has mounted after the authorities failed to arrest another slide in the pound.

Deepening concern over the government's monetary policies and a gloomy stock market forecast compounded nervousness in financial markets yesterday by sending London share prices into rapid retreat. The FT-SE 100 index closed 28.2 points down at 2,218.8.

The Bank of England stepped into the currency markets three times as the pound continued its slide below three marks — once seen as a level which would attract critical support from the government.

Selling pressure also sent sterling briefly below 2.95 marks for the first time since August 1987. By the London close, the pound was 2 pfennigs weaker at 2.9537 marks. Against the dollar it lost 1.9 cents to finish at \$1.5585.

So nervous were the markets that the disappearance of Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from the conference of the ruling Conservative Party in Blackpool obliged the Treasury to issue a statement that he was writing his speech at home.

Sterling lost ground against the dollar after the US central bank, the Federal Reserve, signalled that it was not about to reduce its interest rates — The Independent news service

had never been greater.

And, he said, Britain was in the best position among the world's leading nations to be an "honest broker" in South Africa.

The situation, he said, needed Mrs Thatcher's finesse. "Bludgeoning and penalising South Africa through sanctions programmes and accumulative isolation should now be judged as internationally crude."

Chief Buthelezi dismissed as "political propaganda" the suggestion that black South Africans are pro-sanctions. "Nothing could be further from the truth. Blacks vote with their feet every day in support of the appeals Mrs Thatcher is making to the Commonwealth and internationally."

He said there was now a "broader situation developing" in which the solution of South Africa's problems would be that much easier.

### Evidence

He said there was convincing evidence that the superpowers would no longer use Southern Africa as an arena for East-West conflict, that the Nkomati Accord would be revitalised and that relations with frontline states would improve.

In addition, progress towards implementing Resolution 435 and the promised de-escalation of the Angolan war were proof that in the broader Southern Africa scene political sanity is beginning to dictate that war and revolution are wasteful and inefficient in solving problems.

Economic advancement and the scrapping of several contentious laws had been meaningful to millions of black South Africans and institutional sub strata like banking, mining, commerce, industry and the universities were taking urgent steps towards change.

And, Chief Buthelezi said, the South African government was now attempting to manage political instability rather than suppress it. "The next phase is to negotiate out of it."

He also said he had no doubt that the President, Mr F W de Klerk, would attempt to put the politics of negotiation on track.

### Rushdie threat appeal

FRANKFURT — World publishers attending the Frankfurt Book Fair appealed to Iran to drop its death threat against author Salman Rushdie over his novel *The Satanic Verses* — Sapa-Reuter



Staff from the Imperial Hotel smile as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher arrives. She is staying at the hotel for the duration of the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool.

## Zimbabwe to veto ivory ban

The Argus Foreign Service

LAUSANNE — The bid to save the African elephant hit trouble at the first hurdle here when Zimbabwe announced it would veto any blanket ban on ivory trade.

Zimbabwean Wildlife Service director Dr Rowan Martin flatly rejected claims that the species was threatened with extinction when he addressed the meeting yesterday of the Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species.

Zimbabwe is leading a group of Southern Africa countries, including South Africa and Botswana, against

the proposal to outlaw trade in any elephant product.

The group claims that elephant herds in its countries have been increased by careful culling. This has allowed Zimbabwe to put the profit from ivory trading back into conservation.

Dr Martin said several countries had growing elephant populations and he was "staggered" by Tanzania's claims that 1,000 elephants were lost to poachers each month. "I find it difficult to understand how no brakes can be put on a process like that," he said.

## Noriega announces 'war laws'

PANAMA CITY — A week after a failed coup against strongman General Manuel Noriega, the Panamanian government has announced emergency "war laws" it says are needed to confront United States aggression.

Earlier yesterday a Pana-

except a certificate stating he had died of asphyxiation.

Captain Lorenzo, 37, of the military intelligence unit G-2, was one of 37 soldiers listed as detained after the aborted coup.

The emergency laws an-

our Council to by the ment," an said.

It adds salaries further annual one servants.

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# Releases widely hailed

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and her government last night enthusiastically welcomed the decision to release Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other prominent political prisoners.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, personally informed Mrs Thatcher of the decision in a telephone call to the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool. She said it was a "major step in the right direction".

Reaction from the United States was also positive. Spokesmen for the Mass Democratic Movement hailed the move as demonstrating that pressure on the Government worked.

## Constitution

"I very much welcome the decision. We all hope it will lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and open the way to negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa," Mrs Thatcher said.

Foreign Secretary Mr John Major, tipped to succeed Mrs Thatcher as party leader, said "I very much hope that good things are now going to happen. It was perfectly clear from the election results that the South

Africans were in a mood for reform. This movement within a very brief period of the elections is very helpful indeed."

British Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock, an outspoken critic of apartheid, said "This is great news. Surely now the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela cannot be delayed."

The announcement of the releases has been strongly featured on television news programmes and in newspapers in London. BBC television news featured clips from SABC-TV in which the releases were announced.

The BBC also showed Mr Zwelake Sisulu getting the news that his father was to be released, from the teleprinters at his newspaper offices. However, it could not record his response because the newspaper editor is banned from giving interviews.

The BBC's reporter pointed out that the timing of the announcement was carefully chosen just ahead of next week's Commonwealth conference, where Mrs Thatcher will again defend South Africa against calls for more sanctions.

There have been reports here that Mrs Thatcher has insisted on the ANC leader's release as a precondition to a South African visit she plans early next year.

Reaction from the United States to Mr de Klerk's decision was generally one of applause and encouragement.

Initial US media reporting of the announcement made headline news.

A spokesman for the State Department in Washington, said "We feel certain this will be a step towards creating the proper climate for negotiations."

Republican congressman Mr Dan Burton said in an interview he applauded Mr de Klerk.

"Positive steps such as this are really helpful right now for those of us in Congress who oppose sanctions. Following the news that Johannesburg has become desegregated, this is very welcome."

## Strong message

"I urge Mr de Klerk to continue to consider the release of Nelson Mandela, which will send a very strong message to the world and to those who believe there should be a positive peaceful solution in SA."

Mr Burton said the release of Mr Sisulu and the others would have an impact on those congressmen who were wavering on the issue of sanctions. It would, however, have no impact on the hard Left which would

continue to be intent on following its own agenda.

The African National Congress is "delighted" at the news of the planned releases.

However, a spokesman from the organisation's London headquarters said the releases had been "long overdue".

She said "What we are now witnessing is the importance of pressure."

The release of Mr Sisulu was a "massive victory" for the people of South Africa, the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions said in a joint statement.

"Our leaders will be reunited with their people and their families after a long and painful separation. Their release is also a victory for the international solidarity movement, the sanctions campaign and the campaign to isolate the regime."

"These are tried and tested leaders of our people. Through many long and lonely years they have remained unflinching in their refusal to be separated from the liberation movement and their people."

"While Mr Mandela says his release is not on the agenda and he cannot plead for his own release, this has to be ensured by increased pressure from the mass of our people" — The Star Bureau-Sapa.

# 300 commemorate Political Prisoners Day

By Jacqueline Myburgh (11A)

More than 300 people gathered yesterday to commemorate International Political Prisoners' Day in accordance with United Nations Resolution 216

The rally, on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, was organised by the Save the Patriots Campaign Committee, and a

number of speakers focused on the plight of political prisoners on death row in Pretoria.

Today which is International Political Prisoners' Day, is also the 26th anniversary of the Rivonia treason trial which led to the jailing of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, campaign coordinator Mr Joe Thoeane said.

The Save the Patriots Cam-

paign called for the reprieve of all political prisoners on death row and for them to be granted prisoner-of-war status.

Speakers included the Rev Wesley Mabusu of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Themba Xulu, whose brother has been executed, the chairman of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Peter Mokaba, conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms; and Mr Roland Hunter, who was released from jail two weeks ago.

A letter from political prisoners on death row was read at the rally, in which they expressed solidarity with the campaign

"We are not murderous. We did what any freedom loving person would have done under the circumstances. We are sorry that necessity forced upon us actions that we could willingly have avoided, given the chances in a society free of racial domination and exploitation. Indeed, we are no slaves to the goddess of war."

The same letter is to be read all over the world at rallies commemorating International Political Prisoners Day.

Longest serving prisoner Masemola too

# SISULU



WALTER SISULU

# TO BE

# FREED

11A Sowetan 11/10/89

**EIGHT political prisoners serving life imprisonment - except one - are to be released, State President Mr F W de Klerk announced last night.**

They include leaders of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

**By THAMI MAZWALI and SAPA**

This unexpected turn of events will take the townships by storm and thousands will welcome them home

Among them is Walter Sisulu, a stalwart of the ANC and confidante of Nelson Mandela, the world's most celebrated and respected political prisoner

They may be home today or the wait might be as long as a week. The Government said formalities, which could take some time, had to be completed before the men were re-released

The PAC man to be released is Japhtha Masemola of Atteridgeville, Pretoria, the longest-serving political prisoner in the country. He has been in jail since 1963 when convicted for sabotage.

Early yesterday speculation was rife that Sisulu and four others would be released. Ac-

All eight are to be released unconditionally.

● To page 2

● From page 1

cording to information reaching the *Sowetan*, Mandela had held a meeting with Government ministers Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Kobie Coetsee early yesterday where the subject of releases was discussed

Two of our reporters had joined a contingent of Pressmen camping at Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, who left in the day when the releases were rumoured

It was also stated the

## Walter Sisulu to be freed

Only Mandela will now remain in jail and, according to the Government, he was fully informed of the releases Others to be released are Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Oscar Mpehtha, Wilton Mkwayi and Raymond Mhlaba.

Others to be released are Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Oscar Mpehtha, Wilton Mkwayi and Raymond Mhlaba.

London at the weekend after Mrs Margaret Thatcher hinted the two may be released before the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, next Monday

In a statement released to SAPA, Mr de Klerk said when he took office he gave the assurance that "the release of security prisoners would be looked at on an ongoing basis" He expressed hope that the release of these prisoners will contribute to the spirit of reconciliation which is presently evident in the country

# MDM and Mandela in talks over 8

By Patrick Laurence

11A

A confidential meeting between the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and a high-powered delegation of Mass Democratic Movement leaders formed the backdrop to last night's announcement by President de Klerk of the decision to free eight political prisoners unconditionally.

The meeting, held at the bungalow in the Victor Verster Prison grounds where Mr Mandela is under 24-hour house arrest, took place late yesterday.

The MDM leaders included Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the United Democratic Front and wife of ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF.

It fuelled conjecture that Mr Mandela was a party to the imminent release of the political prisoners.

Mr de Klerk hinted as much in his statement when he said "Discussions were held with him (Mr Mandela) and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda."

When the five men sentenced to life with Mr Mandela — Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Mokoaleli and Mr Andrew Mlangeni — are released, Mr Mandela will be the only Rivonia accused left as a prisoner.

Mr Mandela's tactical thinking in securing freedom for his political comrades first triggered intense speculation. It would, however, help achieve two key objectives

- It would contribute to the de facto lifting of restrictions on the ANC by freeing ANC leaders under conditions which do not prevent them from resuming their roles as political — as distinct from guerilla — leaders.
- It would help prepare the way for his own release, provided the freeing of his comrades did not precipitate violence.

# Sisulu and seven others freed without conditions

PRETORIA — Jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu and trade unionist Oscar Mpetha are to be freed unconditionally.

President F W de Klerk said last night they and six other "security prisoners" would be released as soon as the "necessary formalities" had been dealt with.

Sisulu, who is close to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has been behind bars for 26 years. The others are: Jafta Mesemula,



● SISULU

Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi and Ahmed Kathrada

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said De Klerk had personally conveyed his decision to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha had told Portuguese President Mario Soares before his departure for Lisbon last night, and informed US Secretary of State Howard Baker and French President Francois Mitterrand.

De Klerk said in his statement Mandela had been fully apprised of the releases. "In fact, discussions were held with him and he confirmed yet again that his release is not now on the agenda"

The statement said the decision had been preceded by thorough investigation. "All relevant factors were brought into consideration, including the fact that most of these prisoners had already served many, many years of their sentences, and are already advanced in years. It was decided that, taking good order into account, a favourable climate currently exists in which the release can take place."

ADELE BALETA reports CP information officer Koos van der Merwe said last night it was significant Mandela had not been released with the others. "It is clear

□ To Page 2 11A

## Sisulu freed

the releases have been made contrary to government's stance in the past that the trialists must abandon violence

DP co-leader Zach de Beer said it was interesting Mandela's release was not on the cards. "This seems to imply some kind of agreement between him and government. Of course, there can be no negotiation without Mandela"

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS reports Caroline Motsoaledi said last night she had no idea yet when her husband would be released as she had not been contacted by the police

Mhlaba's wife was reluctant to comment before having confirmation, saying last time "they had said they were coming

out" she had waited in vain "This time I want to be sure"

IAN HOBBS reports from London that Thatcher last night hailed the release of SA prisoners as a "major step forward" for SA. She said "I very much welcome the decision. Naturally, we all hope it will lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and open the way for negotiations on a new constitution for SA"

Foreign Secretary John Major welcomed the news as "dynamic evidence that the De Klerk government meant what it said"

Senior ANC officials in London said the news was "good" but they awaited further details — Sapa

□ From Page 1



# Trevor released on bail

11/11



Sowetan  
11/10/89

Mr Trevor Tutu, the son of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was granted bail of R1000 in the East London Regional Court on Monday where he appeared on charges of contravening the Civil Aviation

Act.

Tutu (33), was not

asked to plead when he appeared before Mr Norman Oosthuizen. No evidence was lead

When he asked the court for his diary to be returned to him by the State, Tutu was told he should discuss the matter with the investigating officer. The case was postponed to November 10. Tutu's companion who

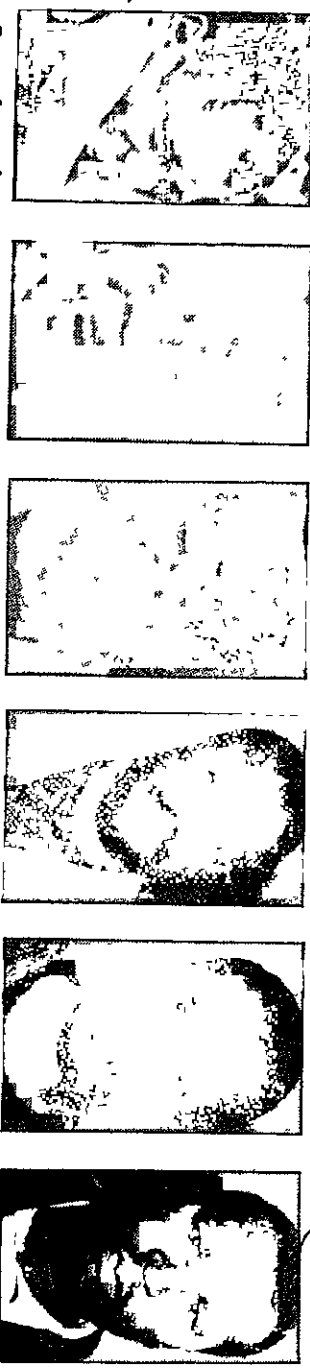
was also arrested at Ben Schoeman Airport, also made a brief appearance in the Regional Court and was charged with the possession of dagga

Joan Helen Rhodes (32), of Hillbrow, was not asked to plead and no evidence was lead. Bail was fixed at R500 and the case postponed to November 24 - Sapa

Govt move on ANC leaders aims cut 'obstacles to negotiation'

# Release is due

Spur 11/10/81



Faces from the past... (from left) former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Oscar Mpehla, Mr Ahmed Kathrada (pictured in disguise), Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Mokoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni.

# 'in days' - Coetsee

Political Staff

The release of eight long-term political prisoners may take "a couple of days", Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said today.

But contacts of the prisoners' families believe the eight ANC men have already been moved to Johannesburg and that their release is imminent.

The eight are former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and Rivonia trialists Mr Ahmed Kathrada (60), Mr Elias Mokoaledi (65), Mr Jaftha Mesemela (61), Mr Andrew Mlangeni (63) and Mr Raymond Mhlaba (68), as well as Mr Oscar Mpehla (80), and Mr Wilton Mkwayi (65).

Mr Coetsee said today the release could take a couple of days, because certain procedures had to be followed. He did not specify what procedures were involved. From a prison point of view, the eight were to be released unconditionally, he said.

Mrs Ayesha Cajee, a close friend of Mr Kathrada, who has been living in the ANC leader's flat in Newtown with her husband Amin and their family, said today some of the prisoners had been transferred to Johannesburg police headquarters.

"We have been informed by an advocate friend in Cape Town that they left for Johannesburg yesterday afternoon and will be kept at John Vorster Square until formalities are finalised, as the State President indicated," an excited Mrs Cajee said.

The imminent release of the eight political prisoners was today welcomed as a major step both locally and internationally.

A member of the Cabinet who did not want to be named said today "It is the beginning of the process of removing obstacles on the way to negotiation".

Democratic Party co-leader D. Zach de Beer said the fact that Mr Mandela's release was not on the agenda now seemed to imply some sort of agreement between him and the Government.

He warned the Government not to attempt to go ahead with talks without Mr Mandela.

And the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, warned Mr Mandela had to be released into a climate where it is possible for him "to give expression to his leadership".

Dr de Beer added "Plainly the important thing is that negotiations for a new South African constitution must begin. Equally plainly they cannot begin without Mr Mandela."

### Promises into deeds

Dr Boraine said the unconditional release was the first specific action taken by Mr de Klerk which "translates promises into deeds".

Top level talks were held with Mr Mandela yesterday by senior Cabinet Ministers, Mr Coetsee and Mr Gerrit Viljoen prior to the announcement of the release.

Senior UDF member Mr Murphy Morobe who met Mr Mandela yesterday said the ANC leader was "highly satisfied" and hoped the release would help the people, but more still had to be done.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher said in London last night that the release was a "major step in the right direction".

"I very much welcome the decision. Naturally, we all hope it will lead to the release of Nelson Mandela and open the way to negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa."

In the United States, a spokesman for the State Department said the decision was a step the administration had long called for. "We feel certain this will be a step towards creating the proper climate for negotiations."

The move was also welcomed by the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu. An ANC spokesman said "What we are now witnessing is the importance of pressure," and a joint UDF and Cosatu statement said the release was a victory for the international solidarity movement, the sanctions campaign and the campaign to isolate the regime.

The State President, Mr de Klerk, said he had given the assurance in his first speech after taking office that the release of security prisoners would be looked at on an ongoing basis.

Mr de Klerk said the decision had been taken against the background of requests and representations from various sources over a long period.

"In particular, the views of moderate black leaders, including the leaders of self-governing territories, carried special weight," Mr de Klerk said.

He expressed the hope that the releases would contribute to the spirit of reconciliation presently evident in South Africa.

"Most South Africans are tired of confrontation and wish to speak to one another about the road to prosperity and justice for all," he said.