

BLACK POLITICS

1989 - MARCH.

62

LP may strike deal with govt on extra seats

CPA Trans 11/3/89 11A

Political Staff

A DEAL may be on the cards between the government and the Labour Party on a constitutional amendment which provides for extra seats to be created in all three Houses and the appointment of a prime minister

The LP has so far declined to approve the amendments to the constitution, wanting the Separate Amenities Act repealed first

An LP source stressed yesterday that the party had not formally made repeal of the act a quid pro quo for supporting the amendments, as it had linked repeal of the Group Areas Act with the postponement of a white election to 1992

He acknowledged, however, that the party had not done anything to halt the belief that the amendments would be blocked until the Separate Amenities Act was scrapped

A deal may be in the pipeline because it is understood that the government is planning to give the go-ahead

for opening a number of beaches — once the Easter season is over. Other facilities may also have their “whites only” signs removed

The act is being seen as expendable and a possible sign to both the LP and groups outside Parliament that the government is serious about reform

Should a deal be struck in the near future, the general election which is now mooted for May could be postponed until much later in the year

The creation of extra seats — most of the new Assembly seats will be in the Transvaal — will pave the way for a redelimitation, which the government wants prior to an election

A delimitation — President P W Botha has already announced his intention to appoint a committee to undertake this — would take at least six months, which would mean an election around October

In the meantime, National Party sources said if an election was to be held in the first half of the year, an announcement could be expected towards the end of next week.

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Mandela's TB clinic treatment

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Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday the cost of Mr Nelson Mandela's 98-day stay at Constantiaberg Clinic, excluding costs to the Prisons Service, was R16 170.

Mr Mandela was treated at the clinic and not at a prison hospital because "the responsible doctor's wishes were taken into account and were carried out by the South African Prisons Service", he said.

He stayed at the clinic "as long as it was deemed necessary by the doctor for the convalescence of his patient — in total it was 98 days".

Mr Coetsee said he was not prepared to speculate on whether it was the government's intention to release Mr Nelson Mandela.

"The procedure followed in considering the possible release of a long-term prisoner is comprehensive and several advisory bodies are involved," he said.

Mr Coetsee was asked a number of questions yesterday by the indirectly elected Conservative Party MP about Mr Mandela's treatment and transfer to the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

He said that at both Tygerberg Hospital and the clinic the same accommodation which was available to other patients was available to Mr Mandela.

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R16 170 Mandela clinic fee defended

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff
AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela's 98 day treatment for tuberculosis at the Constantiaberg Clinic last year cost R16 170, said Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee

Speaking in Parliament yesterday, he also confirmed that friends from other prisons had visited Mr Mandela at his Victor Verster prison home before Christmas

He did not confirm who they were but other reports have named the friends as fellow Rivonia trialists Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Andrew Mhlangeni and Mr Raymond Mhlaba

Mr Coetsee said the R16 170 price tag for stay at the clinic did not include transport and salary expenses

He was replying to a series of questions from Conservative Party indirectly-elected MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis about Mr Mandela's special accommodation and treatment

Asked why Mr Mandela had not been treated in the prison hospital, Mr Coetsee said the "responsible doctor's wishes" were carried out

Asked if other prisoners suffering from the same complaint were treated at prison hospitals, Mr Coetsee said it was not possible to make a generally valid comparison

"The South African Prisons Service

respects the professional independence of all the medical doctors who treat prisoners"

Not all prisons had the same medical facilities and the responsible doctor could refer cases to hospitals, specialists and other medical services outside prison

"I am satisfied that this prisoner, considering all relevant factors, received the best medical treatment available as applies to all prisoners"

Mr Mandela's "comfortable and properly secured home on the Victor Verster Prison Reserve" differed from the accommodation of all other prisoners including security prisoners, said Mr Coetsee

● See page 20

Mandela bill

Sowetan 11/3/89
ANC LEADER Mr Nelson Mandela's 98-day treatment for tuberculosis at the Constantiaberg Clinic last year, cost R16 170, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee told Parliament yesterday.

He also confirmed that Mr Mandela had been visited at his prison home

in Victor Verster Prison grounds before Christmas by friends from other prisons. Though he did not confirm the names, other reports have said the friends were fellow Rivonia trialists, Mr Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba.

Mr Coetsee said the R16 170 price tag for stay at the clinic did not include extra expenses such as those for transport or salaries of personnel.

'Winnie affair' a blow to US sanctions drive

Sowetan
11/3/89.
11A

FOCUS

AS MRS WINNIE MANDELA surveys the shattered pieces of her international image, she will have to realise that she has given comfort and aid to the anti-sanctions lobby in America

Highly publicised accounts here of her behaviour and the conduct of her alleged football club have given opponents of sanctions and disinvestment powerful evidence that South Africa is a complex place not easily understood by the outside world

For years, they have been arguing that attacking the SA economy on the grounds that the oppressor will stop oppressing when his pocket shrinks, is a simple-minded approach to a complicated racial problem that will not be solved overnight

They have cited repeatedly the warnings of Chief Buthelezi, Mrs Helen Suzman and other South African leaders with impeccable anti-apartheid credentials that economic pressure will not only hurt blacks at a time when they have a desperate need of

SOWETAN FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

economic development, but will set back the movement towards reform and, ultimately, a new and fair system

Results

Their arguments have had some results. There is little doubt that influential members of the US Senate — including many who supported the sanctions legislation of 1986 — are willing to concede that a tattered SA economy will solve neither South Africa's internal problems nor the enormous economic difficulties facing the Frontline States

But, among the radical anti-apartheid crowd, such arguments have meant little. Congressman Ron Dellums, author of the sanctions Bill now before the US House of Representa-

tives, is hell-bent on squeezing South Africa as tight as he can even though the blacks he wants to help will be throttled along with everyone else

To people like Congressman Dellums, it is a simple problem of black versus white. He has yet to explain how blacks will benefit from unemployment and malnutrition

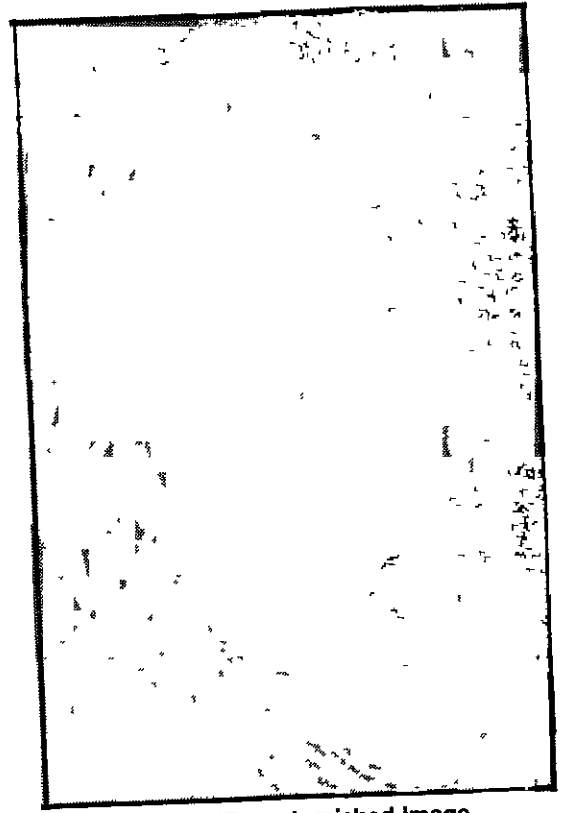
Other pro-sanctions leaders like the influential congressman Bill Gray, chairman of the House of Representatives budget committee, offer arguments that are calculated to strike an emotional chord among black Americans in whose psyche the memory of a slave past has been burned deep

To say that destroying the economy that props up the apartheid system will put blacks out of work, he maintains, is like protesting that the abolition of slavery caused unemployment in the deep south

Advance

It is a line that causes a stir in the breasts of American blacks, but it fails to take into account that apartheid can be overcome not by hurting blacks but by helping them to advance through economic development, education, training and all the other paths that lead to political power and stability

Into this stalemate comes Mrs Winnie Mandela, a woman who had emerged in America — through TV pro-



WINNIE . . . tarnished image.

grammes such as Nightline and adulatory pieces in the media — as a martyr of mythic proportions. She had resisted the oppressors for years, a splendid partner in the struggle to her husband, Nelson, who had been behind bars all these years

Figurehead

To say that Mrs Mandela's fall from grace has stunned the pro-sanctions crowd must be the understatement of the year. It is like saying the Pope is a non-believer or that Mrs Margaret Thatcher is a man in drag. Mrs Mandela was the feminine figurehead of the noble resistance, a role model for little black American girls

Her personal crisis is a crisis for the anti-apartheid movement in America

Some of its leaders have sought to limit the damage by pointing out that her rejection by the UDF and other movements in South Africa is proof that the real black leadership will not tolerate violence, and they have suggested that the Mandela United football club may have been infiltrated by

Government provocateurs to cause trouble from within

But Mrs Mandela's tumble has given opponents of sanctions an opportunity to tell Americans that they may not understand the realities of South Africa as clearly as they thought

As Thomas Sowell, an economic and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, wrote recently "The real issue reaches far beyond Winnie Mandela and far beyond South Africa for that matter

"Over the years and around the world, we (Americans) have repeatedly romanticised victims into "liberators" or fighters for justice

"Whenever political leaders want power, they say they are seeking justice. When they live in a society with many injustices, it is tempting to believe them — without bothering to examine what they are actually doing

"But history has mocked our gullibility, time and again"

In the shocked pause that has followed the Winnie Mandela affair, thoughts like this are being articulated by Americans who thought they knew all the answers

Winnie affair puts sanctions clash in a new light

For many Americans, the wife of the jailed ANC leader had become a martyr of legendary proportions. Winnie Mandela's fall from grace has dealt a hefty blow to the pro-sanctions lobby in the US, reports
NEIL LURSEN of The Star's Foreign Service.

WASHINGTON — As Mrs Winnie Mandela surveys the shattered pieces of her international image, she will have to realise that she has given comfort and aid to the anti-sanctions lobby in America.

Highly publicised accounts in the US of her behaviour and the conduct of her alleged football club have given opponents of sanctions and disinvestment powerful evidence that South Africa is a complex place not easily understood by the outside world.

For years, they have been arguing that attacking the South African economy, on the grounds that the oppressor will stop oppressing when his pocket shrinks, is a simple-minded approach to a complicated racial problem that will not be solved overnight.

They have cited repeatedly the warnings of Chief Buthelezi, Mrs Helen Suzman and other South African leaders with impeccable anti-apartheid credentials that economic pressure will not only hurt blacks at a time when they have a desperate need of economic development, but will set back the movement towards reform and, ultimately, a new and fair system.

Tattered economy

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nomie difficulties facing the Frontline states.

But, among the radical opponents of apartheid, such arguments have meant little. Congressman Ron Dellums, author of the sanctions Bill now before the House of Representatives, is hell-bent on squeezing South Africa as tight as he can even though the blacks he wants to help will be throttled along with everyone else.

To people like Mr Dellums, it's a simple problem of black versus white. He has yet to explain how blacks will benefit from unemployment and malnutrition.

Other pro-sanctions leaders such as the influential Congressman Bill Gray, chairman of the House of Representatives Budget Committee, offer arguments that are calculated to strike an emotional chord among black Americans in whose psyche the memory of a slave past has been burnt deep.

To say that destroying the economy that props up the apartheid system will put blacks out of work, he maintains, is like protesting that the abolition of slavery caused unemployment in the Deep South.

It is a line that causes a stir in the breasts of American blacks, but it fails to take into account that apartheid can be overcome not by hurting blacks but by helping them to advance through economic growth, education, training and all the other paths that lead to political power and stability.

Into this stalemate comes Winnie Mandela, a woman who had emerged in America — through TV programmes and adulatory pieces in the media — as a martyr

Mrs Winnie Mandela . . . behaviour has led Americans to realise there are no easy answers to SA's problems.

of legendary proportions. She had resisted the oppressors for years, a splendid partner in the struggle to her husband Nelson.

To say Mrs Mandela's fall from grace has stunned the pro-sanctions crowd must be the understatement of the year. Mrs Mandela was the feminine figurehead of the noble resistance, a role model for little black American girls.

Her personal crisis is a crisis for the anti-apartheid movement in America. Some of its leaders have sought to limit the damage by pointing out that her rejection by the UDF and other movements in South Africa is proof that the real black leadership will not tolerate violence, and they have suggested that the Mandela United Football

Club might have been infiltrated by government provocateurs to cause trouble from within.

But Mrs Mandela's tumble has given opponents of sanctions an opportunity to tell Americans they might not understand SA's realities as clearly as they thought.

As Mr Thomas Sowell, of the Hoover Institution, wrote recently: "The real issue reaches far beyond Winnie Mandela and far beyond South Africa, for that matter. Over the years and around the world, we (Americans) have repeatedly romanticised victims into 'liberators' or fighters for justice."

"Whenever political leaders want power, they say they are seeking justice. When they live in a

society with many injustices, it is tempting to believe them — without bothering to examine what they are actually doing.

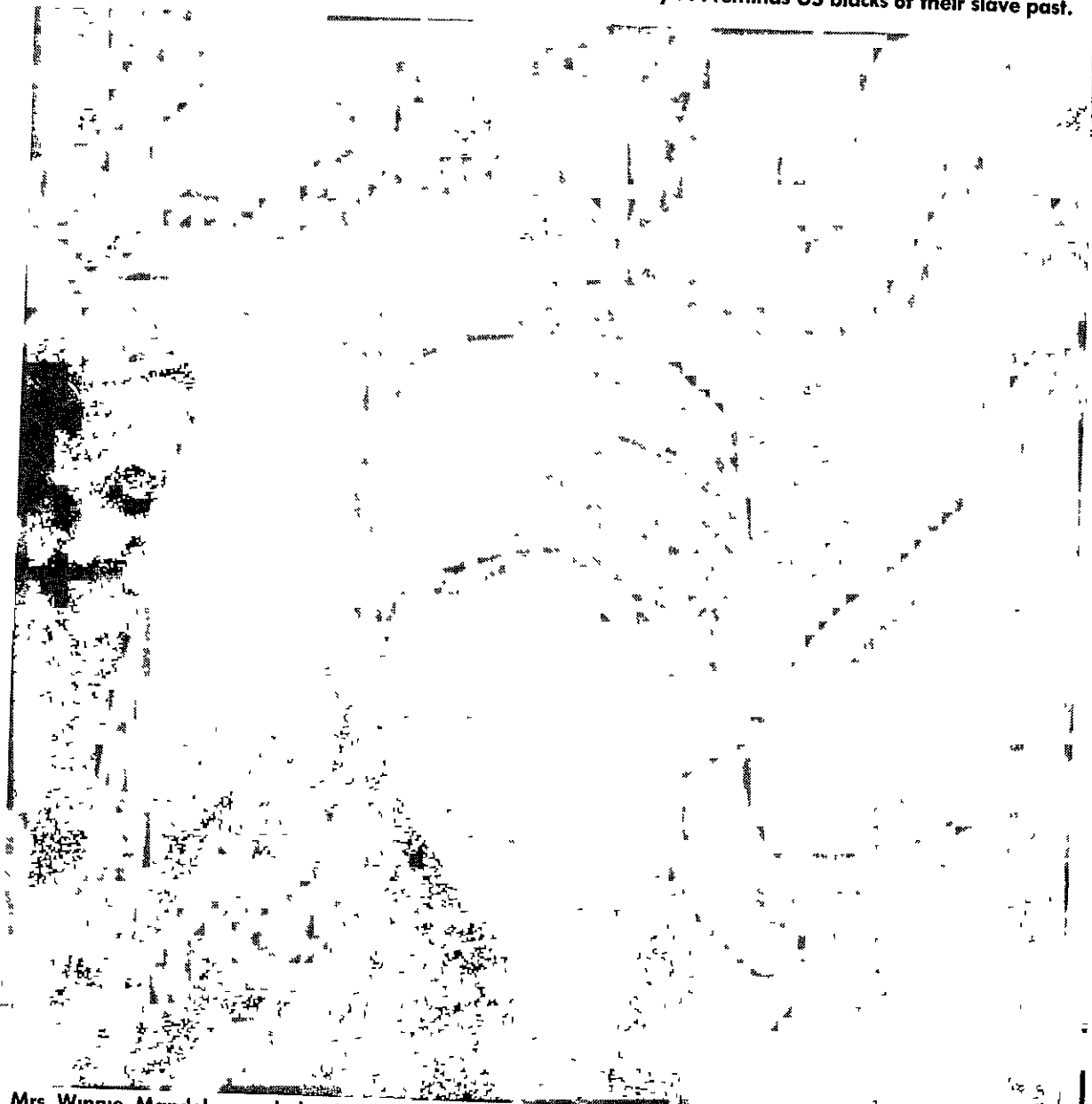
"But history has mocked our gullibility, time and again."

In the shocked pause that has followed the Winnie Mandela affair, thoughts like this are being articulated. Americans who thought they knew all the answers in South Africa are asking themselves what is going on over there.

It has created a climate in which the argument against sanctions has a better chance of succeeding and it gives Pretoria yet another chance to create a better image for itself by pressing on vigorously with reform.



Bill Gray . . . reminds US blacks of their slave past.



JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTRY REBUKED OVER SA ERROR

61 Day 1/3/89
TOKYO — Japan's Foreign Minister Sousuke Uno yesterday rebuked ranking ministry officials for omitting SA from the list of mourners attending the funeral of late Emperor Hirohito.

But the ANC claimed the omission was deliberate to avoid protests.

"There was no problem as far as the attendance by South African envoys itself was concerned," Uno told a news conference. "But not reporting about the attendance beforehand was apparently a clerical error." *(11A)*

"I have given a strict warning to relevant officials," the minister added.

Japan had said envoys from 163 nations attended the state funeral for Hirohito last Friday, but the ministry later revealed that the South African consul general in Tokyo, Alexander Kuhn, had been excluded from the number and the correct total was 164.

Yesterday the ANC accused the Japanese government of hiding the presence of the South African envoy.

"It is clear the Japanese government deliberately hid the presence of a South African envoy because it was afraid protests may have damaged the funeral," an ANC spokesman in Tokyo said.

He said he had sent a letter to the foreign ministry protesting at the belated announcement of the attendance by a South African and demanded an explanation.

UK churches

Secret ANC talks end in silence

CALL TIME 2/3/89 119
LUSAKA. — The ANC has ended two days of secret talks with South African union leaders — but yesterday both sides declined to comment on the discussions.

An ANC spokesman said no statement would be issued, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), declined to speak to reporters about the talks, which ended on Tuesday in the Zambian capital where the ANC has its headquarters.

The Cosatu delegation returned home yesterday.

Sunday's talks centered on the row over the conduct of Mrs Winnie Mandela's personal bodyguards, which are known as the Mandela United Football Club. Mrs Mandela has been disowned by anti-apartheid groups as a result of their actions. — Sapa-Reuter

'Amazing escape'

member of the security forces at the home of my wife's parents.

"He took out his gun and wanted to shoot me, but my wife came between us and prevented him from shooting me. If my wife had not prevented him, I could have been killed or seriously injured."

Issel's latest narrow escape, at a farewell party for CUPC director Nabs Wessels at the Dora Falcke Centre in Muizenburg, near Cape Town, last Thursday, has been brought to the attention of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok by Independent MP Jan van Eck.

Vlok's spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said he could not comment on a letter which the Minister had not yet received.

Issel said he did not notice any "suspicious-looking" cars as he travelled to the Dora Falcke Centre along Prince George Drive, Muizenburg.

On arrival he met CUPC chairperson, Rev Abe Maart, and suggested they sit on the lawn.

"We noticed a kombi stopping on Baden Powell Drive and several vehicles pulling up in front and behind the kombi and a number of men jumping out of the Kombi.

"Russel McGregor then shouted 'Cops!' I jumped up and ran towards the front of the building, but turned back to enquire whether they were really cops.

"Russel confirmed this and I ran towards the northern fence and jumped over it.

"Between the bushes on the side I tried to see what was happening and could see several police vehicles parked on the left as well as on the right of the building on Baden Powell Drive.

Walked into trap

"After what seemed like a very long time, police vehicles on Baden Powell Drive as well as the massive enclosed truck turned around and left the premises of Dora Falcke Centre.

"I walked back in the direction I had come and approached the Kombi which was parked in front of the store room.

"I looked into the face of a big white man with a moustache. He then asked 'Ja, kan ek help?'

"His appearance as well as the tone of his voice immediately told me that he was from the police.

"Shocked and terrified, I said to him 'I'm looking for petrol. Our car is stuck nearby. Can we get petrol here?'

"Ask these people," he said to me. 'Who are these people? Will they give me petrol?' I asked him.

"They're church people. Yes, they'll give you petrol," he said.

"He was getting impatient with me. 'Let me call my friend,' I said to him and turned around and walked away from him.

"As I walked away faster and faster I shouted 'Pikes, Pikes here's petrol' and started running. I ran towards Baden Powell Drive and exited at the small gate on the southern fence.

"As I neared the road, I decided to run towards the beach. The lights of a car approaching from Strandfontein side shone on me.

"I immediately stepped into the dark. I noticed two figures down the road towards Sunrise Circle and realised that they had spotted me and were running towards me.

"After the car had passed, I crossed the road and ran into the bushes towards the beach.

"After running for about 20 metres, I fell and decided to remain lying down.

"Everything was quiet for a few minutes when I heard somebody whistling as if he was a friend but I remained quiet, took off my shirt and pushed it underneath my body, covered my chest with some of the branches of the bushes around me.

"Suddenly I saw a white man standing about a metre from where I was lying.

'Stood on ankle'

"He walked forward and stepped on my right ankle. He was looking straight ahead. I noticed a gun in his hand and two men were behind him. They all seemed very scared.

"'Kom ons gaan vorentoe,' (Come let's move forward) he said to the two behind him. The one said 'Okay' They ran forward and the one stepped on my right leg.

"A few metres away they stopped and the white man instructed the other two to each walk 10 paces in different directions.

"He repeated his instructions twice. I heard him speak on his two-way radio 'Roger, Roger is the man armed,' he asked. I did not hear the answer.

"I heard dogs approaching and they were barking. I then buried myself into thicker bush. A gunshot went off and one of them panicked and shouted 'Hulle moenie skiet me, hulle sal ons raak skiet!' (They must not shoot, they will hit us!)

"I heard them discussing the idea of setting fire to the bushes but did not hear the end of the discussion.

"Then someone shouted 'Don't touch the white shirt, let the dogs get to it.'

"Another one replied 'No, I will shoot and kill the bugger if I see him' (Nee, ek sal die donner vrek skiet as ek hom sien.)

"After a while I heard noises as if they were leaving and decided not to leave immediately for fear that they might have staked out the area and were waiting for me to leave my hiding place.

"After a long wait I cautiously crawled out of the bush, my hiding place and left the area."

The chairperson of the CUPC, Reverend Abe Maart, said in an affidavit that among the group that entered the grounds at the centre were 50 men wearing balaclavas and bullet-proof jackets. They had arrived in an armoured truck.

Zolli's plea to the cops

507
11A
Smith

By HENRY LUDSKI

RELEASED and restricted UDF Western Cape president Zolli Malindi has made a desperate appeal to the police — allow me to be at my seriously ill daughter's bedside.

"My daughter is very, very sick in Groote Schuur hospital and she can't see her father because the hospital is outside the Wynberg magisterial district to which he is restricted," said a heartbroken Mrs Leticia Malindi this week.

Mrs Virginia Matanga, 32, the 64-year-old Guguletu community leader's eldest daughter, recently underwent a marathon nine-hour operation to remove a brain tumor

A Groote Schuur hospital spokesperson has described Matanga's condition as "stable".

Mrs Malindi, 66, said her husband's restriction order was like "jail in his own house".

Malindi, a listed person who is not allowed to be quoted, has to report to the Guguletu police station twice daily and is confined to his home at night.

He is also prevented from participating in the activities of the UDF and the Western Cape Civic Association.

When Malindi was released on Tuesday, he left behind the last remaining detainee at Pollsmoor Prison, his 64-year-old friend Mountain "Com Q" Qumbela, with whom he shared a cell.

SOUTH

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Nelson's message to Winnie

NELSON Mandela has urged his wife to join progressive organisations and to "win the people's trust through hard work"

This has been confirmed by a source close to the Mandela family after Mrs Winnie Mandela visited the African National Congress leader at Victor Verster Prison at the weekend

Mandela had been "concerned" about recent events involving his wife's "soccer team" but that he had "carried himself well", our source said

He had asked her not to speak to the press or at public meetings but to rebuild her reputation through "grassroots" work.

Mandela's advice to his wife comes as the

democratic movement, which initially shunned her, began a process to "bring Winnie into the fold"

The visit to Lusaka by senior members of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions this week was part of this process, a prominent activist confirmed

"The Lusaka visit was meant to work through the next stage of re-establishing the moral and political authority of the democratic movement," he said

"Winnie must be made accountable so she can play her rightful role. At the same time we need to protect the values of the democratic movement.



Winnie Mandela



Youths take to the streets after Stompie Seipei's funeral

11A
2-8/3/89

Show of unity at Stompie's burial

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG.

— There are countless ironies in the struggle against apartheid.

But few are as sad as the one depicted in the huge billboard which formed a backdrop to the funeral of 14-year-old activist, James Stompie (Mooketsi) Seipei.

"Together we will build a brighter future," read the State-sponsored billboard

In the dusty street below, hundreds of young activists gathered to pay tribute to the young general who was small in stature but huge in courage.

At the age of 11, Stompie became a legend when he led his army of under-14s into pitched battles against vigilantes.

Allegedly killed by members of Mrs Winnie Mandela's soccer team, Stompie received a hero's burial at the weekend following a service marked by fiery speeches and pleas for unity.

Mrs Mandela was not mentioned by name in any of the emotional eulogies

A South African Council of Churches speaker blamed Stompie's untimely death on apartheid.

Stompie was a household name in his home village of Tumahole in the Orange Free State

Long before he was laid to rest, his epitaph had been inscribed on walls in white suburbs and black townships

Said Black Sash vice-president Ethel Walt. "Stompie's death is yet another in a series of deaths of young dynamic leaders. We mourn him and his loss affects us all"

Tumahole Civic association leader Lister Skosana appealed for calm

and unity.

"We know about the suggestions that he is still alive. We know about the speculation as to who killed him

"No one has been found guilty for his death. Stompie believed in unity, so let his death not divide us"

The 500 mourners sang freedom songs, raised clenched fists and repeatedly chanted slogans

about the ANC's Umkonto we Sizwe and Nelson Mandela.

The crowd of mourners swelled to about 2 000 as chanting youths ran ahead of the hearse to the cemetery, where Seipei's small wooden casket was buried

Meanwhile, two more people appeared before a Johannesburg magistrate this week in connection with Stompie's death

The names of Mr Katza Cebekulu, 21, of Hammersdale, and that of a 16-year-old girl were added to the charge sheet of Mr John Morgan, 61, the former bus driver of the Mandela United Football club, who appeared in court last Friday

The case was postponed to March 10. There are now five people charged with Stompie's death.

SA blacks are sick ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ of protest — editor

BY RAMSAY MILNE
The Star Bureau

With South African blacks having become "sick of protest", there is now a backlash taking place in the black community over politics, said Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, in an interview in the *New York Times*.

In a lengthy report under a headline "On blacks' do-it-yourself route to nationhood", *The New York Times* correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren, outlined what he described as Aggrey Klaaste's "vision of black nation-building in South Africa".

Some whites, he said, had assumed when Klaaste, whom he described as "a gentle crusader who edits the Sowetan", first "float-ed his vision", that he was sounding a retreat in the battle against apartheid or else agitating for black power.

Other blacks wondered if Klaaste was selling out the struggle.

But Klaaste, in the interview, makes it clear that he has "no organisation, only a great notion". He argues that apartheid has left blacks mired in a poverty that is psychological as well as physical and that they have to pull themselves out of it "because no one else will do it for them".

Wren adds "Through Klaaste's argument runs a theme of black consciousness promulgated by Stephen Biko, who, before he died from a police beating in 1976, urged blacks to seek their own identity apart from whites. Klaaste diverges in his contention that blacks should not reject help from sympathetic whites".

Klaaste a backlash in the townships.

In effect, writes Wren, Klaaste echoes the Bush administration's contention that black economic muscle, not economic sanctions, will force racial justice on South Africa.

Klaaste points out that "the legacy of four decades of apartheid" made it hard for whites to accept that blacks yearn for the same stability and prosperity. "They don't realise that behind the wall is a black guy walking a dog or riding a bicycle," he said.

The situation in South Africa, said Klaaste, was so abnormal "that you can't have people embracing across the colour line".

Thus, he adds "What we have to do is to turn the townships into the kind of ethnic suburbs you have in the United States," citing the "Chinatowns" popular in major American cities.



Mr Jan van Gend

copy tip 3/3/89

Change law first, says Mabuza *114*

JOHANNESBURG — KaNgwane Chief Minister Chief Enos Mabuza said yesterday that a number of prerequisites, including the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the repeal of apartheid legislation, had to be met before blacks could sit at the negotiating table with the South African government.

Chief Mabuza was reacting to National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's call to black leaders to join him in a "Great Indaba" to find a solution to South Africa's political impasse.

"While we accept that the minister's call is made in good faith, we cannot come forward to the negotiating table as fellow South Africans."

Mr Mabuza said that until laws that entrenched apartheid were removed from the statute book, "we cannot be expected to negotiate on an equal footing with fellow white South Africans"

He said blacks who served in government-created structures did not lay claim to being the only voices of the people. "Those leaders in prison and exile need to be available to attend such a meeting."

UK doctors to treat PAC leader for cancer

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, 75, will travel to Britain for treatment and a possible operation on the invitation of the British medical fraternity as soon as his passport application is approved.

Mr Benny Alexander, a spokesman for the Zeph Mothopeng Committee, said that Mr Mothopeng hoped to receive his passport within the next week. He applied for a passport on February 20.

Thyroid cancer was diagnosed

APR 7/1985 3/3/89 (11A)
and Mr Mothopeng was released from prison on health and humanitarian grounds last December

Mr Alexander said Mr Mothopeng was "very weak, but slightly better than at the time of his release".

He was expected in Britain on March 14 and would be accompanied by a South African medical practitioner and also his wife, Urbania.

Mr Alexander said Mr Mothopeng did not want to leave South

Africa immediately after his release because he had first wanted "to get the feel of things"

"He will very definitely be returning to South Africa. He is unlikely to stay in Britain for more than three months."

He added that Mr Mothopeng had accepted the British medical fraternity's invitation, but had received offers of medical treatment from several other countries as well as from Commonwealth foreign ministers — Sapa



Yacoob Baig

Baig takes over from Naicker as leader

Parliamentary Staff

PARLIAMENTARY leader of the National Peoples Party, Mr Yacoob Baig, has been elected to replace Mr S V Naicker, Indian Minister of Local Government, as national leader of the National People's Party.

Mr Naicker, who was elected on Tuesday to replace Mr Amichand Rajbansi, stepped down yesterday.

The latest case of musical chairs in the House has been caused by another anomaly.

Mr Naicker sits in the Indian Ministers' Council, which is controlled by the majority party, Solidarity

As such he cannot also be leader of the official opposition.

CAUCUS MEETING

In an attempt to find its way around the problem at its caucus meeting on Tuesday, the NPP elected Mr Naicker national leader of the party and its chief whip, Mr Baig, parliamentary leader and leader of the official opposition in the House

Mr Naicker said however that the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, had told the NPP this was not acceptable. The leader of the party had to be the parliamentary leader if he was sitting in the House.

This meant that Mr Naicker had to either resign as a Minister, or as national leader of the NPP.

Indaba ^{11/11/89} on 'local level only'

By ANTHONY DOMAN, Staff Reporter

THE National Party would have to make a decisive break with apartheid and commit itself to non-racialism before embarking on the "great indaba" proposed by party leader Mr F W de Klerk, says distinguished liberal academic Professor Hermann Giliomee.

Even if such a round-table were to take place, it would be at local and regional, rather than national, level at first, said Professor Giliomee, who is head of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies

This week Mr de Klerk spoke of formulating detailed proposals towards a new dispensation for a peaceful and prosperous future

"Things will have to change drastically," he said

Mr de Klerk has committed the NP to renewed reform. The party would not set preconditions for what he acknowledged should be urgent, meaningful negotiations with leaders seeking peaceful solutions

Professor Giliomee

Change was necessary, agreed Professor Giliomee

"It is like an apple pie," he said of the indaba suggestion

"It sounds like a good idea but how do you actually accomplish it?"

It was difficult to see exactly how an indaba would be set up. Mr de Klerk's announcement offered few guidelines apart from its "general sentiment" that "it is a good idea to start talking"

On the agenda

The indaba idea was obviously on the Cabinet agenda, so the government would keep it alive

But before they could get any meaningful discussion, they would have to commit themselves to a non-racial government, he added

"A leader such as (Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu) Buthelezi would realise that the gap is simply too wide on the national level," he said

"However, I think the government will have to commit itself to negotiations at least on the local and regional level"

Chief Buthelezi would probably stand firm on preconditions such as the release of Nelson Mandela

"It is hard to see him getting into serious negotiations without demanding that this occur. Buthelezi is not desperate for a settlement on the national level"

Professor Giliomee said he saw Mr de Klerk's suggestion as the National Party's opening gambit

"I cannot see it happening at national level within the next three or four years. However, I can see significant movement on a local level"

Serious discussions would have to be held about the non-racial content of a future constitution

"It is difficult to see a government of national unity with, say, a 50/50 power-sharing between whites and blacks," he said

Principle of non-racialism

The position of the groupings which supported non-racialism would be decisive

"The kind of insistence on non-racialism is so powerful. I don't think that any black leader with any significant following would go against the principle of non-racialism"

Professor Giliomee was reluctant to speculate on how an indaba's proposals would be implemented

Nothing significant would happen on a national level for some time so it was pointless to try to predict how best to deal with recommendations

"But in the end the government would have to commit itself to a structure which breaks decisively with apartheid"

Op for Mothopeng in UK 11A

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, has accepted an offer by leading British medical practitioners for treatment and possible operation depending on

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

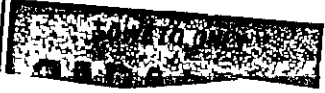
Sunday 7/3/87
tests to be carried out.

Mr Mothopeng has received numerous offers of medical treatment from governments and also from the foreign ministers of the Commonwealth.

Mr Mothopeng, who

was recently released from jail, has applied for a passport to travel overseas. He was optimistic the government will grant him the document.

He regards the medical treatment he is to undergo in Britain as the primary reason for wanting to leave the country.



US paper reports Stompie assaults

LOS ANGELES — The *Los Angeles Times* yesterday carried a report purportedly quoting affidavits of survivors of assaults that took place at the house of Mrs Winnie Mandela . (A)

It details the alleged events and how the beatings were initiated .

The report also mentions the death of 14-year-old Stompie Mokhetse Seipei . (A)

The newspaper quoted sources as saying affidavits also show Stompie was suspended by his feet and repeatedly dropped on his head — Sapa-AP

118
~~118~~
~~118~~

**Stompie: 3
more held**

JOHANNESBURG. —
The number of suspects
arrested in connection
with the murder of 14-
year-old Soweto activist
Stompie Moeketsi Sepei
has risen to eight with
the appearance in court
yesterday of Mrs Clisa
Falati, 35, and two
others.

Yesterday's hearing
was held in camera —
one of the trio was said
to be a 17-year-old youth.

He and the other ac-
cused, Mr Kuyban Khu-
beka, 25, of Diepkloof,
are reported to have
been members of the
Mandela United Soccer
Club.

The three were re-
manded to March 10. —
Sapa

CAR Trufts 4/3/87

2 new deputy ministers in HoR reshuffle

Political Staff

11A
Botha

Labour Party and its leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

IN A significant political development yesterday, President P W Botha gave the go-ahead for a reshuffle of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

Two new deputy ministers have been appointed — Mr Miley Richards, who becomes Deputy Minister of the Budget, and Mr Abe Williams, who becomes the Deputy Minister of Education and Culture.

The announcement of the reshuffle by the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, is seen as a bid by the government to re-establish relations with both the

The rest of the council remains the same, apart from the portfolios of auxiliary services and agriculture, which have been transferred from Mr David Curry, the Minister of Local Government and Housing, to Mr Andrew Julies, Minister of the Budget.

In his statement Mr Heunis said the decision to reshuffle the council followed discussions with Mr Botha on Thursday

Mr Hendrickse has wanted to reshuffle the council for more than a year since Mr Carter Ebrahim — who subsequently left the Labour Party — was forced out as

Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr Botha, however, declined to do so, causing a further deterioration in relations between the government and Mr Hendrickse.

And there were attempts by the government to cause a further split in the Labour Party and muster further support for a small breakaway group under Mr Ebrahim.

Mr Hendrickse said in an interview last night that the decision to reshuffle was a significant one and the move an attempt to establish a "healthier climate" which could lead to negotiation on a number of issues

stev 4/3/87

Talk peace with ANC — DRCA

SATURDAY STAR'S AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

TALKS last month between the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa and the African National Congress have prompted the Church to call on Government to negotiate unconditionally with the ANC.

DRCA Moderator, the Rev S P Buti, said on behalf of the Commission for Justice, Reconciliation and Peace, it accepted that the ANC formed "an inherent part of the political solution in South Africa."

He added: "The commission has decided to call urgently upon the Government to negotiate unconditionally with the ANC to come to reconciliation and peace in the political conflict in the country and to prevent further bloodshed and loss of life."

● It is reported from Lusaka that the ANC has confirmed it will soon hold another meeting with representatives of the National Soccer League (NSL).

An ANC spokesman said no dates had been fixed. The spokesman welcomed the NSL decision to cut the number of foreign players to four for each affiliated club from 1991.

(11A) CP 1000
5/3/89

ANC, Cosatu, UDF in secret Lusaka talks

THE ANC has ended two days of secret talks with SA union leaders but both sides declined to comment on the discussions.

An ANC spokesman said no statement would be issued and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidop refused to speak to reporters.

The talks ended on Tuesday in the Zambian capital Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

The Cosatu delegation returned home on Wednesday.

The ANC held several hours of talks on Sunday with Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF.

Morobe returned to SA on Monday.

Sunday's talks centred on a row over alleged thuggish behaviour by personal bodyguards of Winnie Mandela.

Anti-apartheid groups have disowned Winnie Mandela because of the conduct of the bodyguards, known as the Mandela United Football Club. — Sapa

UDF leader Malindi is released

11A

Chow

5/3/89

VETERAN anti-apartheid activist and former UDF (Western Cape) president, Zolile Malindi has been released from detention. Malindi, 64, was severely restricted this week when he left Pollsmoor Prison, where he had been held since September 21.

He cannot take part in the activities of the UDF or Gugulethu Civil Association, or address a meeting of more than 10 people.

He has been restricted to the Wynberg Magisterial district and must report twice a day to Gugulethu Police Station.

His wife, Letitia Malindi, said his release had surprised her. "I'm happy and at least there's a man in the house now, but I am not happy with his restrictions," she said. Sapa

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"I'm happy and at least there's a man in the house now, but I am not happy with his restrictions," she said.

Mayor survives gang's knife attack

Crime Reporter

THE MAYOR of Lingeletshu West in Khayelitsha, Mr Mali Hoza, survived an assassination attempt on Saturday night

Mr Hoza — officially installed as mayor two weeks ago by the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis — drew and fired his own handgun during the attack by a gang of ten men

Police shot dead one



DEATH BID . . . Mr Hoza

of the men, believed to be in his early 20s, and soon afterwards arrested an 18-year-old youth who is expected to appear in court soon

A police spokesman said Mr Hoza's life was saved when one of his two bodyguards, a special constable, jumped between Mr Hoza and an attacker armed with a knife

Police said the knife man's blade cut into the special constable's uniform but "did not draw blood".

The constable drew his weapon and shot the man in the stomach

The wounded man and his fellow attackers then turned and fled

Mr Hoza drew his weapon and fired a number of shots at them

Collapsed

It is believed that the wounded man was hit a second time, collapsed and was taken in a private vehicle to the police riot unit's office in Site C, Khayelitsha

He died before an ambulance could take him to hospital. His identity had not yet been established by police, who said yesterday that they had yet to find a motive for the attack

● Mr Hoza was in Paarl yesterday and not available for comment, according to committee member Mr S M Gubayo.

No bail for suspects

JOHANNESBURG. — Bail for four accused of the murder of Mandela United Football Club member Mr Maxwell Madondo on January 30 was refused in the Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Magistrate Mr G van Wyk ruled that there was ample evidence that Mr Lerothodi Ikaneng, 23, Mr Isaac Mazibuko,

22, Mr Nklanhla Blanket, 18, and Mr Sandile Blanket, 20, all of Orlando West, Soweto, had quarrelled with the football club and that the club had no scruples when it came to eliminating such opposition.

He said that if they were granted bail, the football club could attempt to kill the four or involve them in further illegal activities.

CASE # MW 7/3/89



7/3/89

Soccer club linked to man's death

The Argus 118

Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG

Mr Maxwell Madondo was murdered as a result of clashes between members of the Mandela United Soccer Club and the accused involved in the Madondo murder case, a policeman told a Johannesburg magistrate.

Detective Sergeant Jean van Zyl gave evidence yesterday in a bail application for four of the accused, who allegedly murdered Mr Madondo on February 13 this year.

Mr G van Wyk refused the application by Mr Andrew Ikaneng, 27, Mr Sandile Blanket, 20, Mr Isaac Mazibuko, 22, and a 17-year-old youth.

A fifth accused, Mrs Dudu Chili, 47, was granted bail of R500 last week.

Sergeant van Zyl said members of the football club had tried to kill Mr Ikaneng by slashing his throat. He survived.

The accused decided "to put things right with the soccer club".

4 suspected PAC insurgents arrested at Magaliesburg

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Four suspected Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) insurgents and an alleged collaborator were arrested by police in the western Transvaal at the weekend, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, announced yesterday.

They were arrested on Sunday at a roadblock at Magaliesburg after being spotted by a member of the public on the road between Swartruggens and Koster, said Mr Vlok.

It is believed the group entered South Africa from Botswana.

The person who spotted the alleged PAC members saw them "acting suspiciously" in a vehicle and contacted the police.

Police set up a roadblock, the vehicle was forced to halt and the arrests were made. Weapons were also seized.

Mr Vlok did not say whether any violent incident accompanied the arrests or what kind of weapons were seized.

"The arrest of these (alleged) terrorists and the seizure of their weapons will make a contribution towards preventing the shedding of the blood of defenceless people," said Mr Vlok.

He thanked the member of the public who provided the information and said he would be appropriately rewarded.

PAC suspects held

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Sowetan 7/3/89
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NIC to appeal against 'emergency' decision

Stay 7/3/89
The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was yesterday granted leave to appeal against a Natal judge's refusal to declare certain portions of the emergency regulations invalid

Last year the NIC asked that certain

portions of the regulations be declared invalid In September Mr Justice Friedman rejected the application

Mr Justice Law yesterday granted the NIC leave to appeal — Own Correspondent. (117) ~~117~~

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Whirtar

The suspect
arrested on Sunday
at roadblock at Magaliesberg

Zeph's passport is 'considered'

THE Department of Home Affairs was considering an application for a passport for Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng, a spokesman for the

department confirmed in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Mothopeng (75) applied for a passport on February 20 so that he could travel to the UK for medical treatment

Mr Benny Alexander,

a spokesman for the Zeph Mothopeng Committee, said last week the British medical fraternity had offered to treat Mr Mothopeng for suspected thyroid cancer

Mr Mothopeng was

"very weak", Mr Alexander said, but slightly better than he had been when he was released from prison on health and humanitarian grounds last December

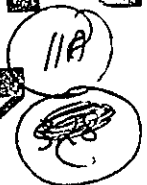
Mr Mothopeng would

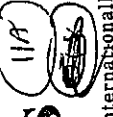
be accompanied to Britain by his wife Urbana and a South African doctor

Mrs Mothopeng said her husband took violently ill one night last month but his family could not call a doctor because most Soweto doctors did not make night calls

Said Mr Alexander: "He will very definitely be returning to South Africa. He is unlikely to stay in Britain for more than three months".

Mr Mothopeng also received offers of medical





SA lawyers convince ANC on issue of Bill of Rights

BY TIM COHEN

An important breakthrough was achieved by lawyers who met ANC members in Harare last month, Professor Johan van der Vyver told Wits law students at a report-back meeting recently.

The 30 mainly Afrikaans lawyers from South Africa were able to convince the hesitant ANC members present that a Bill of Rights was desirable. Finally the participants at the meeting unanimously agreed to include it in their final communique.

Professor van der Vyver said the conference also heard a senior ANC member solemnly swear that the ANC would no longer attack soft targets and that if any member did, the ANC would deal with this member "in the harshest possible way".

He said the ANC was not particularly keen on a Bill of Rights because they feared that the government of a post-apartheid South Africa — which they hope will be an ANC government — would be stifled by the kinds of restrictions a Bill of Rights would contain.

Professor van der Vyver used the example of a constitutionally defended right to property ownership, which he said the ANC feared would restrict a new government's attempts to redistribute wealth.

"But I think after the purpose of a Bill of Rights was fully discussed and some of the fears were waylaid, the ANC people conceded that a post-apartheid South Africa should have a justifiable Bill of Rights — a Bill of Rights that is enforceable

A conference to discuss the role of law in a society in transition, held in Zimbabwe last month, attracted 30 lawyers from South Africa, members of the ANC's department of legal and constitutional affairs, leaders of the ANC and Zimbabwean lawyers. The University of the Witwatersrand's Professor Johan van der Vyver attended the conference and spoke of his impressions

through the courts." Professor van der Vyver explained that the argument put forward by the lawyers from South Africa was that the new constitution, including the Bill of Rights, should guarantee the non-repetition of the evils which a society experienced.

"That's the way the American Bill of Rights was drafted and that's the way the Bill of Rights of the Federal Republic of Germany was

crimination, worker's right to strike, a mixed economy and an affirmative action programme to implement land reforms."

Professor van der Vyver said his main criticism of the ANC document is that it retains elements of state absolutism and totalitarianism. For example the constitutional guidelines ban and make punishable any kind of racism, he said.

To do as the ANC's guidelines suggest would be to over-burden the law in an attempt to put things straight, Professor van der Vyver said.

The debate on violence was extremely heated, he said, but after one heated exchange, a senior member of the ANC had stood up and "very solemnly" told the conference that the ANC would never again at-

The ANC had internationally committed itself to abide by the first protocol of the Geneva convention on war, which means that it had undertaken to conduct its offensive against the South African Government in terms of the rules of international humanitarian law, he said.

The convention outlawed urban terrorism and the hitting of soft targets.

The ANC did admit that it had attacked soft targets, but ANC representatives said that in all the cases, the operatives involved were trained in South Africa.

They had not had the opportunity of going to Lusaka to be briefed on the ethos and the international commitments of the ANC.

JUST A QUICK LINE

SCM Times 7/3/89 (114) [initials]

Khayelitsha leader shot

Crime Reporter

POLICE are investigating the mysterious circumstances surrounding the shooting at the weekend of Mr Thomas Ngwane, chairman of the Khayelitsha Joint Action Committee and a political opponent of the Mayor of Lingelethu West, Mr Mali Hoza

A possible link between the attack, in which Mr Ngwane was hit in the knee by shotgun fire, and the attempted assassination of Mr Hoza is also under investigation, police said.

Mr Hoza and his two bodyguards were attacked by a gang of 10 men on

Saturday evening. Mr Hoza was not hurt in the incident that claimed the life of one of his attackers.

Less than 24 hours later, about six gunmen entered the home of Mr Ngwane, shot him in his left knee with a shotgun and struck him with pangas.

Mr Ngwane was taken to a local hospital before being transferred to Tygerberg Hospital.

The 18-year-old man who was arrested by police in connection with the attack on Mr Hoza is expected to appear in Mitchells Plain Magistrate's Court later today.

Murder mystery

11A Smith 9-15/3/89

From KAREN EVANS
PORT ELIZABETH — The mystery surrounding the violent death of UDF activist Sparrow Mkonto took a new turn recently when the reference book he had taken to Port Elizabeth on the night he was murdered, turned up in his house.

Mkonto was one of four

Cradock UDF leaders found dead near their burnt-out car after they had attended a meeting in Port Elizabeth in June 1985.

The other three were Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mahlawuli

Mkonto's wife, Biniswa, "went cold" when she opened an envelope with her husband's reference book inside

She was sweeping the toilet floor

when she came across a sealed envelope

"Inside was my husband's reference book which he carried with him everywhere. He took it with him to Port Elizabeth on that fateful day in June 1985, and I have not seen it since"

She said she found it "very strange" that the reference book had "suddenly turned up"

"I believe it must have been left there deliberately by someone who

had something to do with the killing"

The envelope was white with no postage stamp or address. On the back it had a return address reading "Parow East Account Dept"

Mkonto's attorneys are looking into the matter

An inquest into the deaths of the four activists was held recently in Port Elizabeth. The findings of the court were that they were killed by "a person, persons or group of persons unknown".

Nyameka Goniwe, wife of Matthew Goniwe, said after the inquest that the findings were what she had expected, taking into account "the manner in which the whole thing was handled"

"A picture has been drawn of the murderers, but we don't need a court to tell us what the findings are," she said - PEN

9-14/3/89
dutch
68/5/1-1

Unionist on ^(11A) ANC charges

A FORMER Cape Town trade unionist and her husband have been charged with undergoing military training and promoting the aims of the ANC.

Lucy Abrahams, 28, who worked as an organiser for the Media Workers Association of South Africa, and her husband Gerald Nyembe, made a brief appearance in the Johannesburg regional court last Friday.

They were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. The trial is set for hearing from May 8.

South Africa 9/3/59



(11A)

Mkwanazi calls for pressure

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

THE president of the Black Management Forum, Mr Don Mkwanzazi, yesterday called on big business to pressurise the Government to release all detainees, political prisoners and to abolish apartheid. (11A)

Speaking at the launch of the East Rand Branch of BMF, Mr Mkwanzazi said big corporations should help blacks in their opposition to apartheid. If they did not, the Government will continue with its discriminatory policy.

He said by releasing detainees, including those on hunger strike, the Government will be showing its *bona fides* to change in the wake of protest from the local and international communities.

The Government would also have to act against the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act which have made the Conservative Party "political lunatics".

Mr Mkwanzazi also challenged the corporate world to help develop the country economically. Many foreign companies have pulled out of South Africa and were bought over by local concerns. The new owners of some of these enterprises did not have the interest of blacks at heart.

"We want to extend our hand of friendship to them to help develop blacks. Corporations that feel they have a future in black South Africa, must acknowledge that one of the propitious sectors for success is the incorporation of blacks," he said.

Nelson, Winnie 'disagree on soccer team'

PITTSBURGH — The daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela says her parents disagree on whether to dissolve the controversial Mandela United soccer team

Ms Makaziwe Mandela said this week that her father wanted to disband the team. Her stepmother, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wants to keep it in tact.

But Ms Mandela said: "That doesn't mean their relationship is strained."

The soccer team serves as Mrs Mandela's bodyguards

Eight people linked to Mandela United have been arrested in connection with the murder of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei.

Anti-apartheid leaders have accused the bodyguards of waging a "reign of terror" and have denounced Mrs Mandela

"There's no doubt that it's affecting her stand in the liberation struggle," her stepdaughter said. "All along, children have died in the hands of the police. So if there are children who die in the hands of other blacks connected to her, it will affect her image"

Ms Mandela, 35, is a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst — Sapa-AP

Robert Brown bought Winnie her mansion

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Mr Robert Brown bought Mrs Winnie Mandela's Diepkloof home for her after her other house was burned down last August, a spokesman for his public relations firm, B and C Associates, said yesterday

The funds, including an initial payment of R38 000, came from the International Concern Foundation (ICF), a tax-exempt organisation set up by Mr Brown in 1986 to provide food, clothing, financial assistance and scholarships for black South Africans, Mr Armstrong Williams said

Mr Williams said corporate and individual donations to ICF, which to date have totalled some R240 000, are channelled to a bank account in SA upon which Mrs Mandela may draw with Mr Brown's approval.

ICF also supports Mrs Mandela's daughter Zenani, who is studying at Boston University with her husband, Prince Thumbumuzi Dhlamini, on full four-year scholarships.

Mr Williams said neither ICF nor Mr Brown had directly contributed to the completion of Mrs Mandela's controversial mansion

However, about R48 000 had been made available for this purpose by the Coalition on SA (Cosa) in February, 1988, a few months after Cosa had been founded to help promote the cause of US business in SA

Mr Brown helped found Cosa in 1987 with \$700 000 (about R1,68m) in contributions from Mobil, Caltex, Johnson and Johnson and other major US companies. He recently resigned from its board

Mr Williams said Mrs Mandela was being unfairly castigated over the house. It did not belong to her but to the Madiba Trust, whose trustees included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Alan Boesak, Dr Nthatho Motlana and Prince Dhlamini

The R48 000 Cosa grant was technically supposed to be for a clinic run by Mrs Mandela, but most of the proceeds in fact went to the trust to complete work on the house, Mr Williams said. He emphasised that no impropriety was involved.

● In an as yet unpublished letter to the New York Times, Mr Brown strongly denies trying to profit from his relationship with the Mandela family

He also insists that, despite the furore over the death of Stompie Seipei, Mrs Mandela remains in his view "a strong, courageous, dedicated woman who has endured great stress and carried many burdens in life"



Heyns . . . ethical problem with precondition

dom Talking to the enemy — responsible for bombs and limpet mines — was seen as an act of treason

But suddenly there seems to be a new sense of urgency attached to such negotiations Whether this has been encouraged by the recent Angolan peace talks or a realisation that the ANC is in fact a major player in the SA political process, as the National Democratic Movement's Wynand Malan declares, is of academic interest (See "Defending Sampie") What is significant is the direction from which this new breeze blows

The likes of Malan, Idasa's (Institute for a Democratic Alternative to SA) Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Stellenbosch academic Hermann Gilhomce have conveniently been type-cast as "alternative Afrikaners" But when NG Kerk Moderator Johan Heyns questions the ethics of government's prescriptive demand for a renunciation of violence as a precondition to talks with the congress, a brand new ball game is apparent

Heyns, in an interview with the *FM*, reiterated his earlier view that he has an "ethical problem" with government's precondition: "I am not saying that government *should* talk to the ANC What I am saying is that their rejection of talks with the ANC should be based on other reasons, if any They may feel that talks with the ANC give the organisation a status it does not deserve, or they may reject such talks based on security reasons"

By way of analogy, Heyns says it would be useless to urge an alcoholic to stop drinking before discussing his problem with him

Heyns's statement received favourable comment from Nasionale Pers's Johannesburg daily *Beeld*, which said "His views should receive serious consideration We also believe that a peace dialogue could only be conducted with those who have authority among their supporters Someone who has lost his credibility (like Bishop Abel Muzorewa of Zimbabwe) has little to offer"

In an editorial after newly elected Nat leader F W de Klerk's Nigel speech — in which he called for a Great Indaba — *Beeld*

again called for a new approach to negotiations Both the position of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and that of the ANC would be of great importance to the success of such an indaba, it said "Methods will have to be found to transform those handicaps into opportunities" To get negotiations started, the "long list of preconditions" set in the past would have to be reconsidered

In the Afrikaans Sunday *Rapport* last weekend, Stellenbosch philosopher Wilhe Esterhuysen asked whether it wasn't time to have at least an informal discussion about the renunciation of violence on the part of the ANC Esterhuysen argued that countries like the US, Britain, the Soviet Union and the Frontline States have an important role to play as facilitators "In short, it has become time for a serious new evaluation (of the situation) and initiatives," he concluded

While Heyns's and *Beeld's* viewpoints still fall short of actually proposing talks with the ANC, a backdown by Pretoria on the precondition clause could at least set the ball rolling ■

TALKING TO THE ANC

Thinking again

Afrikaner academics, politicians and sports administrators taking part in the first cross-border safaris to meet the banned African National Congress (ANC) were quickly spurned as outcasts by the rest of Afrikaner-

Tsedu smear thrown out

11/17
~~11/17~~

Sowetan
10/2/89

A SMEAR campaign against *Sowetan* reporter Mathatha Tsedu was yesterday dismissed as an attempt to create division among blacks.

Pamphlets were distributed at Turfloop University campus, Seshego and at the neighbouring township of Mankweng, Pietersburg, on Tuesday night. They claimed to come from the South African National Students Congress (Sansco) and the United Democratic Front, Northern Transvaal.

They had a UDF emblem in one corner and Tsedu's photograph in the other, and referred to an article written by Tsedu and published in the *Sowetan* — about the National Intelligence Service's attempt to recruit a Turfloop law student, Miss Sonti Mojapelo.

11A

Amey 12/3/89

New turn in 1985 murder of E Cape UDF men



Matthew Goniwe ... died with Sparrow Mkonto.

CP Correspondent

IN a new twist to the mysterious and violent death of UDF activist Sparrow Mkonto, his reference book - which he had taken to Port Elizabeth the night he was murdered - recently turned up at his house.

Mkonto was one of four UDF leaders from Cradock who were killed after attending a meeting in Port Elizabeth in June 1985.

The other three were Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Sidelo Mahlawuli.

Mkonto's wife, Sindiswa, "went cold" when she opened an envelope and found her late husband's reference book inside.

She was sweeping the

Four years on, reference book reappears

toilet floor, a daily chore, when she came across a sealed, unmarked envelope.

"Inside was my husband's reference book, which he carried with him everywhere," she said.

"He took it with him to Port Elizabeth on that fateful day in June 1985, and I have not seen it since."

Sindiswa said she found it "very strange" that it suddenly turned up.

"I believe it must have been left deliberately by someone who had something to do with the killing."

The envelope was white with no postage stamp or address on the back, but featured a "Parow East

Accounts Dept" return address.

Mkonto's attorneys are looking into the matter.

At a recent inquest into the deaths of the four activists, a Port Elizabeth court found they were killed by "a person, persons or group of persons unknown."

Nyameya Goniwe, wife of Matthew Goniwe, said afterwards the findings were expected, "taking into account the manner in which the whole thing was handled."

"A picture has been drawn of the murders, but we don't need a court to tell us what the findings are," she said - Pen

ANC man found guilty of fraud over ID

12/2/29
CP Correspondent

LAWYERS have expressed surprise over the conviction on fraud charges - involving a forged ID document - of a 28-year-old Port Elizabeth man also found guilty on terrorism and related charges.

Ntsikelelo Enoch Kwezi was convicted in the regional court at Alexandria on charges of terrorism, possession of a hand grenade or limpet mine, being a member of the ANC, possession of explosives, and fraud.

He has been sentenced to an effective 12 years and three months in jail.

The fraud charge sheet stated that Kwezi had shown a policeman a forged ID document, to the detriment of the policeman, the police and the SA Government.

Grahamstown lawyers have expressed surprise at the fraud charge.

According to one lawyer, it was the first case he had heard of in which a member of the ANC was charged with fraud.

As Kwezi was a first-time offender, he should have been given a fully suspended sentence, the lawyer said.

At the beginning of last year, a Transkei police spokesman told a Press conference "They're a funny group, terrorists. They don't carry proper identification."

In a confession made after his arrest, Kwezi admitted to having received military training outside SA.

There was, however, no violence involved in any of the charges.

Kwezi was sentenced to the maximum of 10 years' imprisonment on the main count of terrorism. A three-year prison term for being a member of the ANC will run concurrently with this sentence.

He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on two other charges. One year of each was suspended for three years. Ana

Anti-CP demo called off

By MANDLA TYALA

A MASSIVE sit-in planned for yesterday to demonstrate abhorrence with the re-introduction of petty apartheid in Carletonville was called off at the eleventh hour after police advised it could lead to a violent encounter.

Hundreds of people, including miners from the western Transvaal town's hostels, had been called on to converge yesterday morning on a park in the centre of the town where the Conservative Party-controlled town council recently erected whites-only signs.

Addressing a media contingent in the park, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said police had approached leaders of the planned demonstration and warned them it could lead to a bloody clash with rightwing elements and there could possibly be loss of life.

Carletonville recently witnessed a spate of attacks on blacks by rightwing vigilantes

Said Mr Barayi "We are a responsible leadership. We have weighed what the police told us and we have decided to suspend the protest. We will launch it in the near future with a lot less people than were expected today."

Meanwhile, as a black consumer boycott continued to bite, it was announced that a R15-million development planned for the town had been put on ice.

Chamber of Commerce

president Mrs Annatjie Claassen also announced that a survey conducted by the Chamber had shown that 27 percent of the town's businesses would have to close down if the boycott was not called off soon.

This week the town council was called on by representatives of Carletonville businesses to review its stand. Mrs Claassen said the council had indicated it was not prepared to back down.

Row brews over U.S. aid to ANC refugees

A CONTROVERSY is brewing on Capitol Hill over scholarships, paid for by the American taxpayer, that some lawmakers fear might be going to ANC-approved South African refugees.

The scholarships, worth about R5-million a year, are funded by the State Department's Bureau of Refugee Programmes and awarded each year to about 150 South African and Namibian exiles.

The accusation of ANC involvement arises out of an investigation by Mr Phil Christenson, now a senior official at the State Depart-

ment's Agency for International Development (AID), into human rights abuses suffered by South African exiles in ANC refugee camps

Mr Christenson, who did the investigation while he was conservative Senator Jesse Helms's aide on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said refugees were forced by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) to claim political support for either the ANC or the PAC to "officially" qualify for refugee status and receive UN help.

They are then assigned to

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

5/22/84
camps, usually in Angola, Zambia or Tanzania. It is from there that they apply for the much sought-after scholarships

A few study in the US, but the majority attend university and colleges in Africa.

It is the issue of just how much influence the ANC has on the selection process that is causing a number of senators, including Sen Helms and Sen Mitch McConnell, to

ask if America's money is being well spent

"Why pay for an education for these radical anti-American students?" was how one staff aide expressed it

"We could just give the taxpayers' money straight to Robert Mugabe" (Zimbabwean President Mugabe's anti-American rhetoric has made many legislators here reluctant to give aid to Zimbabwe)

One indication of how pervasive the ANC appears to be in the refugee affairs is that

Mrs Zonelli Mbeki, the wife of top ANC official Thabo Mbeki, is a high-ranking member of the UNHCR, in Lusaka (11/7)

It is the UNHCR that pays for the transport of exiles from their first country of asylum (usually Botswana, Lesotho or Swaziland) to refugee camps in the country of final asylum

Review of the programme may come next month when the Senate plans to investigate how money for a broad range of South Africa-related projects is being spent

118

Ums

12/3/89

Youth released then restricted



16-year-old Petrus Dumisani Xaba ... detained, now restricted.

By SELLO SERIPE
A SIXTEEN-year-old Dobsonville youth recently released from detention has joined the list of restricted people

Petrus Dumisani Xaba of Dobsonville spent almost seven months as an emergency detainee in Johannesburg Prison

He was detained in his classroom at Mapetla-Tswana High School on August 16 and released on February 27

Xaba is possibly the youngest former detainee to be restricted

The restriction order placed on Xaba, signed on February 27 by Law

16-year-old detained for 7 months

and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, states that he must report at the Dobsonville Police Station daily between 5am and 6pm, and restricts him to the boundaries of his home between 6pm and 5am

The order also restricts him from attending meetings and from attacking any acts or policies or proposed acts of the SA Government and local au-

thority councils

Four days before he was detained, Xaba was arrested with two other youths. They were charged with arson and possession of explosives, but were acquitted when they appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court

Xaba's aunt, Elizabeth Gumede, 65, who served a five-year jail term under the Terrorism Act, has condemned the bans placed on him

"I think our rulers have gone crazy how can an unarmed youth aged 16 be a danger to the security of the State?" she asked

SA and Russians discuss ANC and 'armed struggle'

CHE 11965 13/3/89 (11A) (11B)

Own Correspondent

LONDON — A three-day meeting in England between influential South African, Russian and British academics could contribute significantly to long-term improved relations between Pretoria and Moscow

Sir John Killick, former British ambassador to Moscow, who chaired the secretly arranged meeting held at a hotel in Surrey last week, said there had been an unprecedented level of "positive" agreement

Key points accepted by the Russians were that:

- Although the USSR continued to support the ANC and its policy of armed struggle, the eventual end of apartheid had to be achieved by peaceful means

- Settlement in South Africa had to guarantee all rights of minority groups, including the whites

- South Africa's future should be decided by South Africans, not the super-powers

Sir John, who was Moscow ambassador from 1971-73 and the director of Dunlop South Africa from 1980-85, stressed that the meeting was non-governmental and did not necessarily reflect the views of Pretoria or Moscow

He said "This meeting was a very significant success in which the leading Soviet and South African academics, who do advise their governments, made a very positive assessment (of Southern Africa)

"They (the Russians) saw the problems in South Africa as human and were emphatic that they could only be solved around a table by peaceful means

"Both the Russians and the South Africans destroyed stereotypes of Moscow and Pretoria. It was a most heartening meeting

"It was an extremely important and successful meeting in the sense that we must hope that these positive views will filter through to their governments"

The most senior Russian present was Mr Anatoly Gromyko, son of the former Soviet president, who is director of the state-controlled Africa Institute in Moscow and senior Africa adviser to Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev

The South Africans included two Stellenbosch advisers to the government, Prof Philip Nel and Prof Willie Breytenbach

The other South Africans present were Prof D Fourie of the University of South Africa, a Prof D Geldenhuys, Mr John Barratt, director-general of the South African Institute of International Affairs, and top businessman Mr Chris Saunders, chairman of Tongaat-Hulett and a director of Anglo American

British academics, who spent two years planning the meeting — with Foreign Office support, included Britain's top academic Africa expert, Sir William Cutten

of Aston University, Birmingham, and Professor Jack Spence of Leicester University

Dr Philip Nel, director of the University of Stellenbosch's Institute of Soviet Studies, was named in a London Sunday Telegraph report as the co-leader of the SA delegation which met with about a half-dozen Soviet foreign policy advisers

Dr Nel, who was described as being close to South Africa's foreign policy-makers on matters Soviet, confirmed the meeting — which was kept low key at the Soviets' insistence — at the Woodlands Park Hotel in Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, near London

But he declined to name any other participants beyond those already named in the report which said the meeting was probably the "most significant between SA and Soviet delegations in 25 years"

"Hopefully it will lead to more contact between SA and Soviet academics and I believe it was a significant meeting from that point of view, taking SA-Soviet contact much further than our initial meeting with the Soviets in West Germany last October"

Professor Willie Breytenbach, head of Stellenbosch University's department of Africa Studies and named as co-leader with Dr Nel of the SA delegation, could not be reached for comment

Dr Sandy Shaw, head of the SA department of Foreign Affairs' Eastern European section, said he was aware of the weekend reports about the meeting

...any came from Maritzburg too, she said

BC activists are released

SIX MORE Black Conscious activists from Bekkersdal township on the West Rand were released from detention and severely restricted.

This now brings to 34 the number of BC

members restricted in Bekkersdal alone. Last month 11 more were released and restricted

They are. Mandla Josiah Tjale (27), Advocate Willie (20), Aggripa Pharule (22),

Barry Motingoe (22) and Leslie Makgamathe (23)

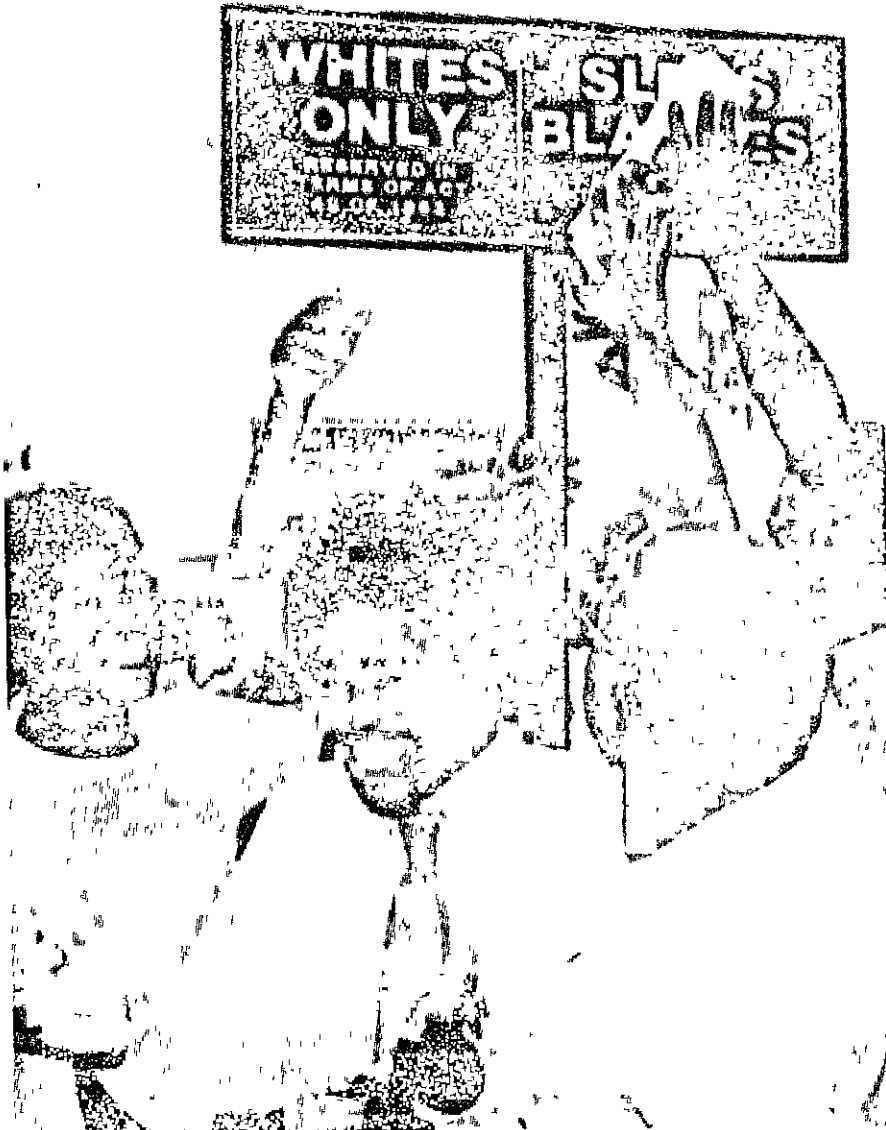
The terms of their restrictions are that they may not take part in activities of Azapo, Azayo and Azasm.

They also may not

leave Randfontein, attend gatherings to attack, criticise or protest against any acts or policies of the Government or local authorities. They must also report to the police in Randfontein

Sowetan
13/3/87
(Signature)

Sit-in at park called off



Covering up a whites-only sign at Carletonville's public park caused some laughter — but a planned sit-in was called off. The mining town has been hard hit by a boycott of black consumers in protest against the reintroduction of petty apartheid by the town council.

CARLETONVILLE — Blacks planning a sit-in demonstration at a whites-only park on Saturday cancelled the protest after police warned organisers they would be held responsible if any trouble broke out.

The sit-in was in response to a decision by the Conservative-controlled town council to re-segregate the park.

Mr Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said the protest was called off because police told organisers they would be held responsible if any trouble occurred.

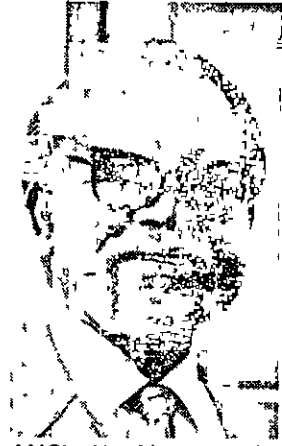
Only a handful of blacks showed up to participate in the protest.

However, the consumer boycott launched on February 27 in protest at the town council's decision to re-segregate public facilities continues to bite.

Sales have fallen sharply in the main shopping district and only a few black shoppers were visible on Saturday morning, normally the busiest time of the week.

The Conservative Party won control of the Carletonville and dozens of other town council in last year's municipal elections.

The party has vowed to reinstitute strict segregation in the towns they control — Sapa-AP.



ANC's Mr Oliver Tambo
failed to meet any of
the top Soviet leaders

Star 13/3/89

Soviet 'snub' for Oliver Tambo

11A

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The disclosure of secret talks between leading Soviet and South African academics near London has coincided with what is described here as a "virtual snub" given to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo during his recent visit to Moscow.

The Moscow correspondent of *The Times* says the snub indicates "rift between Moscow and the ANC over the use of violence against Pretoria"

He says Mr Tambo, who arrived there last week, was given a low-key reception compared with a visit in 1986 when he held extended talks with President Gorbachev

This time he met only Mr Anatoly

Lukyanov, a candidate member of the Politburo, and Mr Valentin Falin, head of the Communist Party's Central Committee international department

"The official communique at the end of the visit pointedly made no mention of the use of violence and avoided the word 'armed' — used in past communique — to describe the ANC struggle

"Instead, it said apartheid could best be done away with by 'political means' which would meet the long-term interests of all South Africans

Although Mr Tambo formally denied there had been a switch of Soviet policy towards the ANC, his delegation was clearly disappointed

● See Page 6

CAM Tm is
14/3/89

PC says it's natural for blacks to like socialism

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MANY black people experienced a controlled and rather socialistic environment in their daily lives and for this reason it seemed at first sight natural for them to favour socialism, the President's Council economics committee said yesterday

However, it was highly desirable that the economy be privatised as far as possible and there should be a political commitment to make the privatisation succeed

The committee, in its report on "a strategy and action plan to improve productivity in South Africa", which was tabled in the council yesterday, said it had received

abundant evidence that "the political system and free enterprise capitalist system are considered synonymous by many black workers and it is essential that these two concepts be separated in the minds of people if South Africa is to have a private enterprise system capable of generating the wealth it so desperately needs"

It was stated in evidence that "South Africa has a high degree of central and socialistic planning, that most South Africans are black, and that the economic system under which they live can be described as traditionally socialistic

"The reason for this is that a large part of their contact

with the national economy is in the hands of an authority, for example the government, a tribal authority, and so on, which owns the land and the housing which they occupy and which is supplier, owner or controller of transport, welfare, health care, education and training

"It was argued that since blacks do not have enough exposure to the so-called free economy, it is only natural for them to consider central planning and control as the norm"

Many blacks rejected the private enterprise system because they associated it with a specific political system which they felt treated them unfairly

CHX TMS
14/3/89

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ANC to seek assurance of Soviet aid

Own Correspondent

MOSCOW — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is visiting Moscow, is expected to seek assurances that the Soviet Union is not planning to reduce military or political aid

Mr Tambo will be determined to persuade the Kremlin not to reduce the ANC's military clout or to give the impression that it is distancing itself from the ANC

But, although the Kremlin has discounted any chance of establishing rapid diplomatic or overt economic links with South Africa, it has been adopting a far more conciliatory and flexible policy

"The removal of apartheid by political means would meet the long-term interests of all South Africans," said a joint ANC-Soviet statement at the weekend, omitting any mention of "armed struggle", after Mr Tambo had met Mr Anatoli Lukyanov, the Soviet vice-president and senior Gorbachev adviser

The Russians reassured the ANC that Moscow considers it "the oldest and most authoritative political organisation of the majority of the country's population", but the tone and content of recent Soviet declarations on South Africa carry a strong new emphasis on political negotiation rather than on guerilla warfare as the means of removing apartheid

At the same time, the Russians continue to supply and train ANC guerillas who infiltrate South Africa

The official news agency Tass said

that the ANC and the Kremlin had jointly "declared for an intensification of the international campaign against Pretoria's racist policy"

But recent Soviet commentaries, including those issued at the weekend, dwell little on the guerilla campaign against South Africa

Arguing for a twin-track policy, the head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's African department, Mr Yuri Yukalov, three months ago said "We have never regarded armed struggle as an absolute", but neither did he rule it out

Mr Yukalov was among Soviet officials who met South Africans including Broederbond leader Professor de Lange in a confidential meeting at Wilton Park in Sussex last week

Earlier last December, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, a deputy foreign minister in charge of African affairs, welcomed "a certain evolution in (the South African government) policy" and sounded strikingly sympathetic to the whites, saying that most of them "are also oppressed by the apartheid regime, by their isolation from most other countries and are looking for ways of ending it"

Leading Soviet scholars and journalists now urge wider contacts with a broad array of South Africans, while the government newspaper Izvestiya has been allowed to send a correspondent on a tour of South Africa

A key Soviet Africanist, Mr Boris Asoyan, has urged the Kremlin that "it would be fatal to miss the chances available for a stage-by-stage normalisation" of relations with South Africa

HARARE — The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has praised black South African women for their resistance to colonialism and efforts towards its abolition, Ziana news agency reports (11A)

In a statement released in Harare, the BCMA said it acknowledged numerous factors that militated against women's involvement in the liberation struggle or general participation in public life

"Azanian women have played a sterling role in the sphere of political mobilisation, labour organisations, relief for victims of settler-colonial brutality and in direct combat with the forces of the regime

"The BCMA recognises the contribution made in this regard by black women not only from its own ranks, but from all major political tendencies in our struggle," said the statement. *some item 10/3/89*

"We call on all progressive women's organisations everywhere to join hands with the oppressed and exploited women of Azania as they forge ahead towards unity, justice, working class power and peace," said the BCMA — Sapa

Demand for apology after Curry walkout

CAT Times 14/3/89 11A

By MEG BRITS

THE central ratepayers' committee of Blue Downs will ask Housing Minister Mr David Curry for a public apology for walking out of a meeting last night because the press was present.

Meanwhile Mr Curry, the Minister of Housing in the House of Representatives, said late last night that his department would go ahead with investigations into Blue Downs as announced last week.

Mr Curry left last night's meeting with the Blue Downs ad-hoc committee — representatives of all the ratepayers' associations in Blue Downs — saying that he was not even prepared to discuss his reasons for doing so as long as the press was present.

The meeting had been called to discuss the appointment of an arbitrator to investigate residents' complaints of shoddy workmanship and lack of facilities.

Mr Curry said last week that he believed some had genuine cause for complaint.

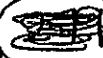
However, he said last night that he was "not prepared to discuss sensitive matters with the press present".

The Blue Downs committee is now considering whether to appoint an independent arbitrator to request a commission of inquiry into the financing of Blue Downs or whether to take the matter to the State President.

Soviets 'weary of armed struggle'

B/D ay 14/3/87

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RIAN SMIT

SOVIET politicians are growing weary of the armed struggle waged by the ANC, prominent academics from Stellenbosch University said yesterday.

Institute for the Study of Marxism head Philip Nel and Africa Studies head Willie Breytenbach met Soviet and UK academics at a three-day conference in England last week.

Nel said Soviet participants at the conference believed that, although well-founded historical reasons for the armed struggle existed, this struggle was becoming counter-productive.

He said the Soviets told the conference the time for killing was past and the ANC and SA had to start talking.

Breytenbach said the Soviets had placed the armed struggle under a magnifying glass and decided "Umkhonto (we Sizwe) will get nowhere".

The Soviet academics thought a settlement in SA must be a political settlement, Breytenbach said.

"They do not see the ANC as a *sine qua non* (indispensable) for a settlement in SA," Breytenbach said.

Both agreed ANC president Oliver Tambo's reported failure to meet President Mikhail Gorbachev on a visit to

Moscow over the weekend should not be summarily termed a "snub".

"One should not summarily interpret it as a snub. Maybe it was not on Tambo's agenda to see Gorbachev. I would be careful," Breytenbach said.

Soviet agreement to the Angola peace accords, which required the ANC to dismantle four of their bases, was definitely a snub, he said.

Meanwhile, SA Institute of International Affairs director-general John Barratt warned that exaggeration in the Press of the significance of the meeting between Soviet and SA academics could jeopardise chances of future meetings.

He said there might be some feedback from the meetings to the respective governments, but the academics had not represented government viewpoints.

"It's almost as though there was deliberate misinformation. It's nothing new that the Soviets want a political end to the struggle in SA, but they are not stopping their support for the armed struggle, the ANC or sanctions."

● Comment Page 6

ANC 'cannot be ruled out'

DURBAN — Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), predicted last night that the day would come, sooner than many believed, when the government would have to eat its words regarding the African National Congress

Speaking at an Idasa seminar, Dr Boraine said the government would have to eat its words in exactly the same way that it was now dealing with Mozambique, with Cubans and Angolans, and with

Swapo and the Soviet Union

At the seminar on the constitutional proposals put forward by the ANC, the director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk said white South Africans should accept the ANC guidelines as "a serious, sincere contribution to the constitutional debate"

Dr Boraine said "The real question facing South Africa today is Do we reach the negotiation table before war, thus preventing a war, or do we have to go there after a civil war?"

The ANC could not be ruled out as a legitimate participant at the negotiating table

"In the end you have to negotiate with people who have a mandate, who have the necessary support to make a bargain stick"

Professor Van Wyk said he believed the climate for shaping white opinion in respect of fundamental constitutional and political issues in South Africa appeared to be very favourable

White perceptions of the ANC were heavily influenced by the way in which the organi-

sation was portrayed as a violent and therefore a "non-negotiating" organisation

"A massive positive educational process should be conducted to convince whites they are needed and wanted in a non-apartheid South Africa"

A question which whites would ask regarding the guidelines, he said, was whether the "principle of one person, one vote" meant one person, one vote, once — or whether there would be some guarantee of "regular, periodic, free and general elections" — Sapa

Whites 'wanted, needed' in a non-apartheid SA

Political Staff

A MASSIVE positive educational process should be conducted to convince whites that they were needed and wanted in a non-apartheid South Africa, Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, said in Durban last night

Speaking at a seminar on the ANC's constitutional guidelines, Prof Van Wyk said white perceptions of the ANC, and hence any product of the ANC, were heavily influenced by the way the movement was portrayed as a "violent, and, therefore, non-negotiating organisation bent on a revolutionary take-over"

White South Africans should accept the ANC's guidelines as a serious and sincere contribution to the constitutional debate

Heunis remarks on ANC

ULUNDI — The ANC's continued commitment to violence was the only factor that was keeping it from the negotiation process in South Africa, acting State President Mr Chris Heunis said yesterday

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some of the essential participants in the process as an obstacle to progress

"On the other there are those whose participation is equally essential, who in turn do not see their way open to participate in the process if the ANC were to be present in the prevailing circumstances"

He said the only single factor that was now preventing the ANC itself from joining the process was its continuing commitment to violent confrontation and "terrorising the population in an effort to seize power"

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when South Africa was at war

"If the ANC now wants to act in South Africa's national interest it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of political negotiations together with other political leaders in South Africa," he said — Sapa

'Violence keeps ANC from SA negotiations'

B/day 15/3/89

(119) (20/10/89)

ULUNDI — The ANC's commitment to violence was the only factor keeping it from the negotiation process in SA, acting President Chris Heunis said yesterday

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some essential participants in the process as an obstacle

On the other hand there were those whose participation was equally essential who refused to join negotiations if the ANC took part

Heunis said the only factor preventing the ANC from joining any negotiation process

was its continuing commitment to violent confrontation and "terrorising the population in an effort to seize power"

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when SA was at war

"If the ANC now wants to act in SA's national interest it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of

political negotiations together with other political leaders in SA," he said

At the Legislative Assembly opening, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi confronted Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate for a new SA

He urged the NP to get electoral support for releasing Nelson Mandela, scrapping the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts, and for negotiating a non-racial democratic future

He assured government that if it sought such a mandate it would get support not only of a majority of whites but of blacks who did not have the vote

"You must put yourself in a position where you can campaign in black society against the far right and the far left from whatever political faction opposition comes," Buthelezi said in remarks prepared for delivery

Democratic ideals could not be preserved by dictators or fascist governments, and they could not be presented when they were in a kind of suspension while the government ruled through emergency powers

The KwaZulu leader said his people were encouraged by NP leader F W de Klerk's recent policy statements, as well as those by Heunis. He hoped to meet De Klerk soon

He warned that time favoured revolutionaries, and that the longer the de-

lay in reform the more strength they would gather among the masses

"We cannot get on with the job of tackling poverty, ignorance and disease until we have developed a national will to do so and make a united effort to succeed. It is at this juncture of SA history that the government should be re-examining itself very critically"

Buthelezi said it would not be possible to negotiate a new political dispensation without government and the NP being party to the negotiations

"The South African government is a *de facto* and *de jure* government. It is childish to jump up and down and call it an illegitimate government

"I have not heard one person describe military juntas, which we have in such abundance in Africa, as 'illegitimate' once they become *de jure* and *de facto* governments of their particular countries

"The government is wrong, it is not representative, it is not democratic — but it is the government of the day and it is a government of the day which must be salvaged from the consequences of its own actions" — Sapa



● BUTHELEZI



● HEUNIS

Heunis criticises ANC on link to violence

Soweto 16/3/89

11A

THE ANC's continued commitment to violence was the only factor that was keeping it from the negotiation process in South Africa, the Acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some of the essential participants in the process as an obstacle to progress

"On the other hand there are those whose participation is equally essential, who in turn do not see their way open to participate in the process if the ANC were to be present in the prevailing circumstances"

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which

had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when South Africa was at war

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday confronted Acting State President

Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate to free Nelson Mandela, scrap the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts and negotiate a non-racial democratic future for the country

3 men executed

THREE men were executed in Pretoria yesterday bringing the number of executions this year to seven.

Two of the men were hanged after a last-minute plea for a stay of execution failed.

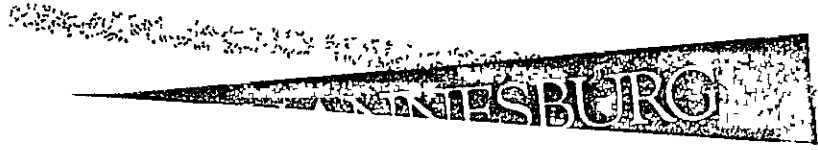
An urgent application for Dawid Temba Kekana (20), and Jacobus Konzi (22), was turned down by Mr Justice Kriegler.

The third man was Raymond Shozi (30), who

was twice sentenced to death for murder. — Sapa.

Warning

RESIDENTS of Protea North, Mapetla, Protea South, Phiri and the northern part of Chiawelo are warned that on March 29, between 8am and 5pm, the main water supply line in the area will be cut as a result of work on an additional supply line



DR Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, predicted in Durban on Monday night that the day would come, sooner than many people believed, when the Government would have to eat its words regarding the African National Congress

Speaking at an Idasa seminar, Dr Boraine said the Government would have to eat its words in exactly the same way that it is now dealing with the so-called Marxist-Leninist state of Mozambique, in the same way it had sat down with Cubans and Angolans who had previously been shooting at South African soldiers, and in the same way it was dealing with Swapo and the Soviet Union

Sincere

All of these people had been painted by the Government as monsters "determined to destroy everything we hold precious"

The seminar focussed on constitutional proposals put forward by the ANC, and Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, who was among the speakers, said white South Africans should accept the ANC guidelines "as a serious and sincere contribution to the constitutional debate"

Dr Boraine, in an opening address, said "The real question facing South Africa today is do we reach the negotiation table before war, thus preventing a war, or do

we have to go there after a civil war?"

Idasa stands for negotiation politics and aims at encouraging and developing a suitable climate for genuine negotiations to take place, he said

Such a climate does not exist at present, but students of history know that in any conflict-ridden society, the day inevitably comes when people go to the negotiating table, he said

"It is our hope we don't have to go there via a war as has happened in so many parts of the world down the years"

He said the ANC cannot be ruled out as a legitimate participant at the negotiating table

"On the basis of analysis, scientific as well as subjective, there is no doubt in my mind that the ANC, despite the fact it is banned and its leadership is in exile or in jail, holds a majority of support in the total South Africa today"

"The ANC itself is unable to present its constitutional proposals in this country, and thus

Why Pretoria must deal the ANC in

FOCUS

11/8
15/3/89

Better we should talk now than arrive at the negotiating table bloodied by civil war

the idea was born that Idasa should make it possible for groups throughout South Africa — like this one here tonight — to examine them

"Idasa does not slavishly follow the

ANC. In its discussions with the ANC, it has had some very tough exchanges, it has agreed on many issues and disagreed on many others "But I repeat, it is impossible to deal the ANC out

"In the end you have to negotiate with people who have a mandate, who have the necessary support to make a bargain stick"

Professor Van Wyk, a professor of constitutional and political issues

in South Africa appears to be very favourable

He said there is much in the ANC proposals that can be accepted by "non-racial and democratic whites"

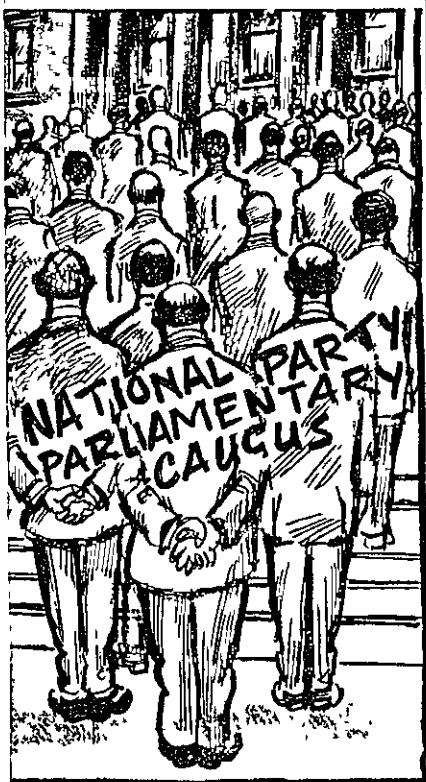
"White perceptions of the ANC, and hence any product emanating from the ANC, are heavily influenced by the way in which the organisation is portrayed as a violent and therefore "non-negotiating" organisation, bent on a revolutionary takeover

"In the process, whites ask Is our opinion truly relevant to the ANC, or for that matter any other 'black' organisation?"

Information

"A massive positive educational process should be conducted to convince whites they are needed and wanted in a non-apartheid South Africa. An important part of this process would be to make information (including the guidelines) available in languages other than English, notably Afrikaans

A question which whites would ask regarding the guidelines, he said, is whether the "principle of one person, one vote" meant one person, one vote once — or whether there would be some guarantee of regular, periodic free and general elections — Sapa



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

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"THERE is no doubt in my mind that the ANC, despite the fact that it is banned and its leadership is in exile or in jail, holds a majority of support in South Africa today" — Dr Alex Boraine

HoD official suspended

CNE 7/1/85 15/3/89 (70) (11A)

DURBAN — Dr G K Nair, chief director of education in the House of Delegates, was suspended yesterday pending a charge of misconduct against him following his evidence to the James Commission of Inquiry

Mr A K Singh, chief executive director of education and culture, said Dr Nair had been informed of his suspension, which came into effect from the close of duty yesterday.

In his findings, Mr Justice Neville James, who conducted the one-man commission of inquiry into irregularities in the House of Delegates, reported that Dr Nair, who was chairman of the Advisory Allocations Committee which handled school-book orders,

had been an "extremely poor witness"

"He made no attempt to ensure that the allocations committee performed its duties properly or to draw its attention to irregularities and absurdities which were manifest within his own knowledge

"He ultimately agreed that he had been handed a list of allocations to be made to particular booksellers and his evidence reveals that he regarded it as his task to ensure that the schedule of allocations which he brought to the meetings should be adopted"

Mr Justice James also said Dr Nair was undoubtedly lying in stating that Mr Singh provided him with the schedules.

'Violence keeps ANC from SA negotiations'

B/day 15/3/89

11A

ULUNDI — The ANC's commitment to violence was the only factor keeping it from the negotiation process in SA, acting President Chris Heunis said yesterday.

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the negotiation process was seen by some essential participants in the process as an obstacle

On the other hand there were those whose participation was equally essential who refused to join negotiations if the ANC took part

Heunis said the only factor preventing the ANC from joining any negotiation process

was its continuing commitment to violent confrontation and "terrorising the population in an effort to seize power"

However, historically the ANC was a nationalistic movement which had in the past suspended its own political activities in support of the national interest when SA was at war

"If the ANC now wants to act in SA's national interest it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of

political negotiations together with other political leaders in SA," he said

At the Legislative Assembly opening, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi confronted Heunis with an urgent plea for the National Party to seek a white voters' mandate for a new SA

He urged the NP to get electoral support for releasing Nelson Mandela, scrapping the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts, and for negotiating a non-racial democratic future

He assured government that if it sought such a mandate it would get support not only of a majority of whites but of blacks who did not have the vote

"You must put yourself in a position where you can campaign in black society against the far right and the far left from whatever political faction opposition comes," Buthelezi said in remarks prepared for delivery

Democratic ideals could not be preserved by dictators or fascist governments, and they could not be presented when they were in a kind of suspension while the government ruled through emergency powers.

The KwaZulu leader said his people were encouraged by NP leader F W de Klerk's recent policy statements, as well as those by Heunis. He hoped to meet De Klerk soon

He warned that time favoured revolutionaries, and that the longer the de-

lay in reform the more strength would gather among the masses

"We cannot get on with the job of tackling poverty, ignorance, disease until we have developed national will to do so and make a concerted effort to succeed. It is at this juncture of SA history that the government should be re-examining itself very critically"

Buthelezi said it would not be possible to negotiate a new political dispensation with the NP being part of the negotiations



● HEUNIS

"The South African government is a *de facto* and *de jure* government. It is childish to pick it up and down and call it an illegitimate government"

"I have not heard one person describe military juntas, which we have in such abundance in Africa, as 'illegitimate' once they become *de jure* and *de facto* governments of their parent countries

"The government is wrong, it is not representative, it is not democratic but it is the government of the day. It is a government of the day which must be salvaged from the consequences of its own actions" — SA



● BUTHELEZI

Lawyers pull-out of Pityana trial

GRAHAMSTOWN. — The entire defence team in a major political trial in Kenton in

the Eastern Cape has withdrawn after the state presented its case.

Lizo Pityana, a former vice-president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation

(Pebco), and ten others are facing 11 charges including terrorism, membership of the banned African National Congress, attempted murder and the illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

At the beginning of the trial, they pleaded not guilty to all charges. After the state had presented its case, lawyers acting for the accused, began "plea-bargaining" with the state.

However, they could not reach any agreement and when the trial resumed, the defence team informed the magistrate they were withdrawing from the case.

Ms Vanessa Brereton, one of the attorneys involved, said they had decided to withdraw for "ethical reasons".

"We unfortunately had no alternative but to withdraw. As a result, the case has been postponed to March 23 to enable the accused to find another defence team."

Pityana, brother of ANC man Barney Pityana, and the others are accused of being members of the ANC between April and December 1987.

The other accused are Gonyasile Marobongwana, Zuko Adam, Vuyo Kwinana, Mawenga Willem, Mzolis Dyasi, Sabelo Matomane, Solomzi Liwende, Toto Masiza, Linda Fibi and Lauretta Mengezeleli. - ANA

Soviets prefer talks to war on SA's future

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union yesterday called for political dialogue rather than intensified military action to end apartheid in South Africa.

Senior officials, addressing a round-table discussion, appeared to confirm a shift away from support for ANC armed action

They also pledged further meetings with liberal white South Africans, following talks held in Britain and West Germany.

"We would prefer a political settlement and want apartheid to be dealt politically. Any military solution will be short-lived," said Mr Yuri Yukalov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Department of African Coun-

tries.

"We do not want to emphasise the need to enlarge the armed struggle. South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue."

Mr Yukalov's comments contrasted with a statement last week in Moscow by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo calling for an intensification of its military campaign to end apartheid.

But Mr Yukalov said Moscow saw no contradictions over policy with the ANC and said they had been warmly welcomed during their talks with Kremlin officials.

At the conclusion of last

week's talks, the Soviet news agency Tass said the ANC and Soviet officials had stressed the need to end apartheid politically and called for more effective use of sanctions.

Mr Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the Academy of Sciences' Africa Institute, said majority rule in South Africa could be achieved only through stages.

"A programme of reforms would have to be submitted to nationwide discussion at which all sections of society would be represented," said Mr Gromyko, head of the Soviet delegation at last week's talks with South African academics and businessmen near London.

Mr Gromyko also said the turmoil within the National

Party over President P W Botha's insistence on remaining in office created confusion and could harm prospects for a settlement.

African specialist Mr Vasili Solodovnikov, who led the Soviet delegation to last October's talks in West Germany with liberal Afrikaners and ANC members, said he opposed talks with members of the SA government.

Mr Solodovnikov was more forthright than other panel members in defending the use of armed force, saying it was justified by government violence.

He also said the Soviet Union wanted to send observers to Namibia to monitor the elections — Sapa-Reuter

Nothing comes from violence



MOSCOW — The Soviet Union called yesterday for political dialogue rather than intensified military action to end apartheid in South Africa.

Senior officials, addressing a round table discussion, appeared to confirm a shift away from support for armed action by the banned African National Congress to topple white domination.

They also pledged further meetings with liberal white South Africans opposed to the Pretoria government, following talks held in Britain and West Germany.

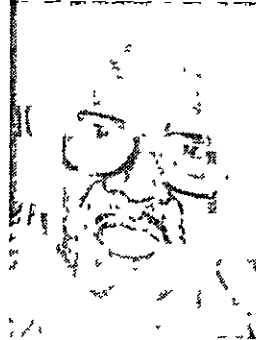
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Sapa-Reuter

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OLIVER Tambo

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being "rejected" on the phone "My sum someone in Washington who has fears run amok when I call someone to be reckoned with

on the publication of of key points, ficial information which ● The procurement of

Staff Reporter

IN PRE-GLASNOST days it was an article of faith among supporters of the Total Onslaught theory that one of the African National Congress's most sinister aspects was the dominating position members of the South African Communist Party occupied on the ANC's governing body, the National Executive Committee

This was because the SACP was and is notorious for its rigid adherence to whatever party line emanates from Moscow, which meant that whatever the Soviet Union wanted done in the ANC was carried out without further ado

But now, writes Philip Nel in the March issue of Insig, the Moscow connection has become an instrument of moderation rather than extremism, thanks to Russia's changing policy as regards the ANC, which he sums up as follows

● The USSR no longer hesitates "to sacrifice the limited interests of the ANC in favour of broader interests. The USSR's decision to veto a proposal that South Africa be thrown out of the International Atomic Energy Agency was in direct contradiction to outspoken ANC policy"

White rights

● Although the Soviets still claim solidarity with the ANC, "these pronouncements no longer accord the ANC the status of 'the only legitimate lib-

SACP could have moderating effect on ANC policy

ANC Trip 16/3/87

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eration movement"

● ANC spokesmen now admit, openly that the USSR, "even more than Western states, is pressuring their organisation to declare itself willing to negotiate with the South African government and to give greater attention to the protection of minority rights (read white rights)"

Both issues are causing tension, Nel says the ANC argues that Pretoria gave no indication of interest in comprehensive negotiations, and is suspicious about group rights, which it sees as a form of concealed apartheid

Moscow, on the other hand, believes that greater ANC amenability would result in increased internal pressure on Pretoria to negotiate, and that an explicit guarantee for white interests is the only way to muster white support for a post-apartheid community

● Although Moscow has never regarded the "armed struggle" as an aim in itself, its decision-makers were obvi-

ously more conscious than the ANC of the fact that terrorism was a limited and even counter-productive means to an end

As a result, "Moscow's advice to the ANC is probably that the question of violence must be reconsidered — advice which hotheads like Chris Hani cannot be receiving very favourably"

Options

Professor Nel warns, however, that the policy change does not mean that Moscow would "suddenly turn its back on the ANC"

The USSR remains eager to broaden its strategic options on South Africa and the ANC is still its best-established lever, he says, so that it would not want to estrange the ANC while its international prestige remains high

In addition, the Soviet leadership is very sensitive about Third World criticism that Moscow is turning its back on

its traditional friends as a result of the "so-called new thinking", and any public break with the ANC would result in a considerable loss of stature for Russia in these circles

Thirdly, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's growing internal conservative opposition "eagerly awaits his first international 'mistake', in order to mobilise the forces opposed to him"

As a result, Nel predicts, Moscow will attempt to create the public impression that its policy towards South Africa had not changed and that it remains the ANC's natural ally. He adds

More amenable

"Objectively seen, it is probably desirable that the ANC not be separated from players such as the USSR and the SACP, which exert a definitely moderating influence on the organisation

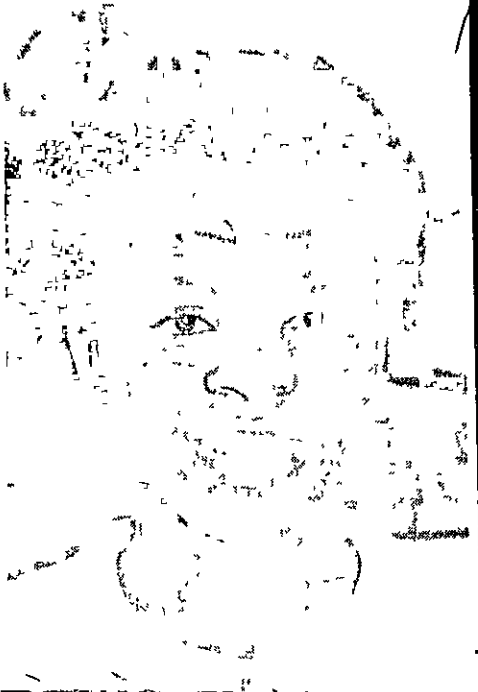
"Rather than mourning the fact that the SACP is so prominent in the ANC, everyone who is interested in a negotiated settlement in South Africa should welcome the fact that there are forces working on the ANC which might make it more amenable

"Although the ANC would not be the only black participant in such a settlement, people who think the ANC can be evaded are misleading not only themselves but also their followers"

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11A

AZANYU TO MARK SHARPEVILLE



SERVICES to mark the 29th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings are to be held at major centres in the country beginning on Saturday.

The Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu), which co-ordinates the services, said in a statement yesterday that the commemoration would culminate in the annual cleaning of the 69 graves of the March shooting victims in Sharpeville on Tuesday.

The statement said "Azanyu will be marking the anniversary of the massacre as a period of rededication in the Azanian revolution. The struggle has been sharpened and shaped by tested leaders in the likes of the late Mangaliso Sobukwe (who was president of the Pan Africanist Congress) "

A service will be held at the Sharpeville Methodist Church at 10am on March 21 after the cleaning of the graves.

Another meeting will begin at 5,30pm at the Dube YWCA in Soweto on Tuesday.

Weekend services will be held in Durban, Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Northern Transvaal, Kimberley, Katlehong and Kagiso.

Well known writers, including Don Mattera and Nadine Gordimer will read poetry at a commemoration meeting organised by the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) and Seriti sa Sechaba publishers at 12 noon on Saturday.

The reading will take place at the Market Theatre flea market, Wolhuter Street, Johannesburg.

Balloons launch Gold Rush

OPERATION Hunger's Gold Rush IV was yesterday launched in grand style with 2 000 balloons, each with a gift tag, being sent over the downtown area of Johannesburg.

Gold Rush VI aims to raise R3 million by the time of its end on Saturday, July 1, 1989. It is sponsored by Holiday Inns. The prizes found inside the balloons, range from meals and weekends

Soweto
3/16/89

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ANC leaders meet
step 16/3/89
to discuss strategy 11A

OSLO — Top officials of the African National Congress gathered in Norway yesterday for a regular internal strategy meeting

The five-day meeting of about 90 ANC representatives beginning today will discuss ANC strategy in the light of last year's agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola

It will take place in Gran, a small village about 80 km north of Oslo —
Reuter

ANC in secret
summit meeting

OSLO — The ANC yesterday began a secret summit meeting at a Norwegian congress centre with more than 90 leading figures in the organisation taking part.

The strategy meeting, chaired by ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, was to discuss developments in Southern Africa following the Namibia agreements — which force the ANC to withdraw its forces from bases in Angola.

The Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr Thorvald Stoltenberg, is to address the meeting today. — UPI



Free Mandela now, Thatcher urges Pik

M(4)
16/3/89
114
46
377

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, who will visit the frontline states this month, has told South Africa the time has come for Nelson Mandela to be freed

She stressed the importance of the African National Congress leader's release during her unscheduled 90-minute meeting with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday. She called too for the opening of negotiations with "all groups in South Africa"

Personal role

Her intervention, before Mr Botha's long evening of talks and dinner with Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, is seen by commentators as underlining the importance Mrs Thatcher attaches to fresh moves to resolve the South Africa problem

She also indicated her readiness to play a role personally, according to the Daily Mail, which has as its main front-page report today "Maggie Free Mandela now."



Mrs Thatcher

But, says the newspaper, Mrs Thatcher would not visit South Africa unless there was a clear commitment to change, with freedom for Mandela and willingness to open negotiations with all groups

Mrs Thatcher's move was shrewdly timed to have the maximum effect on the disarray in the Nationalist camp over President Botha's reluctance to give up power

The report continued "Reaffirmation of her willingness to play a role in setting South Africa on a new path could strengthen the backers of the new party leader Mr FW de Klerk, whose more flexible approach is thought more likely

to promote progress towards ending apartheid

"The South Africans see the value of heeding the advice of Mrs Thatcher, since she could use her meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev next month to urge a more co-operative role by Russia in Southern Africa"

During the surprise 90-minute meeting Mr Botha unveiled to Mrs Thatcher a new peace plan for Mozambique involving South Africa and the US

Buoyant Botha

A buoyant Mr Botha said after the 10 Downing Street meeting that recent developments in the Southern African region indicated "the season of violence is over"

Mrs Thatcher had been "very interested in this initiative"

● In a BBC television interview, Mr Botha welcomed the apparent shift in Moscow's attitude towards South Africa, saying it "will help us to find a solution to our problems"

Mr Botha said too that he would welcome Mandela's unconditional release because "he's doing us much more harm in prison than out"

70 Oct 17 1989

Issel cuts deal with the police

FUGITIVE anti-apartheid activist Johnny Issel has surrendered in Cape Town in a rare deal with police requiring him to pay bail of R2,000, report to police once a week and face a charge of supporting the outlawed African National Congress. — Sapa.



Mr CHRIS Heunis, who was then Acting State President (centre), with KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Speaker, Mr S T Mthimkhulu (right), and presidential aide, Mr T Butler, stand in attention as the national anthems are sung

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ANTHEMS SIMILAR - HEUNIS

By THEMBA MOLEFE

IS THERE any similarity between the black national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*, and the white *Die Stem*?
The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr

Chris Heunis, says the two have a lot in common.
Mr Heunis drew attention to this when he

opened the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Tuesday.

Speaking of the abundance of common aspirations and beliefs among all South Africans he said "Just as an example I invite you to compare the words of *Die Stem van Suid Afrika* with those of *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*."

"I have studied the words of *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*."

"Ignoring the political relevance that has become attached to the song, there is nothing in these words with which I cannot associate myself. There is nothing in *Die Stem* with which any black South African cannot associate himself," Mr Heunis said.

He said *Die Stem* and the last seven verses of the black anthem were written at about the same time, both by well-loved poets.

"Both contain the same yearnings, the same aspirations and the same submission in prayer to the hand of the Lord."

"The fact that one sings *Die Stem* and another *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika* is no indication that their strivings and aspirations are different."

Enoch Sontonga in writing the first verse of *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika* asked the Lord to bless Africa, in the other seven S E K Mqhayi prayed for the Lord's blessings and guidance for the leaders, the men, the women and the children and again for Africa. Mr Heunis said.

"Lanpenhoven concluded the prayer in the last verse of *Die Stem* with the words

"As our fathers trust and humbly teach us, Lord to trust Thee still."

Guard our land and guide our people in Thy way to do Thy will."

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Being an exiled African leader is no picnic

Many exiled southern African revolutionaries are depicted as wearing three-piece suits and being chauffeured about in large Mercedes — spending much time at public functions generously toasting each other over glasses of sparkling wine

The everyday reality is hardly as titillating. At African National Congress headquarters, located in an unpaved back-alley in Lusaka, Zambia, the overall atmosphere is neither one of flamboyant decadence nor zealous revolutionary efficiency.

In these dilapidated breeze-block buildings, one is struck rather with a sense of make-do. The office furniture is battered and ageing, the linoleum floors are cracked and stained. Here is the nerve centre of resistance to apartheid, the telephone rarely works and the telex machine is permanently out of commission.

It is the type of place that might make middle-class romantics think twice about becoming revolutionaries. Behind liberation, as behind every other collective enterprise, lies

If gossip on the cocktail circuits of southern African capitals is to be believed, the exiled leaders of the "liberation struggle" are as much playboys as revolutionaries. But is the gossip true? **NICHOLAS WOODSWORTH** of the Financial Times investigated.

the running of an organisation — the need to raise finances, to cope with a great mass of administration detail, and to assure the daily welfare of members.

Seen by themselves and many others as the nucleus of future, post-apartheid governments, neither the ANC nor Swapo, have adequate financing, infrastructure or expertise to deal with the job at hand. They have thus had to turn to outside help.

Every year, under the general heading of "humanitarian aid" the ANC and Swapo receive millions of dollars worth of cash grants, capital and consumer goods, technical assistance, vocational training, and academic scholarships from Western sources.

Western policies on aid to "liberation" movements are far from being uniform. The general rule is that the greater a stake a

At the other end of the spectrum Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland all have clean slates in southern Africa — with no colonial history or economic ties there, their social-democratic governments have since the earliest days of African independence shown sympathy for the socialist-oriented liberation movements.

Supported by strong domestic public opinion formed by the popular activism of the Vietnam war years, Scandinavia's aid to the anti-apartheid groups is overtly political.

Sweden's aid to the ANC comes to about R25 million a year while Norway's is R15 million.

United Nations organisations are also a vital source of support to the ANC and Swapo but in one sense the most crucial time for the aid agencies is already past. If Swapo comes to power through elections in Namibia next year, it will find itself transformed from an armed resistance movement into a fully-fledged government overseeing one of the potentially richest countries in Africa.

SAW 7/13/87

11A

Maggie optimistic about Mandela



Mrs Thatcher
... atmosphere
would change.



Mr Botha
told Mandela
must be freed

LONDON — The British Prime Minister said yesterday that negotiations on the future of South Africa could begin as soon as Nelson Mandela was released and she was optimistic this would happen soon.

Speaking in the House of Commons yesterday, Mrs Margaret Thatcher said she had told Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, on Wednesday that Mandela must be freed.

She told MPs "We believe then the atmosphere would change completely and it would be possible to get negotiations started between the Government of South Africa and black South Africans and the coloured people of South Africa."

"I think that a number of people in South Africa in very high places take the same view. They have not yet been able to bring it about. But I remain optimistic that before very long they will be able to do so," she said.

Britain is poised to play a role in negotiations on the future of South Africa, but Foreign Office officials said yesterday that the leadership crisis in South Africa was preventing decisions being taken.

Mrs Thatcher is to visit southern Africa at the end of March, but has let it be known she will not go to South Africa unless Mandela is freed and negotiations have begun.

● Further evidence of warmer relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union emerged yesterday with the announcement that Moscow had invited prominent white South African academics and businessmen to hold talks with the African National Congress and Soviet representatives in the Soviet Union.

In a shift of policy on Wednesday, Moscow said it favoured dialogue with Pretoria and would not encourage an escalation of "armed struggle" by the ANC — The Independent News Service

It seems no one tried to stop them."

She said the four had released a statement demanding their unconditional release and the release of all detainees.

Mr David Dison, representing two of the men, said they had not made a press statement and felt the issue was being publicised by others. He said he could not discuss the issue



Scene of drama the West German Embassy in the Pretoria suburb of Arcadia.

Durban hunger striker Mr Thusi, now on the 33rd day of his fast, was still in an extremely serious condition and was now kept in a semi-private ward, a spokesman for St Aidan's Hospital said today.

The spokesman said Mr Thusi, still refusing to eat, was dependent on water and had been put back on a drip.

The Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mallett,

said his case was subject to review.

Johannesburg detainee Mr Charles Malunga, who refused to eat for 29 days, is believed to have suspended his fast. His sister, Miss Grace Malunga (31), is still in detention.

Another Natal hunger striker, Mr Simon Ndokweni (20), had been admitted to St Augustine's Hospital for observation, his lawyer said.

Government signs release: Vlok 'furious' over security lapse

Four in embassy free to go

By Joe-Anne Collinge, Peter Fabricius and Deborah Smith

The release orders for all four detainees who have taken refuge in the German Embassy have been signed and will be given to their lawyers today, it has been established from official sources.

It will then be up to them to decide if they want to go free. It is understood they will be allowed to walk out without being rearrested. However it was not clear if they would be subject to any restrictions.

Brigadier Leon Mallett spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok said today that the release orders for three had been signed last week — before they fled from Hillbrow Hospital into the embassy. The three are Mr Mpho Lekgoro (24), Mr Job Sihole (21) and Mr Clive Mingus Radebe (28).

It is understood the release order for the fourth — Mr Ephraim Nkwe — was signed today.

He had an interdiction order against Mr Vlok for wrongful arrest but this was withdrawn before the release order was signed.

It is understood Mr Vlok is furious about the escape of the detainees from Hillbrow Hospital. Four detainees escaped from the same hospital last year to take refuge in the US consulate in Johannesburg.

Government sources said that once the release orders were delivered to the detainees' lawyers, it would be up to them to decide if they wanted to go free.

Three demands

The detainees have three basic demands: They should be released from detention, that all detainees should be unconditionally released, and that Sandile Thusi, a detainee on hunger strike in Natal, should be freed.

It is understood their own release is their highest priority, but it is not known if they will be prepared to leave the embassy on a guarantee of their release only.



Mr Mpho Lekgoro, Mr Job Sihole and Mr Clive Radebe in the embassy foyer.

SA soldiers may be tried in Windhoek court again

By Brendan Seale The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Six South African Defence Force soldiers could again find themselves before a Namibian court charged with murdering a Swapo supporter.

This follows a decision yesterday by the Windhoek Supreme Court which declared invalid a certificate issued by President Botha halting judicial proceedings against the men.

The Attorney-General in Windhoek, Mr Etienne Pretorius, said his office would request the SWA Police to re-submit the murder docket which formed the basis of the prosecution against the soldiers.

The trial of the men was halted shortly after it had begun in the Supreme Court here early last year, following the production of a certificate signed by President Botha in terms of the South African Defence Act.

Mr Botha's certificate indemnified them from prosecution on the ground that their actions had been carried out "in good faith" for the purposes of "combating terrorism in an operational area".

The six soldiers — Colonel JH Vorster, Colonel WH Welgemoed, Commandant AJ Botse, Lieutenant N J Prinsloo, Corporal EC Kashunji and Rifleman S Festus — were accused of murdering Mr Immanuel Shifred during a Swapo rally in Windhoek on November 30 1986.

Swapo claimed at the time that the military had brought soldiers, armed with sticks, knives and even bows and arrows, to Windhoek to disrupt the gathering. In the resulting fight Mr Shifred was killed.

Pik Botha gets the message at Downing Street

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has told South Africa the time has come for Nelson Mandela to be freed.

She stressed the importance of the ANC leader's release during her 90-minute meeting with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha here on Wednesday and also called for the opening of negotiations with representatives of "all groups in South Africa".

Her intervention before a long evening of talks and dinner between Mr Botha and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, is seen by commentators as underlining the importance she attaches to fresh moves

Maggie: Free Mandela now

SOWETAN Foreign Service

to resolve the South Africa problem. She also indicated her readiness to play a role personally, according to John Dickie, diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Mail*. But he says she said she

could not go to South Africa unless there was a clear commitment to change, with freedom for Mandela and willingness to open negotiations with all groups. Such moves are vital for the South Africa Government to avoid becoming "totally isolated," Mrs Thatcher said.

Dickie says Mrs Thatcher's move was shrewdly timed to have the maximum effect on the National Party's disarray over President Botha's reluctance to give up power. "Reaffirmation of her willingness to play a role in setting South Africa on a new patch could

strengthen the backers of the new party leader Mr F W de Klerk, whose more flexible approach is thought more likely to promote progress towards ending apartheid. "The South Africans see the value of heeding the advice of Mrs Thatcher, since she could use her meeting with

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev next month to urge a more co-operative role by Russia in Southern Africa". He adds that Mr Pik Botha's experience with the Russians in the Namibia negotiations, which were made possible by Soviet influence on the Cubans to withdraw from Angola, "is liable to make him take a positive stand in delivering the Thatcher message to Pretoria."

And he says Mrs Thatcher's concern to end the stalemate is underscored by the recall of Sir Robin Renwick, the British Ambassador in Pretoria, to review the situation before Foreign Minister Botha arrived

UK paper calls for ANC truce

18/3/89 SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE (11A)

LONDON — It is time the African National Congress “put the ball in Pretoria’s court”, says a British newspaper.

In an editorial headed, “An opening for the ANC”, the *Financial Times* said yesterday that the ANC should be prepared to offer a truce in its guerilla campaign, subject to the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

The paper adds: “Such a move would stimulate debate in the National Party. It would encourage the forthcoming coalition of anti-apartheid white parties . . . it would be welcomed by Mrs Thatcher and President Bush . . .”

Peace in the offing

LONDON — South Africa believes that it now has a better chance than ever before of finding a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the country's problems and of normalising relations with its African neighbours.

"We're in a spring which promises a good summer," the Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, told *The Independent* in an interview published yesterday.

"Developments in the region might persuade the ANC to 'come to the table,'" he said.

"One wants to keep one's feet on the ground, but the temptation is quite strong to want to feel that we are moving into special times. If the Namibian thing goes well, which we of course hope it will, it could set the scene for a general relaxation in southern Africa," said Mr van Heerden.

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pk Botha said on his diplomatic sweep across Europe this week that the Namibian settlement, developments in Mozambique and Moscow's new interest in South Africa indicated "we are at the beginning of a new era."

He was particularly pleased about the Soviet Union's shift in its stance on South Africa, and greeted the news by saying that it increased the chances of a peace.

Mr van Heerden told the *Independent* that Pretoria even had an interest, in principle, in opening diplomatic relations with Moscow, but that it was "early days yet." He noted that "given the new world we are living in, which is strongly bi-polar, having relations only with one of the super powers is clearly not an ideal situation."

Mr van Heerden is to fly to Cuba on the first such visit by a South African Government delegation on Monday. He said he would hold bilateral talks with Soviet officials, as well as meeting the Cubans and Angolans.

"It has been my impression from talking to the Soviets over a period of eight months now that they are doing a re-look of their position on southern Africa and, along the way, they seem to have come to the conclusion that the theory 'revolution today and evolution the day after' is not so valid anymore. And I suspect they are telling their clients the same thing."

"If the ANC is convinced by what the Soviets are telling them, then presumably they will find a way back to a position which meets the — I don't want to use the word 'conditions' — requirements which would enable them to come to the table," Mr van Heerden told *The Independent*.

976 Times
18/3/89

Coloured DP MPs hindered by LP deal

Political Staff

COLOURED members of the soon-to-be-formed Democratic Party (DP) are not going to be allowed to stand for public office, because of an "agreement" with the Labour Party (LP)

And labelling the move as "racist", one PFP MP has already threatened to resign should an independent MP in the House of Representatives, Mr Charles Redcliffe, not be admitted to the party

Mr Redcliffe is MP for Schauderville

Mr Redcliffe's membership application has now been with PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer for nearly two weeks. He stated yesterday that he would deal with it "in my own good time"

He said an application by a public representative such as Mr Redcliffe was obviously different to that of an ordinary member of the public

It is understood that the "deal" between the DP and the LP is based on co-operation because both parties have the common goal of bringing an end to apartheid

It involves working out joint strategy in Parliament, although no move to merge the two parties is anticipated

Counter-productive

The LP is adamant that the implication of the "deal" is that the DP does not oppose them at the polls. If this did happen, an LP source said yesterday, it would be regarded as a "hostile act"

It is understood that the DP will not oppose the LP for seats in the House of Representatives, as this would be counter-productive

Meanwhile, there is apparently tension within the ranks of the DP over the extent to which the party should participate in the tricameral Parliament

It is understood, the National Democratic Movement wants to stay clear of the coloured and Indian chambers because the ANC is opposed to any kind of link with the tricameral system

Dr De Beer said yesterday that the party would not be "dictated to by Lusaka"

The PFP leader remains confident that the DP is going to work and that it is "greater than the sum of its parts"

Nat leadership rift brakes Mandela's release

THE Government is edging towards the release of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, partly of its own volition and partly in response to pressure

But no major step is likely to be taken until the leadership dispute between President Botha and the newly elected leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, is resolved

This is how political analysis and diplomatic observers yesterday interpreted the upbeat statement by British Premier Margaret Thatcher to the House of Commons that Mandela would soon be freed

Speaking after a 90-minute meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in London, Mrs Thatcher confirmed she had pressed for the release of Mandela as an indispensable step towards meaningful negotiations in South Africa

"I think a number of people in South Africa in very high places take the same view but have not been able to bring it about," she said

18/11/87
PATRICK LAURENCE

Different explanations were offered for Mrs Thatcher's public optimism — described by one observer as unprecedented — that Mandela's release was high on the agenda

Mr Kurt von Scurnding, director-general of the SA Foundation and a former SA Ambassador to the United Nations, said "It sounds as if she was given some sort of assurance"

Two points on Mandela

Mr von Scurnding had earlier drawn attention to Mr Pik Botha's remarks at a news conference after his meeting with Mrs Thatcher at 10 Downing Street

Mr Botha reportedly made two key points on Mandela's release first, that he would welcome Mandela's unconditional release because "he is doing us

much more harm in prison than out", second, that the release would have to be made in a peaceful atmosphere to eliminate the risk of having to re-arrest him

But Professor John Barratt, director-general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, was more sceptical. Noting that the leadership dispute was unsettled, he said "I cannot believe that Pik Botha would have given her any assurance."

Professor Barratt saw Mrs Thatcher's sanguine statement as an attempt to encourage the pro-release lobby in the upper rungs of power in South Africa. He thought it was merely the first in a series of moves to nudge the major adversaries in the South African conflict, the Government and the outlawed ANC, towards the negotiating table

While Mr Botha was in London, the Soviet Union announced that it did not favour an escalation in revolutionary violence in South Africa and that it was worth trudging along the route to a negotiated settlement, even if it took years

The Soviet Union, under Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, played a constructive role in the settlement of the Angolan and Namibian disputes by pressing the Angolans and Cubans along a similar route

Professor Barratt predicted yesterday that pressure from the Soviet Union on the ANC — the Soviets have served as the main arms supplies to ANC fighters — to negotiate would be matched by equal pressure from the West on Pretoria

Mrs Thatcher's statement should be assessed as an opening gambit towards that objective, he contended

Former ANC member in the Cabinet?

11/2
C. Mavuso
19/3/89

TO be represented at all levels of the country's administration in a fair deal is basically the oppressed people's long-term wish.

We love seeing people like Mr Mavuso rubbing shoulders with President PW Botha. He could become SA's first black Cabinet minister.

I have recently been impressed to learn that he is a former member of the ANC.

That is pretty fantastic, but I personally cannot figure out the following state of affairs:

● How can Mr Mavuso claim to be representing the oppressed when he was not democratically elected? ● I am not against Mr Mavuso's appointment at all, but I do not want him to fly to Europe and announce that he is representing the voteless.

Instead, I strongly suggest that his decision to fight within the system is undisputably myopic.

It may be necessary to ask whether, in view of past experiences in the struggle, we still need behaviour like that of Mr Mavuso. I for one, believe he is playing a destructive role in shaping the future of this trouble-torn country - Worried Mineworker, Virginia.

11K
19/3/89.

Cape court cleared for ANC hearing

THE public and Press were this week ordered out of the Cape Town Supreme Court while the State applied for certain witnesses to give evidence in camera in the case in which 14 people are appearing on charges under the Terrorism Act

The 14 people on trial are Tony Sitembiso Yengezi (accused No 1), Jennifer Ann Schreiner, Lumka Elizabeth Nyamza, Michael Mzimkhulu Lumbamsbo, Mbutu Richmond Nduku, Wellington Mongameli Nkwandla, Mtheteleli Titana, Gary Kruser, Christopher John Giffard, Sitlabocha Charles Mahlale, Alpheus Nkwana Ndude, Gertrude Magdaleen Nethania Fester, Zurayah Abass and Colleen Lombard

They are accused of furthering the aims and objectives of the African National Congress and participating in the activities of the organisation between 1979 and 1987.

State prosecutor Hendrik Klem told the court that in terms of the Criminal Code and the Internal Security Act, he applied to have the court cleared while he made the application for certain witnesses to testify in camera.

However, DP de Vilhiers, for the 14, said he would oppose the application for the witnesses to give evidence in camera.

Judge S Selikowitz ordered the courtroom cleared while the application was made

In terms of the Criminal Code, if it appeared to the court there was a likelihood that harm would be done to a person testifying in the proceedings, the identity of the person should not be revealed, the judge said.

Judge Selikowitz is on the bench with WS le Roux and JV Knoll as assessors

'SUPPORT FOR ANC'

LISBON — Sam Nujoma, president of the Namibian independence movement Swapo, said yesterday Namibia would continue to support South African nationalist guerillas, if his forces won elections in November. ~~22~~ 11A

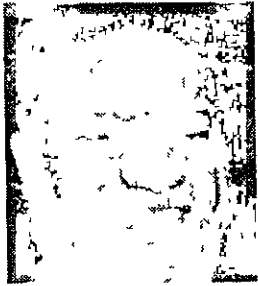
Asked by reporters whether he would allow African National Congress (ANC) bases on Namibian territory, if Swapo won the elections, Mr Nujoma said, "the people of Namibia will continue to support the people of South Africa within the framework of African solidarity."

Mr Nujoma spoke at the opening session of a two-day conference on Namibian independence in the Portuguese capital.

Star 20/3/89

11A

Nujoma speaks of tactics 'once in power'



Mr Nujoma ... expecting a "resounding" victory at the Namibian polls

Swapo to back ANC aims, but won't intervene

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Namibian nationalist leader Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday said a future Swapo government would back the ANC politically, but would pursue a non-interventionist policy towards South Africa

"Within the framework of the OAU and the UN, Namibia will continue to support the just struggle of the South African people," he told reporters after addressing an International Solidarity Conference in Lisbon

Pretoria 'intrigues'

"But South Africa's people are already fighting and it would be crazy for us to intervene directly," Mr Nujoma added

In his speech, Mr Nujoma said a Swapo government would seek "to strike a balance between

economic growth and social justice", promoting a "policy of mixed economy" and "a measure of land reform without wholesale nationalisation"

Speaking to 300 conference delegates and guests at a downtown hotel, he denounced what he called Pretoria's "manoeuvres and intrigues" to limit Swapo's power in an independent state

He invited "all democratic forces" to send representatives to observe and monitor the independence electoral process set to start on April 1

Mr Nujoma, who will be received by President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva today before flying to Amsterdam on Tuesday, described what he termed South African actions to promote the "advantage of its puppets" in Namibia

Among them, he said Pretoria had granted Namibian identity documents to 40 000 Angolan Unita supporters, was trying to introduce "a highly confusing" voting system, had disguised the

Koevoet special forces as police and was "hiding caches of arms at various places"

Despite these alleged moves, Mr Nujoma said he was confident of attaining self-determination and independence in the coming months and of a "resounding electoral victory" for Swapo

The one-day international emergency meeting for a genuine independence of Namibia was convened by leftist Portuguese organisations and chaired by General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, a former president of Portugal

During his stay in Lisbon, Mr Nujoma lunched with Portuguese businessmen, met delegations of all the major parties and was hosted at a gala dinner by the mayor, Mr Nuno Abecasis

8 Jan 2013 181

Russia not asking for end to violence — ANC

The Star's Africa News Service
LUSAKA — The African National Congress will not abandon the armed struggle and has denied the Soviet Union asked the movement to abandon it.

"For us to abandon our strategy would be suicidal. If we abandon the armed struggle, we would then be abandoning the very democratic principles we are advocating," the ANC said

It added that the ANC would alter its position if the South African Government gave a clear indication it was prepared to accept fundamental changes which would lead to a democratic process aimed at bringing

about a peaceful change in the country

The spokesman said the ANC would not be dictated to by anyone on its strategy towards the South African Government

 STRUGGLE (W)

"The ANC will not accept any suggestions from any quarter that it must drop its notion of violence and revolution in the struggle. The armed revolution is important to us and is a crucial element in forcing Pretoria to come to its senses," the organisation said.

Asked about reports that the Soviet Union had asked the ANC to drop the armed struggle, the organisation denied this was true.

"Soviets who are saying we should abandon the armed struggle are not involved in policy-making in the Soviet Union. They are academics and have no influence on the Soviet government," the ANC said.

LISBON — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday that Namibia would continue to support South African nationalist guerrillas if his forces won November elections

Asked whether he would allow ANC bases in Namibia, Mr Nujoma said "The people of Namibia will continue to support the people of South Africa within the framework of African solidarity"

Mr Nujoma, who spoke at the opening session of a two-day conference on Namibian independence, said support for the ANC was justified because "there have never been free, democratic elections in South Africa"

In response to Mr Nujoma's remarks, the SADF communications chief, Dr D A S Herbst, said if Swapo allowed ANC bases to be used for attacks on South Africa, it must expect swift counter-measures

Dr Herbst said Mr Nujoma would first have to win the elections and that the people of the territory would have to choose between a free democracy and socialist subjugation

If they chose the latter they could be in the same position as Angola was today.

He said Mr Nujoma would have to seriously consider if Namibia could be used as a springboard for violence

Swapo will help ANC, says Nujoma

care trips 20/3/89
11A

against South Africa, whose policy was well known, that it would not tolerate terrorist incursions from neighbouring states

In his Lisbon speech, Mr Nujoma accused South Africa of trying to influence the November elections by introducing a complicated voting system and recommending that all foreigners resident in Namibia for a period of one year be eligible to vote

"This recommendation is intended to enable Unita and thousands of South African soldiers to shed their uniforms and register themselves for voting against Swapo," he said.

Mr Nujoma emphasised that Swapo wanted Namibia's estimated 75 000 whites and other minority groups to stay to help run what he foresees as a mixed economy — Sapa-AP

ANC armed activity at all-time high

ANC Terrorists 20/3/89 (114)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

LAST YEAR was the most violent in South Africa's history in terms of guerilla/terrorist incidents

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said at the weekend that there had been 281 terrorist incidents in 1988 — an average of one every 1,3 days

Although their figures differ, Natal University's Indicator Project SA agrees in its latest report that 1988 saw the highest incidence of guerilla activity in South Africa's history

Indicator's analysis listed 209 ANC actions. These included 38 shoot-outs with security forces, 56 attacks on government targets, 20 cases of sabotage of installations and infrastructure, 31 civilian and commercial targets, 33 attacks on "collaborators" and councillors' property, three landmine incidents in rural areas and 28 miscellaneous incidents

Mr Vlok, speaking at an NP meeting in Alberton, said the number of terrorist incidents had increased from 45 in 1984 to 136 in 1985, 231 in 1986, 235 in 1987 and 281 last year

Indicator's figures show ANC insurgent actions increasing from 44 in 1984 to 203 in 1986, 183 in 1987 and 209 last year

Mr Vlok also said that between November 1 last year and February 12

this year, there were 64 terrorist acts, an increase of 36% on the same period the previous year, when there were 47 incidents

However, Mr Vlok said 14 people were killed and 79 injured in terrorist incidents, a 75% increase in casualties on the figure for the same period 12 months previously

Mr Vlok said there were 4 944 incidents of unrest and violence in 1987 but 5 208 incidents last year — an average of 14,3 incidents every day of 1988

"Included in this total for 1988 are hundreds of incidents of petrol bombs on vehicles, buildings and people. Damage amounts to millions of rand, while more than 1 200 people were injured in unrest violence and more than 600 were killed"

Indicator said 4 012 people — the vast majority residents of black townships — were killed in the period between the implementation of the tricameral constitution on September 1, 1984, and the end of last year

During this period, 1 113 township residents were killed by security forces and 1 848 township residents were killed in internecine violence. Responsibility for the other 623 deaths could not be determined

Indicator also said 187 security force members were killed in unrest over the same period, and 163 ANC or PAC guerillas were killed

about 150 people had been injured, but Ms Mara said the exact number of injured now stood at 72. Most of the injured were treated at the Bara

Mandela release may be on agenda

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The question of releasing Nelson Mandela could be discussed by the State Security Council in Cape Town today

This follows discussions last week between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Mrs Thatcher told parliament afterwards that she was confident Mandela would be released soon. This has been interpreted by some observers as suggesting that Mr Botha had given her some form of assurance

Mr Botha would not comment on this today. However, after meeting Mrs Thatcher he indicated that though he was in favour of releasing Mandela unconditionally — because he is "doing us more harm in prison than out" — the South African Government had to consider security implications of the move

This is likely to be the substance of the SSC discussion today if the Mandela question is raised as expected

ANC vows to keep up armed struggle

ARGUS 20/3/89

Argus Africa News Service

114

8219

LUSAKA — The African National Congress will not abandon the armed struggle and has denied that the Soviet Union had asked the movement to abandon it

"To abandon our strategy would be suicidal. If we abandon the armed struggle we would then be abandoning the very democratic principles we are advocating," a spokesman said

He added, however, that the ANC would alter its position if the South African government gave clear indication that it was prepared to accept fundamental changes which would lead to a democratic process aimed at bringing about a peaceful change

The spokesman said the ANC's strategy would not be dictated. He denied that the Soviet Union had asked the ANC to drop the armed struggle

"Soviets who are saying that we should abandon the armed struggle are not involved in policy-making in the Soviet Union. They are academics and have no influence on the Soviet government," the spokesman added

● Swapo to stay out of ANC fight, page 8.

Blacks not convinced of F W's leanings

From DAVID CRARY
of Associated Press
in Johannesburg

THE selection of a shrewd, affable pragmatist as President PW Botha's apparent successor has contributed to a surge of hope for a peaceful breakthrough in South Africa's political stalemate.

Thus far, however, the optimistic musings are coming almost exclusively from whites.

Black leaders have made clear they will be relieved when Mr Botha steps down, but they suspect his heir apparent, Mr F W de Klerk, will preside over changes that are more cosmetic than substantive.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu political leader denounced by many black activists as too conservative, said he will oppose Mr de Klerk until the government gives blacks full

voting rights. There has been no sign Mr de Klerk would contemplate such action.

At the other end of the black political spectrum, the banned ANC movement says any changes under Mr de Klerk would be in personal style, not National Party policy.

Mr de Klerk, who turned 53 on Saturday, has never been viewed as liberal, even within the context of the National Party. But supporters and skeptics alike depict him as more open-minded and less imperious than Botha, who has headed the government since 1978.

After becoming party leader, Mr de Klerk called for a South Africa "free of domination and oppression." Other party officials have said at least some of the remaining apartheid laws — those dealing with segregated residential areas and public facilities — may be modified

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP said about Mr de Klerk "People are becoming too optimistic if they think he is going to throw fundamental policy overboard."

"But I think he's pragmatic and intelligent," she said. "He realizes that change is absolutely inevitable, that the sooner we get on with it, the more chance there is that change and reform will be accomplished peacefully."

Mr de Klerk does not have the same close ties to the military and police establishment that Mr Botha nurtured. But he is firmly committed to the concept of segregated neighborhoods and schools for whites who want them, and his proposal for "genuine power sharing" with blacks as yet has no substance.

His ascendancy coincides with other developments that have induced the broadest optimism about South Africa since black unrest

broke out in 1984. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, for example, said last week that "encouraging changes" were unfolding in South Africa.

These changes include major foreign policy initiatives, such as independence for Namibia and rapprochement with Mozambique after prolonged hostility. But some seemingly notable domestic developments are viewed with skepticism by anti-apartheid leaders.

For example, a government-appointed law commission attracted international publicity this month when it called for a bill of rights, abolition of apartheid laws and full voting rights for blacks. Human rights activists doubted the proposals would be implemented, and the government reacted with silence.

Similarly, black clergymen were unimpressed when delegates from the white Dutch Reformed Church,

to which most National Party officials belong, issued a statement describing apartheid as a sin. Last week, the full policy-making body of the Afrikaner church balked at endorsing the delegates' stance.

One of most informed assessments of Mr de Klerk came in a recent magazine article by his brother, Willem, a former newspaper editor who quit the National Party out of disenchantment with apartheid.

"If F W can give the National Party a new credibility among all population groups, and in international politics, he will herald a breakthrough towards a new future," he said.

"But if he continues along the old path, he will merely be a transitional figure who will let us keep treading water."

ANC, SA govt officials to attend conference

Mr Tavis 20/3/89
Own Correspondent *11A*

LONDON. — The ANC and South African government officials are to attend a four-day conference in Bermuda on March 27 — the first time the two parties have agreed to appear at the same forum.

The conference, organised by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, took a year to set up and is said to have the approval of the National Party.

According to a report in the Independent on Saturday, the South African delegation will include Conservative MP Mr Koos van de Merwe and one as yet unnamed National Party MP.

The paper said Information Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe was to have attended the conference but, because of the leadership crisis, had agreed to send an NP MP in his place. It is understood that Mr Van der Merwe's only condition was that the ANC representative, information secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, should not appear on the same platform.

Swapo to stay out of ANC fight

— Nujoma

AKUS 20/3/89
The Argus Foreign Service
11A

LISBON (11A) Swapo president Sam Nujoma has said a future Swapo government would back the ANC politically, but would pursue a non-interventionist policy toward South Africa.

"Within the framework of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations, Namibia will continue to support the just struggle of the South African people," he told reporters yesterday after addressing an International Solidarity conference

"But South Africa's people are already fighting and it would be crazy for us to intervene directly," Mr Nujoma added

Mr Nujoma said a Swapo government would seek to strike a balance between economic growth and social justice, promoting a "mixed economy" and "a measure of land reform without wholesale nationalisation"

He denounced Pretoria's "manoeuvres and intrigues" to limit Swapo's power in an independent state and invited "all democratic forces" to monitor the election

Mr Nujoma claimed Pretoria had granted Namibian identity documents to 40 000 Angolan Unita supporters, was trying to introduce "a highly confusing" voting system, had disguised the Koevoet special forces as police and was "hiding arms caches"

In spite of these moves, Mr Nujoma said, he was confident of a resounding election victory for Swapo

● A Defence Ministry spokesman warned today that if Swapo allowed ANC bases to be used in attacks on South Africa, it must expect swift counter-measures

Mandela always on the agenda, says Coetsee

Aug 4 2013 11R

By TOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said today that the matter of Mr Nelson Mandela was "always on the agenda".

He said it was known that there had been visible and positive progress in the past few months and that President P W Botha himself had given attention to this

Mr Coetsee was asked for his reaction following renewed speculation that the jailed African National Congress leader could be released soon.

The latest speculation followed talks in London between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher

Timetable for release

She confirmed that she had pressed for his release and Mr Botha said he would welcome Mr Mandela's release but that it would have to be done in a peaceful atmosphere

Today the Minister of Justice would not in any way deal with the possibility of some timetable for Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Botha today will report to the National Security Council on his recent short trip to Europe and the question of Mr Mandela and the effect of this on South Africa's foreign relations may be raised

To meet lawyer

There is concern in foreign affairs circles that South Africa's relations with potentially friendly European countries could be bedevilled if Mr Mandela is not released soon

Diplomats said that sanctions moves overseas have

cooled down and that there is a willingness to talk to South Africa against the background of what is seen as a new spirit of reform starting in the country

They fear, however, that this more positive attitude could soon start changing unless Mr Mandela is released

● Mr Mandela is due to meet his lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison today

The reasons for the meeting are not known at this stage Mr Ayob was not available for comment

The Western Cape competition will be shown on M-Net on April 8 and 7pm. The national finals take place in Johannesburg on April 30.

Sharpeville Day violence rocks Natal townships

11/11 21/3/89

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Violence erupted in townships near here today with barricades being thrown up, buses stoned and passengers intimidated into staying away from work

At least one bus was petrol-bombed.

Thousands of pamphlets have been distributed in Kwamashu, Umlazi, Newtown, Inanda and Kwadengeni urging people to stay away from work to mark the anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings in 1960.

Police had to break down barricades set up to prevent buses leaving the townships.

Hundreds of children are reported to have stayed away from school.

Four Putco buses were badly damaged when they were stoned at Ntunzuma East, north of the city. A petrol bomb was also hurled at one of the vehicles.

The regional manager of Putco, Mr Ricky Stevenson, said the situation in the townships was tense.

"We are operating our buses only under police escort. Early this morning four of our buses were extensively

damaged when they were stoned by mobs. A petrol bomb was hurled at one of them, but fortunately it did not ignite."

It is believed that at Kwadengeni, near Shongweni, barricades were set up and that a bus belonging to the Durban Transport Management Board was set on fire.

Kwazulu Commissioner of Police Brigadier Dries Laas confirmed that unrest had occurred in Kwamashu and Umlazi.

"We have the situation under control and no one was injured in the stonings," he said.

● The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that there was widespread absenteeism from work today as black workers remembered those who died in the shootings at Langa, Uitenhage, in 1985.

Most employers were prepared for the Langa anniversary. Mr Brian Matthew, executive director of the Midlands Chamber of Industries, said many companies had reached agreement with their employees. In some instances paid holidays had been negotiated while others gave their workers unpaid leave for the day.

Man dies, six arrested in unrest

11/11 21/3/89

PRETORIA. — A man was fatally wounded and four men and two youths were arrested at Mpophomeni near Howick after a group of people ignored a police order to disperse, the Police Directorate of Public Relations said in its daily unrest report.

Police said the group gathered and began fighting. Police ordered them to disperse.

They refused to listen and began stoning the police, causing damage to a police vehicle. Police used shotgun

fire, mainly birdshot, and tear smoke to disperse them.

At Botha's Hill near Durban a group gathered illegally and ignored police requests to disperse. Birdshot was used to disperse them and seven men were arrested.

At Haza near Howick two groups of people clashed. Police arrested 233 men, 40 of them under the age of 18.

A man in the group pointed a firearm at the police and two rounds of birdshot were fired. A man was slightly injured. — Sapa

ANC to shut Angolan ^{ARGUS} bases as part of peace plan

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The African National Congress has confirmed it is preparing to withdraw its forces from training camps in Angola, and appears to rule out military bases in an independent Namibia.

ANC officials, speaking at the end of a five-day closed conference in Norway, said the move from Angola was part of the Angola-Namibia settlement.

The meeting, attended by 88 senior officials, was the largest ANC gathering since 1986 and was called to review the situation in Southern Africa.

The ANC also issued a statement of support for Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Rumours of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela were dismissed as "a bluff".

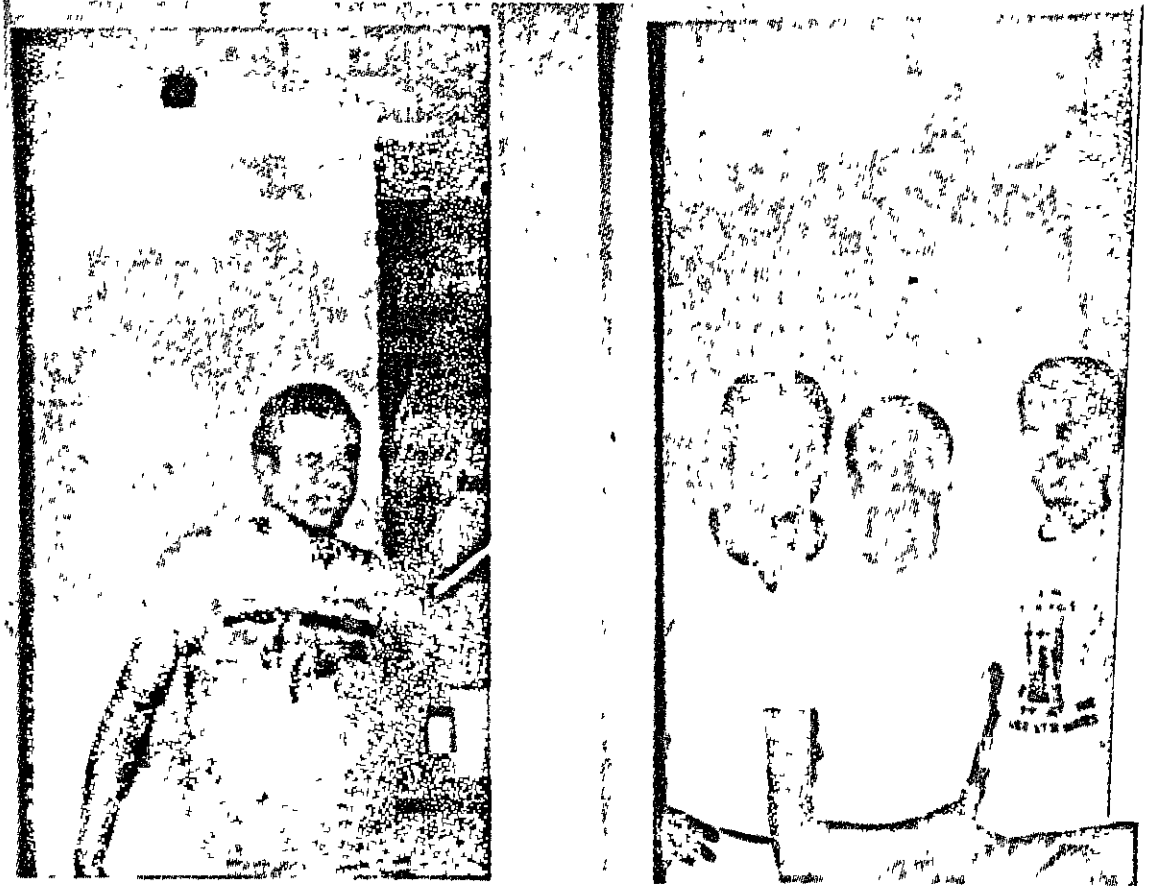
● Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma has reiterated his movement's support for the ANC but said there would be no room in independent Namibia for ANC bases.

"An independent Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighboring state," he said in Lisbon.

On Walvis Bay, he was categorical in his insistence that the vital enclave "continues to be an integral part of Namibia" and that Swapo would "not allow South Africa to use it to destabilise" the country.

Mr Nujoma said he was convinced Swapo would win the two-thirds majority needed to approve a constitution for an independent Namibia, but he did not rule out accords with other political forces.

Mr Nujoma flies to Amsterdam today.



REFUGE . . . The four detainees who escaped yesterday and sought refuge in the West German embassy in Pretoria.

CAP TIPS 21/3/89 (11A) (12) (13) PHOTOS PHILIP LITTLETON

From page 1

Congress — all affiliates of the UDF

Sithole had been in detention since April 29, 1987, Radebe since November 24, 1987, Leggoro since March 17, 1988 and Nkoe since July 4, 1988

The West German Foreign Ministry said in Bonn last night that the four men were in "administrative custody"

Spokesman Mr Hans Schumacher indicated that he did not know precisely what the men were seeking

No journalists were allowed into the embassy grounds but the detainees waved to journalists from behind a ground-floor window next to the main building entrance about 50m from a gate.

They wore T-shirts sloganed "Free all detainees" and "I support the hunger strikers"

By late last night the authorities had not

reacted to the demands of the four refugees, their lawyers, Ms Jana and Mr David Dison, said

Addressing newsmen outside the embassy after conferring with the refugees for more than an hour, Ms Jana confirmed that the embassy had granted her clients asylum

Asked how the refugees managed to escape from the Hillbrow Hospital, Ms Jana said they had "taken a taxi" and that no one tried to stop them

There were fears in Parliament yesterday that the fragile understanding between detainees' lawyers and Mr Vlok, which has resulted in the release of 580 detainees since February 14 could be jeopardised by the escape

It is understood that police are incensed that

this has happened at a time when hundreds of detainees have been released

The releases followed meetings between Mr Vlok, church leaders and detainees lawyers

Commenting on the news of the escape, the SA Council of Churches appealed to government to lift the state of emergency and abolish detention without trial, saying the measure would go a long way to "healing the wounds in our society"

● The escape is reminiscent of last year's "Kine" saga, when three detainees also escaped from hospital in Johannesburg and took refuge at US consular offices in the Kine Centre in Commissioner Street. Police later allowed them to leave unhindered — Own and Political Correspondents with Sapa-AP-Reuter

29 years after Sharpeville, the blood still flows

Sowetan
2/13/89
11A

WHEN Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe planned the launch of the Pan Africanist Congress's anti-pass campaign of March 21, 1960, he anticipated a clash between police and demonstrators.

He was determined however, to go ahead with the campaign and to do everything in his power not to give the police reason to use strength

Strict instructions were given to those who were going to take part in the march to behave in an orderly fashion and to resist any temptation to be violent or unruly

By SAM MABE

Supporters of the campaign were to leave their passbooks at home — which was illegal — and were to march to local police stations and hand themselves over for arrest

Stressed

Mr Sobukwe had also warned the marchers to watch out for *agents provocateurs* or unruly elements among their numbers who might deliberately provoke the police to take action against the marchers. These were to be disciplined by the PAC

On March 16, Mr Sobukwe wrote to the Commissioner of Police, Major-General Rade-meyer, informing him of the intended march

He stressed that the march was going to be peaceful and that the PAC was going to maintain discipline among the marchers. He requested the police not to provoke the marchers to resort to violence



He asked the police not to give impossible commands to the marchers, who would at all times be ready to obey orders given to them

He cited an example where police would give orders to thousands of people to disperse within three minutes, and then almost immediately baton-charge them

As had been planned, Mr Sobukwe led a group of marchers who included Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the current president of the PAC,

who was released from prison recently

They presented themselves for arrest at Orlando police station in Soweto. The police obliged and 150 of them were locked up

There were similar peaceful marches to police stations at various parts of the country

The most notable were at Langa near Cape Town and at Sharpeville near Vereeniging. It was also at these townships that violence erupted, leading to spontaneous labour strikes and the spread of violence which lasted for many weeks throughout the country

Baton

At Langa, 10 000 people had gathered in defiance of a banning order announced a few hours earlier. The meeting was broken up by police who baton-charged the marchers

Two people were killed and 26 injured. The Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, immediately suspended the pass laws

The PAC declared March 28 a national day of mourning and on that day, violence broke out again in Cape Town and there were large-scale work stayaways

A state of emergency which was declared on March 30 seemed to have

Orchestrated by Robert Sobukwe (above) the events of March 21, 1960, changed the face of black politics and black resistance. But although current PAC president Zeph Mothopeng is out of jail, little progress has been made since that fateful day

fuelled the anger of the people who continued with street demonstrations

Thousands of people were arrested, and on April 8 the Unlawful Organisations Act was passed, meaning that the PAC was banned

The African National Congress was also banned, despite objections from some liberal MPs who said the Government should rather negotiate with the ANC and work out a dispensation that would contribute to the restoration of law and order in the country

It was the events of March 21 which changed the face of black politics and black resistance

The Government adopted very tough measures against political activists. Even though the state of emergency was later lifted, most of its provisions were made into law

Many people were subsequently detained without trial, others banned and various other clamps imposed on political activity in the townships

Leader

Mr Sobukwe had shown himself to be a leader the Government could not trust. When he was arrested on March 21 at Orlando police station together with some members of the PAC's executive, he was jailed for three years

At the end of his prison term, the Government was still not convinced that it would be safe to release him. A special law was passed in Parliament, the Sobukwe Clause, which allowed the Government to keep him in prison for a further three years

In the past 29 years, there have been similar uprisings in South Africa, most notably in 1976, 1980 and between 1984 and 1986. Thousands of people have been killed

Not all of them have been killed by the police. Victims of apartheid are now killing fellow-



CP, NP and ANC to speak (separately) at conference

5 Nov 21/3/89

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — A number of South African parliamentary and extra-parliamentary leaders have been invited to a conference on southern Africa in Bermuda organised by an American organisation

But both the National Party and the Conservative Party last night denied that they would have any contact with the ANC at the seminar, arranged by the American Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and several academics have also been invited to the conference, which starts on March 27

The conference had been deliberately engineered so that the NP and CP representatives did not attend on the same day as the ANC, said Mr Piet Coetzer, the Nat MP for Springs who will be attending the conference

The CP said its representatives would not even be on the island at the same time as the ANC

Mr Coetzer discounted

reports that the conference was part of a peace initiative or an attempt to get the Government and ANC together

It was merely an opportunity for various South Africans to put their viewpoints to American legislators.

He said that he, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP MP for Overvaal, and Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana would put their points of view, separately, on March 31.

The ANC representative, executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki, would be speaking on March 29 and would have left by the time they arrived.

The object would be to expose a group of US legislators — apparently about 30 of them — to various shades of opinion on southern Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the party had "demanded and been given a written undertaking" that the ANC would not be present when the CP "puts its case with confidence before any critical tribunal"

R200 000 reward

JOHANNESBURG — A reward of R200 000 has been offered for information leading to the tracing and arrest of the armed robbers who seized diamonds worth about R10 million from a company in Doornfontein on Sunday

PAC's Sharpeville visit

JOHANNESBURG — Pan-Africanist Congress president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng is to visit the graves of victims of the 1961 Sharpeville riots, his chargé d'affaires said yesterday

406 TMS 21/3/89

119

van der merwe was due to represent are tomorrow

CAPE TOWN 21/3/89

11A

Swapo qualifies on ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A senior Swapo official yesterday said Mr Sam Nujoma's weekend statement that an independent Namibia would support the struggle for liberation of South Africa did not mean they would allow the ANC to set up bases

At a press conference in Lisbon on Sunday, Mr Nujoma, who is president of Swapo, was asked if a Swapo government in an independent Namibia would allow the ANC to set up bases.

Mr Nujoma replied that it would be

"crazy" for Swapo to try to intervene and stop "the just struggle of the South African people"

His answer was widely interpreted as meaning Swapo would allow the ANC to establish strike bases

But the senior Swapo official explained that OAU policy was specifically limited to "diplomatic and political" support for "liberation movements" like the ANC

The clear guidance yesterday was that while they will give the ANC all possible support, it will not include the hosting of bases

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Thabo Mbeki ANC chief of foreign affairs

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Thabo Mbeki, who will lead the ANC team to unofficially meet South African government officials at a conference in Bermuda next week, has been appointed head of the ANC's department of foreign affairs.

Mr Mbeki's appointment supports widespread opinion that he is a top candidate to eventually become the ANC president.

Mr Mbeki, the son of the legendary former long-term ANC prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki, is one of the most articulate and pragmatic of ANC leaders and observers feel South African government officials could one day deal with him.

Minister of Information Mr Stoffel van der Merwe was due to represent

South Africa at the four-day conference, starting on March 27. But because of the leadership crisis he is sending a Nationalist MP as main representative.

It is understood that Mr Van der Merwe agreed to South African representation only as long as they did not share a platform together with the ANC. The conference organisers, the Aspen Institute for Humanities, accepted the condition. So did the ANC.

While any meeting between the South African and ANC representatives will be considered strictly unofficial, it adds to rumours that talks between Pretoria and the ANC are possible in the foreseeable future.

● Mr Mbeki, along with Swapo president Mr Sam Nujomo, is to attend an Organisation for African Unity (OAU) head of states meeting, in Harare tomorrow.

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Cape Times 21/3/89

~~ANC~~



Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

Much ado about nothing, or how to blow \$765 000

1104
CMT 7/15
2/3/89

ON September 15 1987, chief executive officers and other senior staff from American multinationals operating in South Africa gathered at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington to hear a pitch from a group calling itself the Coalition on Southern Africa (COSA), formally launched at the National Press Club five days earlier.

On the recommendation of Sal Marzullo, vice-president of international affairs for the Mobil Oil Corporation, the assembled technicians of free enterprise agreed to fork over \$765 000 with a promise of more possibly more than a million more if COSA was a success.

To define the coalition and its purposes is something not even those most closely associated with it have ever unanimously achieved but the executives were in a panic. A few months earlier they had lost the Reverend Leon Sullivan when he refused to hold their hand in South Africa any longer and worse demanded they actually pull out altogether. They needed someone preferably black, preferably ecclesiastical to fill the void for them.

There is dispute, again over whose wheeze COSA was, precisely. Four names figure: Bishop Richard Fisher of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church whose see is the Carolina sembanance in St. Louis; Missouri; Rafael Pagan of Pagan International a

public relations outfit under contract to Shell and famed for helping Nestlé recoup its reputation after it was caught selling non-nutritious infant formula to the Third World, North Carolina businessman and alms dealer extraordinaire Robert Brown, currently associated with Winnie Mandela and last but not least, Marzullo.

Doublespeak
Pagan was responsible for what has come to be known as the Neptune Strategy, a hefty manual on how to counter the sanctions and disinvestment movement he prepared for Shell, a puppet boy not target. Whether or not Shell actually com-

mmissioned the thing is moot. It would be nice to know what happened to the money but here again there are almost as many accounts as there have been people involved with COSA. If there is any agreement at all it is that most of it went the way of what

It would be nice to know what happened to the money but here again there are almost as many accounts as there have been people involved with COSA. If there is any agreement at all it is that most of it went the way of what

might politely be known as "overhead" and very little to black South Africans who were, at least according to several versions of COSA's purpose, supposed to be the principal beneficiaries.

Never signed
Perhaps the clearest statement of what the coalition was about is to be found in a pair of draft contracts setting out what COSA was to pay Pagan and Brown in each we find the boiler plate that "COSA is or gains to promote educational and philanthropic activities relating to better conditions for non whites in southern Africa and to foster an effective dialogue and co-operation between the peoples of the US and other nations with the people of southern Africa.

These contracts both dated within weeks of the corporations handing over the cash were never signed. This was probably as well for COSA Pagan was to receive \$600 000 (\$125 m)

The contracts are now disavowed by everyone Brown for example was out of the country. Indeed what we appear to have here is the first recorded case of spontaneous legal drafting in which agreements



Mrs Winnie Mandela and American businessman Mr Robert Brown at D F Malan airport last August before they went to Pollsmoor prison where Mrs Mandela visited her husband

sprang fully-fledged from the ether. First there was the word and the word was well profitable.

Mystifying
An audit COSA has had prepared for the donors and hopes to send Marzullo any day bears little relation to what anyone now says was spent. It covers the period ending June 30 1988 and heavens only knows what has happened since. Certainly COSA's acting executive director Frank Kent doesn't.

The audit shows that in the first nine months of COSA's funded existence Pagan received \$229 292 (R272 230) and Brown \$65 000 (R162 500). The latter says Brown's spoken-arms, was for expenses Brown incurred during COSA's start up and Brown refused to take a penny more. According to one of Pagan's assistants Phil Cato the quarter million covered rent and clerical expenses for the six months COSA shared offices with Pagan International.

From which a cynic might derive the following equation: COSA equals pi plus obscure black clergyman plus Brown. Or that is how it started out at least. Trouble was that by the time the coalition struck out on its own its funds

had already been picked to a church apparently to help it buy land that 5 000 kg of used clothes were also sent over. Acting director COSA also had to pay a hefty law fees to a firm Douglas brought in by Brown to represent it. \$55 000 (R137 500) according to the audit \$41 483 96 says Willie Lettwich, the firm's senior partner who covered the costs of setting up COSA as a tax-exempt organization. A professor that normally should not take more than a day with a billable touch later

There is a lesson here, of course you can't buy love or respect and those who say otherwise either don't know what they're talking about or are probably trying to take you for a ride. Whether or not it was well intentioned COSA was a gimmick snatched at by craven executives looking for an easy fix to their South African problem. The completion of her a cheap way of avoiding the complex human realities on the ground. Public relations and guilt money aren't the answer. Convincing Black South Africans that the US corporate presence serves their own aspirations might be. Is that really so difficult to grasp? Is it really so hard to understand how contemptible COSA must look to those the corporations profess they want to help?

No ANC bases in
Namibia - Swapo

11/1/87
21/3/87
Foreign News Service

LISBON — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday reiterated his movement's support for the African National Congress but said there would be no room in independent Namibia for ANC bases.

"An independent state of Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighbouring state," he told a news conference in Lisbon.

"But we will support through all means the struggle of the ANC within the framework of the OAU and the UN," he said.

Apr 21/3/89 .

(11A)

No room for ANC bases — Nujoma

The Star's Foreign
News Service

LISBON — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma reiterated yesterday his movement's support for the African National Congress, but said there would be no room in Namibia for ANC bases

"An independent state of Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighbouring state," he said at a news conference when questioned on Swapo's future policy

"But we will support through all means the struggle of the ANC within the framework of the OAU and the UN," Mr Nujoma added, stressing that the strategy for combatting apartheid

— "whether by arms or other means" — was "solely a decision" of the ANC

Mr Nujoma said he was convinced Swapo would win the two-thirds majority needed to approve a constitution for an independent Namibia, but he did not rule out accords with other Namibian political forces

"Once the colonialists are not there, the Namibian people can talk to each other and reach compromises for a national government," he said

Mr Nujoma dodged questions on whether Swapo would allow a multi-party system, saying such issues should "not be imposed from the outside but decided at home"

Harare judge to rule on statements by 3 'bombers'

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — A Zimbabwean judge is to rule today whether statements by three men accused of involvement in bomb attacks on ANC properties in Harare can be admitted as evidence.

On trial in the second of a series of spy cases are former intelligence officer Kevin Woods (35), Michael Anthony Smith (34) and Barry Bawden (30)

Woods and Smith are under sentence of death after their conviction for murder in a trial last November following the bombing of an ANC house in Bulawayo. Their appeal has still to be heard by the Supreme Court.

The men are challenging statements on which the State is relying heavily, on the grounds that they were not made freely and voluntarily, the police unduly influenced them and they were denied proper and speedy access to lawyers after their arrest.

Mr Justice Ebrahim, at the start of the trial, ordered that the men's leg irons be removed and they be allowed to wear their own clothes rather than the prison khaki uniforms.

Massive security precautions are being observed at the High Court and the men are being taken to and from the court building and Chikurubi Maximum Security Prison in a military armoured column.

All three men pleaded "not guilty" in firm voices when the charges were put to them by law officer Mr Yunus Omerjee, for the State.

They are accused of acting in concert with South African saboteurs who were flown in and out of Zimbabwe in May 1986, blowing up an ANC office a block away from Harare's main police station and a house normally occupied by ANC personnel in the Ashdown Park suburb.

The State outline says an ANC witness will tell the court the house was evacuated before the raid after a tip-off.

The men are facing another count of possessing an arsenal of weaponry found at different locations, including beehive bombs, fragmentation grenades, machine guns, AKM rifles with folding butts, pistols with silencers, ammunition including hard and soft-nosed bullets, rocket launchers and other equipment.

It would be alleged eight vehicles were hired in Bulawayo to transport the saboteurs.

Mr John Sayce and Mr Mark Stoner are appearing for the defence.

The current trial is expected to last several weeks.

IN BRIEF

13 221 Indian matrics

Cape Times 21/3/87
A TOTAL of 13 221 pupils wrote matric exams at schools controlled by the House of Delegates of whom 12 577 passed, Education Minister Mr Kas-sie Ramduth said.

'36 blacks died of typhoid'

THIRTY-SIX black people died from typhoid in 1988 from a total of 3 597 cases affecting all races, the National Health Minister, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said.

More money for children

MR Chris Heunis said the Treasury had approved an increase in the maximum grant for black children in registered homes.

PW appoints Reddy

Cape Times 21/3/87
STATE President Mr P W Botha appointed Soli-darity leader Dr J N Reddy as Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, and Minister of Housing, as from March 22.

RSCs 'spent R300m'

Cape Times 21/3/87
REGIONAL Services Councils had spent more than R300 million over the past two years on upgrading communities in the Transvaal and Cape, Mr Chris Heunis said.

Sanroc^{ARC 6.5} faction ^{21/3/89} fight ^{1/18} hots up ^{2/22}

The Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON — The bitter internecine fight in the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) has been taken a stage further with a public denunciation of the moderate faction in the organisation's official newsletter

Although he is not mentioned by name, it is clear that the target of an editorial in *Sport And Apartheid* is Professor Dennis Brutus, leader of the faction now advocating a relaxation of the international boycott for those sports which have become integrated under one controlling body

This move has brought Professor Brutus, who is said to be still president of Sanroc, into sharp conflict with the body's executive chairman, Mr Sam Ramsamy. The newsletter is published in London by Mr Ramsamy

The editorial says: "During the last few months newspaper reports emanating from London have given the impression that Sanroc is about to relax the international sports boycott of apartheid South Africa

Lobby

"This is totally erroneous and misleading, and has provided succour to the administrators of South Africa's neo-apartheid sport structure and its overseas lobby"

And in a clear reference to United States-based Professor Brutus, who has recently emerged from years of comparative obscurity, it adds "Unfortunately, such news items which form these highly irresponsible and politically motivated interventions have come from a handful of people who have not been involved in Sanroc activities for a number of years"

Ironically, at its last meeting, the Brutus faction — acting in the name of Sanroc — passed a resolution imposing a silence order on Mr Ramsamy.

Decision not to talk to ANC disappoints SRC chairman

By KAREN STANDER
Staff Reporter

114
22/5/89

STELLENBOSCH student leader Mr Pierre van der Spuy has expressed disappointment that the students have decided not to talk to the African National Congress.

The university's SRC could not talk to the ANC because the majority of students would not approve, the SRC chairman said.

Mr van der Spuy said this was indirectly shown by research conducted last year which indicated that 60 per cent of students supported National Party policy.

A motion passed by the SRC yesterday that members of the SRC would not talk to the ANC "at this stage" follows a statement by Mr van der Spuy that he and seven members of the council leave tomorrow for Zambia at the invitation of President Kenneth Kaunda.

PERSONAL CAPACITIES

The group is to travel to Namibia from Zambia to join a tour organised by the student organisation, Spog (*Stellenbosse Politieke Onderzoek en Gesprek* — Stellenbosch Political Investigation and Discussion).

Mr van der Spuy said the trip was going ahead, but members would be travelling in their personal capacities and not under the auspices of Spog.

He and deputy chairman Mr André Olivier had given the SRC their assurances that they would not have contact with the ANC.

Mr van der Spuy said he told the SRC that a meeting with the banned organisation had not been planned.

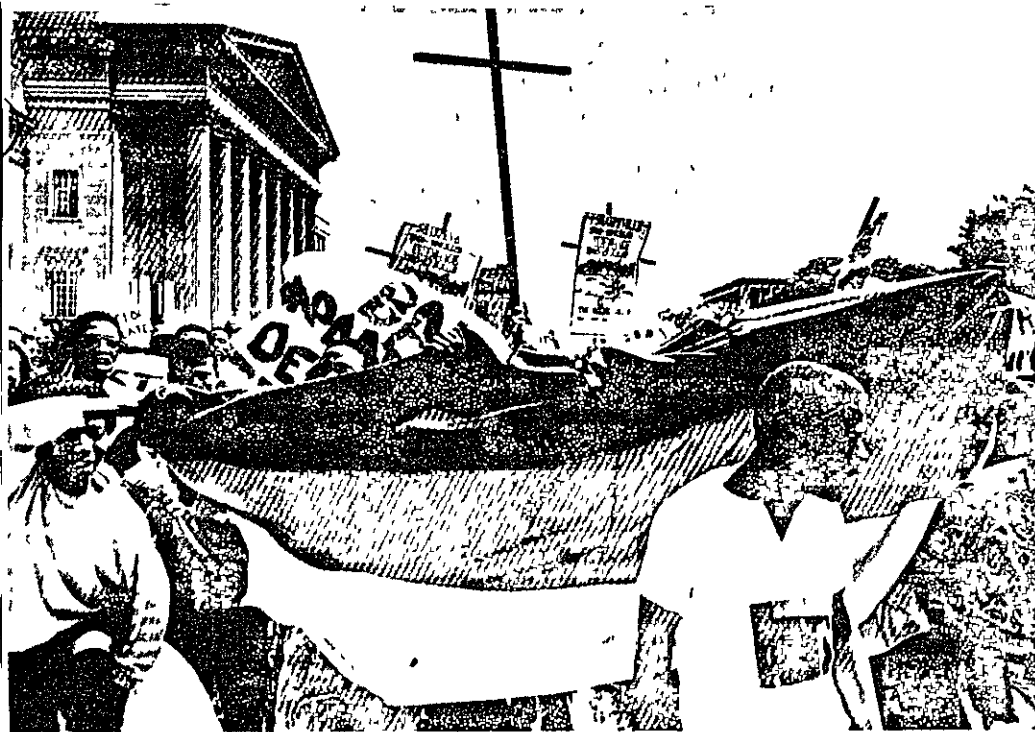
SAME SITUATION

Mr van der Spuy said his personal position was that he would have liked to have talked to the ANC. He believed all people, from the far right to the far left, should communicate.

"However, we have empathy with the government because we find ourselves in the same situation. Just as their constituency will not allow them to talk to the ANC, our constituency will not either."

The motion adopted by the SRC was an amendment to a motion that members of the SRC should not talk — officially or unofficially — to the ANC until the organisation rejected violence.

"We agreed that the rejection of violence should be the outcome of negotiations with the government and should not be set as a precondition," he said.



SHARPEVILLE ANNIVERSARY Students march round the Wits University campus yesterday in memory of the 69 unarmed pass-law protesters shot dead at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960. Several students, including SRC president Ms Bettina von Lieres, were injured when police fired teargas and rubber bullets at the marchers.

Natal seethes on massacre anniversary

CH & TWP 22/3/87
(11A) 226

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Numerous buses were stoned and at least two people hurt in widespread unrest in Natal on yesterday's 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in which 69 pass law protesters were shot dead by police.

Barricades were set up in townships around Durban and Maritzburg where there was a large police and SADF presence. Most of the incidents happened yesterday morning but there were isolated incidents reported in the early evening.

Thousands of workers did not arrive for work and many students at universities in Natal took advantage of a condoned leave of absence to hold commemorative services.

A large number of schoolchildren did not attend classes at several schools in the townships.

In Sharpeville itself, the anniversary was marked by a simple service. Activists thronged the cemetery where most of the victims are buried, cleaning graves, laying flowers and paying respects.

Education officials said they had received reports of Sharpeville demonstrators disrupting black schools. One school "was forced" to ask for assistance from security forces to safeguard pupils and protect school buildings, a DET spokesman said.

A special police "interim unrest report" issued yesterday afternoon said a 24-year old man was shot and slightly injured when he allegedly used an assegai to attack police surrounding a house at Sinating near Edendale.

In Kwamashu, birdshot was fired to disperse black youths barricading a road and birdshot and teargas was fired after "a group of blacks gathered illegally and hurled a petrol-bomb at police".

The police report said buses were damaged in Ntuzuma, Umlazi, Inanda and Clermont in Pinetown.

Arsonists caused extensive damage to two private houses at Magabeni near Umkomaas, the report said.

Meanwhile, a Durban Transport Management Board spokesman said services had been disrupted in many areas as police and army units had to clear road barricades early in the morning. Buses had been unable to operate in Kwamashu and Clermont during the day.

(114) (20)
Police
students
Caple Text
clash 22/3/89
at Wits

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Students and police clashed at Wits University yesterday during a campus march to commemorate the 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

The march, attended by academics and hundreds of singing students carrying placards, banners and an ANC flag, was disrupted twice when police fired teargas and rubber bullets.

Several students were injured, including Wits SRC president Ms Bettina von Lieres, who had a bruised shoulder and a swollen neck after a teargas canister struck her.

Ms Von Lieres accused police of aiming low on purpose.

A police spokesman said police fired teargas and four rubber rounds on two occasions when they were "suddenly" attacked by stone-throwing students while monitoring an "illegal gathering" at Wits.



Slovo daughters break silence at last

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Winner of Britain's Screenplay of 89 award Shawn Slovo says the traumatic years she and her sister Gillian endured in South Africa as the children of hunted revolutionary communists shaped their artistic careers.

Shawn Slovo won the award on Sunday night for the film "A World Apart", which has been acclaimed by critics as one of the most sensitive stories to come out of South Africa.

Gillian Slovo is also expected to win international awards for her recently published book "Ties of Blood", the story of black and white South African families tormented by institutional racism.

The stories of both sisters contain the theme of powerfully motivated parents committed above all to revolution in South Africa.

In a joint interview for Channel 4 TV this week

the dark-haired London-based sisters both devoted to the feminist movement told of a childhood marred by loneliness, misery and fear.

Their parents Joe Slovo — still described as the most wanted man in South Africa and Ruth First, were charged with treason in 1986 but acquitted.

Joe Slovo, who was chief-of-staff of the banned ANC before resigning to head the banned SA Communist Party had to leave his family to live in exile as a full-time revolutionary while his children were very young.

Their mother whom the sisters describe as a "powerful and uncommunicative person" was the first woman to be detained under the 90 day detention law.

She was arrested at home in front of Shawn in the early 1960s and the terrifying moment for the child emerged as a heart-rending scene in "A World

Apart". Ruth First was held for 117 days, while the sisters experienced the confusion and terror of being known by their peers as the children of the arch-enemies of the state.

No long after her release, Ruth First took the children into exile in Britain then went to work in Mozambique. She was killed by a parcel bomb in Mozambique on August 17, 1982.

Shawn Slovo said it was her mother's murder that committed her to writing "A World Apart". "For me it was a way of dealing with that loss a way of mourning her and understanding our relationship," said Shawn. "It was a way of continuing a dialogue you can no longer have in life."

She points to another searing scene in "A World Apart", depicting her confronting her mother and yelling "You never tell us anything." Her tormented

mother replies "We can't even speak amongst ourselves".

Gillian Slovo said her writing career also emerged from a compulsion to communicate in a way she had never been able to with her parents sorrowfully. She recalled that her parents lived lives of such secrecy that they were frightened of talking to anyone, even their own children, and were unaware of the damage this did.

Gillian said "I think that if you live with that amount of secrecy it is going to affect you. I try to write about that in my book because when there is so much that you can't say there comes a point where you feel you shouldn't say anything.

Asked how she felt about the way her father had felt them, Shawn Slovo said "He says 'Well, it was a choice between my children or the children of South Africa.' That says it all."

Gillian expressing no bitterness, said it had been her father's sophisticated way of dealing with the danger they had lived in, but he now felt it would have been better if he had communicated more with his daughters.



A WORLD APART... Screenwriter Shawn Slovo and director Chris Menges on set



Part of a large crowd of Wits students yesterday displayed the ANC flag and carried crosses and placards during a campus march commemorating the 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings. Picture PHILIP LITTLETON

18/04/22/3189

ANC plans more
Star 22/3/87
foreign missions

LONDON *119* The African National Congress is to open missions in Washington, Madrid, Tunis, Tripoli, Kampala, Caracás, Accra and Managua in a major expansion of its foreign representation.

This was decided at a conference of its chief representatives and regional treasurers which has just ended in Norway, the ANC said yesterday.

— The Star Bureau

ANC on F W

Journal 24/3/87
LUSAKA — The African National Congress has ruled out speculation that the appointment of Mr F W de Klerk to head the National Party in South Africa will lead to dramatic change in South Africa

In a resolution adopted at a conference of ANC chief representatives and regional treasurers held in Oslo, Norway, from March 15 to 21, the organisation notes that real change would only come about when "practical steps are taken to create a climate conducive to dialogue"

The conference, which was officially opened by Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr Thorvald Stoltenberg, noted "The people of South Africa will continue to suffer under the system of apartheid. This system is facing a permanent and deepening political and economic crisis which has been brought about by the struggle inside and outside South Africa"

The delegates at the conference also lauded the ANC for appointing former chief of information and publicity, Mr Thabo Mbeki, to replace the late Johnny Makatini as head of the Department of Foreign Affairs

According to a statement issued by the ANC national executive in Lusaka today, the conference also acknowledged the successes which the organisation has achieved recently

Govt, CP deny ANC meeting

1109

Sowetan 22/2/87

BOTH the National Party and Conservative Party have strenuously denied that they will have any contact with the banned African National Congress at a conference next week in Bermuda on Southern Africa.

The conference had been deliberately engineered so that the NP and CP representatives did not attend on the same day as the ANC, Mr Piet Coetzer, the NP MP for Springs who will be attending the conference said

And the CP has announced that its representatives would not even be on the island at the same time as the ANC

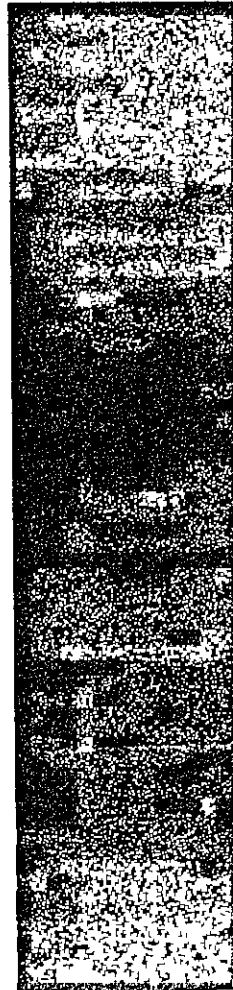
Mr Coetzer denied reports that the conference — organised by the American Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies — was part of peace initiatives or an attempt to get the government and ANC together

Opportunity

It was merely an opportunity for various South Africans to put the points of view to a panel of American legislation

He said that he, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP MP for Overvaal, and Soweto civic leader, Dr Nthato Motlana, would put their point of view, separately, on March 31

The ANC representative, information officer and executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki, would be speaking on March 29 and would have left by the time they arrived

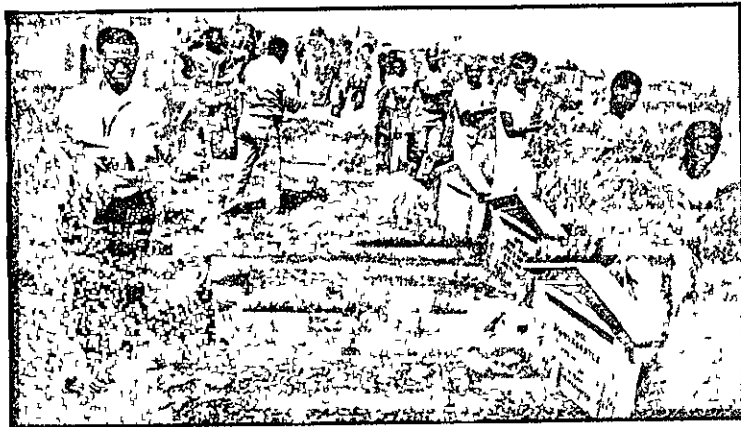


11A

Sowetan
22/3/89

Buses stoned in Natal ■ Workers stay away ■ Calls for unity on anniversary of shooting

THEY ARE NO FORGOTTEN



FAMILIES of the victims of that deadly afternoon 29 years ago gather at the weathered tombstones yesterday to clean up the grave site
Pic LEN KUMALO

Letter urges health worker action

HOSPITAL superintendents, district surgeons and private doctors in whose care detainees on hunger strike are should resist any move to send them back to prison, a letter issued by a health workers' organisation said yesterday.

The letter sent to the medical authorities by the South African Health Workers Congress (Sahwco) said any move to discharge those detainees back into custody was against the ethical and moral code of conduct of a health worker.

In the noble tradition of the United Charter of Human Rights and the Tokyo Declaration we urge you and every other health worker involved

• To Page 2

THOUSANDS of people were yesterday called upon to unite in their fight against apartheid at several services to commemorate the 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings.

Workers and school-children were among those who marked the occasion. It was on March 21, 1960 that 60 people were shot dead and 150 wounded at Sharpeville when police opened fire on pass law protesters.

The situation was tense but calm as police mixed freely and photographed events at services held at the cemetery and the Sharpeville Hall yesterday.

The president of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr James Mndzweni told residents in Sharpeville to unite in their fight against apartheid.

Earlier in the day, families of the 'Sharpeville Massacre' and members of the Azaman Youth Unity gathered at the local cemetery to clean the graves of their heroes. Police were also present.

Several speakers who addressed a lively service in Vosloorus in the East

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Rand said unity between Nactu and the Congress of South African Trade Unions would be the best tribute to those who died in the Sharpeville shootings.

The Reverend Wilmont Ngobese called on black people to remember that day with the dignity it deserved.

Meanwhile violence broke out in townships surrounding Durban yesterday with barricades being thrown up, buses being stoned and passengers intimidated into staying away from work — and at least one bus being petrol-bombed

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

and set alight by demonstrators.

Thousands of pamphlets had been distributed in townships at KwaMashu Umlazi Newtown Inanda and KwaDangweni urging workers and school children to stayaway to mark the anniversary of the Sharpeville Day.

Four Putco buses were badly damaged when they were stoned at about 5.30am at Ntuzuma east north of the city. A petrol bomb was also hurled at one of the vehicles.

Many companies had come to an agreement with their employees to observe the day while in some instances paid holidays had been negotiated and others gave their workers unpaid leave for the day.

At Nyuswa (Durban) police used tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse illegal gatherings and also a group of youths who had barricaded a

• To Page 2

Sharpeville

- From Page 1
- at the vehicle. The bus was not badly damaged where blacks had gathered illegally. At Smatung (Edendale), police surrounded a house after they had arrested information (Springs), a 12-year-old black boy was injured that weapons were being stored in the dwelling. A black man attacked the police with an assegai and he was shot and wounded (not seriously) when a bus driver was slightly injured when a petrol-bomb was thrown arrested.

Media was not invited - Vlok

THE media had not been invited to attend the searching of Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home by police, which was shown on Network on SABC television on February 19, this year, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North), he said the SA Police, however, "invites representatives of the media to be present during police actions when it is regarded as being in the public interest"

"Each action is judged on its merits"

Shortly after police had arrived at Mrs Mandela's home "several media

representatives, also made their appearance"

Referring to the controversy and allegations surrounding Mrs Mandela, the Minister said "The matter is receiving extensive media prominence in South Africa and abroad"

Supplementary

Replying to a supplementary question from Mr Ken Andrew (PFP, Gardens), Mr Vlok said police were not in control of the premises and therefore could not prescribe to Mrs Mandela who should be admitted — Sapa

**Stompie trial:
Man appears**

JOHANNESBURG — An 18-year-old youth appeared briefly before a magistrate here yesterday in connection with the murder of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei.

There are now nine accused in the murder trial, after Mr P Bredenkamp added the name of Mr Sibiso Brian Mabusa of Diepkloof to the charge sheet.

No formal charges were put to Mr Mabusa and he was not asked to plead.

Some of the other accused are members of the Mandela United Soccer Club.

The case was postponed to April 21 — Sapa

Founder member of unity movement dies

Staff Reporter

U.S. 22/7/89
119
A FOUNDER member of the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA), Mr Leo Linda Sihlali, 73, has died at his home in Mount Frere in Transkei

Described by UMSA as "a courageous fighter against an undemocratic system of government", Mr Sihlali also held senior positions in the All African Convention and the Cape African Teachers' Association

"As editor of Cata's publications, he was hard-hitting in the fight against Bantu education before and after its implementation," an UMSA spokesman said

"An active organiser in the AAC against the former Native Representative Council in the 1930s, later the bungas, Bantu authorities and the territorial authorities, Mr Sihlali in 1943 helped launch the Non-European Unity Movement — now UMSA

"He played a significant role in furthering the unity of all people under attack," the UMSA spokesman said

Mr Sihlali will be buried from his home at 10 am on Saturday. He is survived by his wife Kim

Dispute widens over non-racial policies

1969 22/3/89

The Argus Foreign Service
in New York

NEW evidence has emerged of the widening policy conflict among the leadership of South African non-racial sports organisations on how, or if, to bring some South African sports back into the international fold

SPORT

The conflict first surfaced last month when low-key private meetings took place in London between Dr Dennis Brutus, founder and president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) and Mr Joe Parnisky, president of the South African Cricket Union, and Dr Ali Bacher, who were leading an attempt to head off punitive action by the International Cricket Council against foreign cricketers taking part in cricket tours of South Africa

Dr Brutus has been locked in a head-on dispute with the organisation's London leader, Mr Samba Ramsamy, ever since, with Mr Ramsamy, who is generally regarded as the leader of Sanroc's more

radical wing, actively working to expel Dr Brutus

The sharp difference between the two men and their supporters within Sanroc is focussed on Dr Brutus's contention that the time had arrived in regard to some sports, cricket possibly being one, when Sanroc ought to be working constructively for their return to the international arena, provided they had eliminated racial discrimination from their ranks

This week, Dr Brutus, who has had to pay a high price for the new, more moderate stance he has adopted, moved to win over the support of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos)

In a letter to Mr Colin Clarke, Sacos secretary, Dr Brutus pointed out that while Sacos had expressed satisfaction with Mr Ramsamy representing its interests, Mr Ramsamy had failed to co-operate with other members of the Sanroc executive committee, many of whom had expressed criticism of him

Mr Ramsamy, he told Mr Clarke, had taken decisions without consulting other Sanroc committee members and

had given himself the position of "executive chairman," although no records existed in the organisation's minutes of any such appointment

In the sharpest criticism he has yet expressed of Mr Ramsamy, Dr Brutus blamed some of the weaknesses of campaigns in the recent past to "the timidity and lack of leadership in London" and added

"If Sacos desires the strong and bold leadership which was previously provided by Sanroc externally then it should consider very carefully whether it will (continue to) rely on the services of a single person, or on the services of a courageous and dedicated team which makes up the membership of Sanroc"

Dr Brutus, a poet, was elected president of Sanroc at the organisation's inaugural meeting in Johannesburg in 1963 and has held the post ever since. A powerful and influential campaigner against racial discrimination in sport, he has been in exile for about 20 years and is now a teaching professor at the University of Pittsburgh

Winnie believes Mandela will be released

AKG
22/3/89



Mrs Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, expects that her husband will be released.

In an interview for Tribute magazine to be published in the April edition, Mrs Mandela says: "Yes, I think he will be released. And they will be releasing him into an atmosphere in which even his own organisation is seen as just a band of terrorists, and when a fibre of respectability is no longer there within the community.

"If Mandela were released into that atmosphere it would fit in with the plans of the government: bringing Mandela back to an apartheid South Africa where everything is still the same as when he left 25 years ago."

About the soccer club, she says the team was the target of the government smear campaign. "The security forces never believed the team was an ordinary one," she says "They have regarded it as a military wing or unit of Umkhonto.

"Allegations have been made that I am keeping an army .. the government saw to it that the soccer team did not take off because they believed it was not an ordinary team."

Mrs Mandela alleges the team was infiltrated by the government, and that agents within the club were

responsible for an attack on her house in July last year. She says many team members spent months in detention.

"Those that did come out (of detention) — three of them — are the ones converted and used in the police strategy. What the police do is, when they release them they recruit them for the system. Three of the boys who led the others in the burning of my house were original members of the team."

Speaking on the origins of her club, Mrs Mandela told Tribute: "What has continued happening is that youths from all parts of the country who have problems pack their bags and come to my house.

"Not because they are coming to join Mandela United, but because they believe their problems can be solved here. I had to look at the problems, including their academic programmes. At the moment I am running some form of financial help and I am proud to say it is non-ideological."

In reply to questions about her lavish Soweto house and her tarnished image, Mrs Mandela said they owed nobody an explanation about the house.

She said the government attacked individuals in the hope that the image of the national liberation movement as a whole would be tarnished.
— Sapa.

plementation of involved, though it was impossible to confirm this last night.

Maggie's plans raise hopes for Mandela

CAPT TINKS
23/3/89

114
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mrs Margaret Thatcher is to make an important 20-minute statement on Southern Africa on BBC radio on Saturday — just 24 hours before she starts a four-nation tour of Africa.

The contents of her message have not been disclosed but her planned statement comes amid excited speculation at high levels that her visit to Morocco, Nigeria, Malawi and Zimbabwe could coincide with the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

During her warm meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in London last week, Mrs Thatcher was "firm" that Mr Mandela must be released without further delay and dialogue started with all representative groups of the nation.

She later told parliament she was encouraged by Mr Botha's response, and acclaimed South Africa's contribution to the Namibia settlement.

Mrs Thatcher may expand on informed reports

To Page 4

CAPT TINKS 23/3/89 (114) (115)

From page 1

that she wants the establishment of a new Eminent Persons Group to assist the process of reform and communication inside South Africa and with the rest of the continent

Mrs Thatcher is also said to be strongly encouraging international support for Mr Botha's bid to secure a major new Komatipoort-type accord with Mozambique

She has welcomed the news that Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano will fly to Harare to meet her with Mr Robert Mugabe

However, sources at the highest level in London say there is no truth in a report in Newsweek magazine this week, claiming that senior represen-

tatives of the South Africa government will also be in Harare next week to join talks

The same sources are also emphatic that Mrs Thatcher will not use the opportunity to travel on to South Africa, even if Mr Mandela is released while she is in Harare

The promises of dramatic change made to her by Mr Pik Botha are not good enough. She is openly dismayed by the reform stagnation and will not visit until significant changes are in place and working

● It is highly unlikely that Mrs Thatcher will meet Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamshin, who on Tuesday started a tour of frontline states

Son of Passtoors to visit her in jail

Callings 23/3/89 (11A)
JOHANNESBURG. — Belgian schoolboy Fabrice Passtoors is due to visit his mother Helene Passtoors in prison this week amid rumours that she could be released soon from a 10-year sentence for treason.

A Belgian Embassy official said yesterday that Fabrice, 17, was expected in South Africa today and would be taken to see his mother tomorrow.

Government sources and diplomats said Belgium and South Africa were close to a deal on releasing Passtoors, an ANC arms courier, in exchange for unspecified political undertakings.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha declined to comment, but said: "We're talking to the Belgians. We're in touch."

The Belgian Embassy official confirmed that negotiations were under way, saying: "We are closer than we have ever been, but I cannot tell you anything definite at this stage."

Passtoors's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he could not confirm the reports.

Passtoors was arrested in 1985 on charges of helping to ferry arms, identify targets and establish weapons caches for the ANC.

Her former husband, Mr Klaas de Jongé, was arrested about the same time. He escaped from police custody to the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, where he lived for two years until he was sent home as part of an elaborate prisoner exchange. — Sapa-Reuter

Resolution 435 is April 1 — the day of the Passtoors was arrested with her hus-

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Apartheid

HARARE — The African National Congress is to open eight more offices around the world to intensify its campaign against apartheid and to enable it to obtain more resources for its programmes — Sapa

Sowetan
23/3/89

(11A)

Police to investigate ^{AKGus} ^{23/2/87} Cosatu Press conference

GENERAL Hennie de Witt, Commissioner of the SA Police, has ordered an investigation into whether a Press conference and a memorandum released by Cosatu yesterday breached the restriction orders placed on the trade union by the Minister of Law and Order last year.

He added, however, that all Cosatu's allegations would be thoroughly investigated.

Cosatu accused the police of doing too little to curb the activities of Inkatha-supporting "warlords" in the strife-torn Maritzburg townships.

It released a report compiled by its lawyers, detailing the police's alleged failure "to play their role adequately in the ad-

ministration of justice".

In a statement yesterday, General de Witt said people who had made allegations of police involvement in acts of violence and injustice in the Maritzburg area would be invited to assist the police in their investigation.

Should they refuse to disclose factual details to substantiate their claims they would be subpoenaed to produce the so-called evidence.

Cosatu has announced new plans to try to restore peace in Maritzburg in an initiative involving big business and foreign governments with representation in South Africa. — Sapa, The Argus Correspondent.

CP, ANC, Nats to brief Americans in 'closed door' meeting

NR645
73/3/89
11A

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — South African politicians from across the spectrum, including the Conservative Party and the African National Congress, will be briefing American legislators behind closed doors in Bermuda next week

According to the organisers of the five-day conference, the Washington-based Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, no details will be made public of exactly who and how many people will take part in the discussions

CP and National Party participants have already stated in South Africa that they have been given assurances they will not be involved in dia-

logues with the ANC

According to a spokesman for the institute in Washington, the organisation was not prepared to state which American legislators would be involved in the conference

The spokesman said the conference was a project being conducted by the institute which brought US legislators together with bodies of "experts and principal players" from various parts of the world

Better policies

"We are doing the same thing with the Soviet Union and with China," he said

"The project we are doing with South Africa is one of many conferences we will do from time to time"

The spokesman said there

was nothing secret about the conference American legislators would be talked to for their own education in the hope that better-informed policy-makers would make better policies. The exercise was purely for the education of the legislators

Among the South Africans known to have accepted invitations to attend the Bermuda conference are Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, a former Leader of the Opposition and founder of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Mr Piet Coetzer, National Party MP for Springs, Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, Mr Thabo Mbeki, representing the ANC, and Dr Nthato Motlana, the Soweto civic leader

ANC sees Maggie and Pik conspiracy

CHT Times 24/3/87

11A

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The ANC is mobilising for a show of strength inside South Africa, possibly to coincide with Mrs Margaret Thatcher's visit to the frontline states next week.

The ANC also anticipates that Pretoria may release Mr Nelson Mandela while Mrs Thatcher is in Africa and wants to minimise subsequent goodwill for South Africa.

Senior African sources close to the ANC say a key purpose of the British prime minister's visit to Malawi and Zimbabwe will be to use her influence and power to pressure South Africa's neighbour states into withdrawing sup-

port for the banned movement's "armed struggle".

The ANC response will be to seek to demonstrate that the loss of their bases in Angola as well as Mozambique has not significantly weakened their ability to strike within South Africa.

The movement is simultaneously launching an unprecedented world-wide "diplomatic campaign", which includes opening offices in Washington, Spain, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Far Eastern countries, possibly including Japan.

The ANC claims that Britain is a willing partner in a "conspiracy", masterminded by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik

Botha, to cripple their military strength.

The ANC also claims that Mr Botha is already using the pending presidency of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to "trick" the West with promises that a new era of enlightenment is coming and that the purpose of Mr Botha's visit to Europe last week, and his meeting in London with Mrs Thatcher, was to launch an offensive to gain legitimacy.

● Senior ANC figures, including the new head of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, met Organisation for African Unity leaders in Harare on Wednesday to urge them to spurn Mrs Thatcher.

New judge appointed

THE State President has appointed Mr C Botha, SC, of the Pretoria Bar, as a judge of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court.

3 'ANC' men arrested

ANC (m) 26/3/89
PIGGS PEAK, Swaziland. — Swaziland police yesterday reported the arrest of three suspected members of the ANC here.

Official

BY JOHNNY BROWN FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN GUARDIAN

66-0260
25/3/89 (114)

CHARMING WARRIOR

CHARMING is the word most people who meet him use to describe Thabo Mbeki — particularly white South Africans unprepared for such urbanity within the ranks of the African National Congress.

And such absence of rigid dogma in discussion or argument

There is no doubt Mbeki's impact on the uninitiated is impressive. And, certainly, he is nobody's typical revolutionary. But what he is instead, one feels, is what he has carefully groomed himself to be. Reasonable, considered, sharp. There may be a statement of rebellion in the beard. But then even top executives of the ANC need to watch what they spend on razor blades.

Contrary to the popular view that they live high off the hog on funds fraudulently mugged from soft Nordic governments, members of the administration in exile in Zambia subsist on a paltry stipend.

The bulk of those funds is channelled to the military effort. The chief Press spokesman beds down like a squatter in one corner of a room in an over-populated Lusaka house.

THABO Mbeki is better off than most because he has a working wife Zanele Mbeki is an organiser with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Lusaka. Mbeki's dress is usually distinctive a hound's tooth sports jacket alternating with Cuban

shirts. And always a pipe, underlining a look of either humour or contemplation.

Whether by study or not, being charming is what Thabo Mbeki does extremely well. Last October, for example, when the South African rugby chiefs met an ANC delegation in Harare, Mbeki soon wowed them with his erudition and bonhomie. Within minutes, with bizarre familiarity under the circumstances, he was calling Dame Craven "Doc".

At one point after the meeting, Transvaal Rugby Union president Louis Luyt grabbed Mbeki in a bear hug and said with mock alarm: "I'm just a little fellow. You must protect me from the Press."

The expectation must be that, things being protracted rather than equal, Thabo Mbeki will become president of the organisation his father, Govan, has been involved with for more than half a century.

His rise from Director of Information and Publicity to head of the Department of International Affairs — to replace Johnny Makatini, who died earlier this year, effectively moves him from fourth position in the ANC hierarchy to third. At the age of 46, he has youth on his side. And a considerable political head.

FOR some years he has doubled as political adviser to Oliver Tambo, the ANC president. Reportedly, the two are very close. To begin with, there is a relationship through Nelson Mandela. Govan Mbeki was a go-accused with Mandela's partner in a law firm.

Should the present impasse over negotiating with the ANC continue to a point where Tambo decides to step down, it is likely Thabo Mbeki will be elected to succeed him. Some of the mil-



Thabo Mbeki, new head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs.

itary commanders, like Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff Chris Hani, might feel hard done by. But they really do not have the intellectual ammunition to match Mbeki.

Details of Mbeki's mid-term education are sketchy. He was born in the Transkei on June 18, 1942. It is understood he moved to Port Elizabeth at the age of 13 when his father became Cape leader of the ANC.

By 1959, at 17, Mbeki was active in black student politics. He became a member of the African Students' Organisation, forerunner of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso). He ran the ASO in 1961 and organised widespread protests against Bantu Education.

Then he moved to Soweto and Orlando. Whether or not he completed his schooling at that stage is uncertain. He sought refuge in Swaziland at some time between 1961 and 1963, then went to the US.

What happened during that period of his life in exile also is not recorded except that he obtained an economics degree from the University of Sussex in the early Seventies.

WHEN the 1976 student riots sparked an exodus of hundreds of black students from South Africa, Mbeki was already active in the ANC. And his experience as past leader of the African Students' Organisation must have been invaluable to the organisation.

Thabo Mbeki has often been tipped as a future president of the African National Congress. This week, with his appointment as head of the organisation's Department of International Affairs, he moved another step nearer.

From then on, he worked his way through the ranks and was appointed Director of Information and Publicity in 1984.

During the township unrest of the mid-Eighties, the ANC leadership became worried about the level of the anti-white violence and the fact that radical elements among the township youth seemed to be moving beyond any control.

Thabo Mbeki was assigned to coordinate a diplomatic campaign to involve more white South Africans in the anti-apartheid drive to try to offset the hatred of the young blacks.

The dialogue that has followed between the ANC, white academics, churchmen and politicians, organisations like the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) — and the SA Rugby Board — has been an extension of that campaign. And Mbeki has been present at just about all these discussions, usually heading the ANC representation.

Govan Mbeki joined the South African Communist Party in 1961. Although his son led an ANC delegation to Moscow in 1986, there is no evidence to suggest that Mbeki junior is a CP member. Thabo Mbeki seems more of a pragmatist than an ideologue.

NOT only does he emerge in conversation as an original thinker, but he also appears to be one of the directors of ANC policy.

It was announced at a conference of ANC chief representatives and regional treasurers in Oslo this week that the organisation is to open eight more missions around the world. These are to be in Washington, Madrid, Tunis, Tripoli, Kampala, Caracas, Accra and Managua.

As the ANC's foreign minister, in effect, Thabo Mbeki will be exporting his charisma that much further.

'Chances still good for
successful people's war'

PAC finds new Soviet stance on SA 'sad'

UNITED NATIONS — The Pan Africanist Congress finds it "regrettable" that Soviet officials now consider a successful armed revolution is impossible in South Africa.

Mr Boris Asoyan, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Africa expert, was recently quoted as saying the armed struggle will fail and a peaceful, negotiated, solution is necessary.

That reversal of long-standing Soviet support for black revolution in South Africa follows President Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of avoiding proxy wars that drain Soviet resources needed locally.

"It is regrettable that the Soviets made this shift," said a PAC spokesman "We believe a people's war is a possibility, and the people's chances for it are good."

The spokesman said the organisation receives most of its aid from the nations in the Organisation of African Unity, so the Soviet shift in policy will not have a major effect on the PAC.

'When elephants fight'

Soviet diplomats have been meeting South African officials since 1985, when the United States began mediating talks among Cuba, Angola, and South Africa to grant independence to Namibia.

The PAC's foreign secretary, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, said superpower clashes or rapprochement are irrelevant to the black struggle.

"We have a saying in Africa," said Mr Ebrahim, "that when the elephants fight, the grass suffers."

"But," he added, "when the elephants make love, the grass also suffers."

The Soviet Union has been the major supplier of weapons for the African National Congress, the PAC's main rival for control of the black resistance movement.

Mr Asoyan had hinted that the Soviet Union might cut back its military aid to the ANC. The PAC spokesman said that could help persuade the ANC to join with the PAC and unify the black revolutionary movement.

However, Mr Ebrahim stressed that his group would not alter its political principles, which have so far divided the black movement in South Africa.

The PAC is based on a "black consciousness" philosophy, which holds that blacks should work for their own liberation without white help. The ANC is multiracial.

The UN recognises both the PAC and the ANC as representatives of South Africa's people. — Sapa-AP

Stev 25/3/89

11A

Maties meet the ANC

LUSAKA — Afrikaans students from Stellenbosch University began talks with the African National Congress (ANC) in the Zambian capital yesterday.

"There are no interviews of any sort. This is a closed session for political and strategic reasons," said an ANC official.

He barred both local and overseas journalists from entering the hall where the meeting was taking place.

The 20 men and women from the university's Student Representative Council (SRC) had already held talks with officials from the Soviet Union and Cuba, and with Zambian-based African diplomats, diplomatic sources said.

11A

Star 25/7/87

Township's white priest tells why he's 'an enemy'

MAMELODI Ned Geref Church in Africa minister Dr Nico Smith says he is regarded as an "enemy of the system" because he does not oppose black people's sentiments

Dr Smith was commenting on an allegation by independent MP Mr Jan van Eck in Parliament that national servicemen had been shown video film and photographs of him and other whites visiting the area and told they were "the enemy"

An SADF spokesman said videos and briefings were routine and aimed at orienting new troops into the area in which they were to operate, but denied the briefing officer referred to those concerned as the "enemy"

Dr Smith is the only white living in Mamelodi and is often the only white who attends township gatherings

"That is part of my duties as a minister here," he said "The people accept me as part of the community"

He said he often had to attend events such as



Dr Nico Smith.

burials of political activists where, "from the nature of things", there was a lot of emotion, such as showing of ANC flags

This was "a political expression"

Dr Smith said he was regarded as an enemy because he did not object to this and did not pull down ANC banners.

"It seems that where they regard the ANC as the enemy, they also regard me as the enemy"

He said most of Mamelodi supported the ANC "and one must understand this"

During World War 2, Afrikaners had in the same way often showed the Vierkleur — the flag of the old Transvaal Republic — as a form of political expression, he said

He added "Therefore it is surprising that they (the authorities) do not understand this They have no understanding that these are the people's sentiments which find expression in the showing of ANC flags"

Dr Smith said the authorities felt all instigators of unrest were enemies and part of the "total onslaught"

But "the presence of soldiers and the Defence Force will not get this out of the people"

He added "The more they try to suppress these sentiments, the stronger they grow" — Own Correspondent

Appeal against ANC cassette conviction is turned down

11A
26/3/89

THE Appeal Court in Bloemfontein this week dismissed an appeal by Ezron Tsietsi Menze, of Diepkloof Extension in Soweto, against his conviction for possession of a prohibited publication in Johannesburg on April 19, 1985.

The prohibited matter was a recorded cassette of an interview by ANC president Oliver Tambo on the situation in Southern Africa.

Menze was convicted by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate and sentenced to 18 months, of which nine were conditionally suspended, in July 1985. On appeal to the Witwatersrand Local Supreme Court the conviction was confirmed, but the sentence was wholly suspended.

This week Judge Vivier, with the concurrence of Judge Hefer and Judge Steyn, found that Menze was correctly convicted.

Judge Vivier said the interview recorded on the cassette clearly sought to advance the cause of the ANC, whose interests were served by the publication and dissemination of the cassette.

Even if the person interviewed was in fact not Oliver Tambo, his name was clearly used to lend credence to what was said, the Judge said.

On the argument that Section 69(4) of the Internal Security Act did not apply to a cassette, the Judge held that there was no justification to give the word "publication" in 69(4) a meaning different to the one contained in the definition clause of the act - Sapa

Mandela will be freed, says Winnie

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Onew 26/3/87

WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, expects that her husband will be released

In an interview to be published in *Tribute* magazine in April, she says "Yes, I think he will be released. And they will be

releasing him into an atmosphere in which even his own organisation is seen as just a band of terrorists, and when a fibre of respectability is no longer there within the community

"If Mandela were released into that atmos-

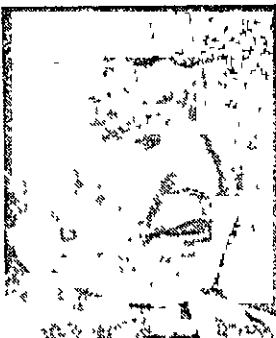
phere it would fit in with the (plans of) the government bringing Mandela back to an apartheid South Africa where everything is still the same as when he left 25 years ago"

About her "soccer club," she says the team was the target of a government smear campaign "The security forces never believed the team was an ordinary one," she says

She alleges that the team was infiltrated by the government and that agents within the club were responsible for an attack on her house in July last year

Speaking on the origins of her club, she said "What has continued happening is that youths from all parts of the country who have problems pack their bags and come to my house not because they are coming to join Mandela United, but because they believe their problems can be solved here" - Sapa

11A
closed 26/3/89



Winnie - statement of support from the ANC.

End of struggle 'might be in sight'

THE ANC vowed last Monday to step up its military and political resistance to apartheid, but said the end of the struggle might be in sight

After a five-day conference of 88 leaders in Norway, the ANC also issued a statement of support for Winnie Mandela, who was sharply condemned when her personal bodyguards were implicated in the alleged abduction of four black youths and the death of one

The meeting dismissed as "a bluff" hints off an early release from jail for

Winnie's husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela. It said more political opponents of the SA government had steadily been imprisoned since a state of emergency was imposed in 1986

The closed-door conference, the ANC's largest since 1986, was called to review the situation in Southern Africa and discuss anti-apartheid strategies. It was sponsored by Norway's largest labour union, LO, and the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, which has long supported the ANC - Sapa

Two ANC
men hurt
in blast

LUSAKA. — Two members of the ANC were seriously injured when they drove over a landmine in southern Zambia, close to Namibia's South African-controlled Caprivi Strip.

Zambia's Secretary for Defence and Security, Mr Alex Shapi, blamed South Africa for the incident, which took place on Thursday afternoon at Kazungula.

The two men were admitted to Livingstone Hospital with severe burns. The ANC could not be reached for comment.

Kazungula is near the border with Botswana and the Caprivi Strip.

"We know that in the last two weeks there has been more military build-up in the Caprivi Strip," Mr Shapi said.

In recent months several people have died in explosions in Livingstone, about 60km from Kazungula. The Zambian government has blamed all the explosions on South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

Students defy pledge, meet with ANC

CAF 1m/15
27/3/89

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Staff Reporters

STELLENBOSCH students have apparently met and talked with the ANC in Lusaka — despite assurances to the university's SRC that no meeting would take place.

According to reports from the Zambian capital, 20 students began talks with the ANC on Friday.

"There are no interviews of any sort. This is a closed session for political and strategic reasons," said an ANC official.

The meeting was held after the students had already held talks with officials from the Soviet Union and Cuba, said diplomatic sources.

Last night university rector Professor Mike de Vries said that he was "in the dark about the students meeting with the ANC, but if they have met, then they will have a lot of explaining to do".

He said that the students had given him and the "student community" an assurance last Monday that they would not meet with the ANC.

The students also met Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda — who had invited the group to Lusaka — yesterday before leaving for Namibia.

Two days before the party left for Zambia the SRC passed a motion that members would not officially or unofficially speak to the ANC until the organisation forswore violence.

"Just as their constituency (the government's) will not allow them to talk to the ANC, so does ours," a disappointed SRC chairman, Mr Pierre van der Spuy, said last week adding that the students would be going on the tour in their personal capacities.

It is not known whether any one of the seven SRC members in the group took part in the talks with the ANC.



EASTER TOUR Archbishop Desmond Tutu was taken on a tour of Mbekweni township outside Paarl by local parishioners yesterday after leading an Easter service at the local Anglican church. Proceedings were closely monitored by police. Picture ADIL BRADLOW

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Tutu calls for end to faction fighting

BLACK faction fighting remained an obstacle in the struggle for political rights, Archbishop Desmond Tutu told residents of Mbekweni near Paarl yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu said this in his Easter Sunday sermon to a congregation of about 600 people.

"There is no doubt that it is God's intention for us to be free in our land," he said. "For we do not want to oppress anyone, we just want to live in peace and harmony and happiness."

Several hundred township residents, including a band and drum majorettes, sang and danced while they waited for the arrival of the archbishop, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize and head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

"I pray that we will know that we are oppressed because we are black," he said. "Therefore, we will be united and not allow ourselves to be divided into warring factions. The day we are so united there will be nothing to stop us."

There have been numerous black-on-black faction fights in recent years — Sapa-AP

Pope: World rushing to death

VATICAN CITY — Pope John Paul, in his Easter Sunday message to the world, appealed for an end to religious persecution, oppression and war in a world he described as seemingly bent on self-destruction.

The pope, addressing about 200 000 people gathered under bright blue skies in St Peter's Square and millions more watching on television in 47 nations, made special mention of Lebanon, where 70 people have been killed in 12 days of the worst fighting seen in the country for five years.

He invoked the spirit of the risen Christ to bring new hope to

the world's peoples and called on man to respect nature and creation in 'today's world which in so many ways seems to be rushing headlong towards self-destruction and death.'

The pope ended his address from the red draped central balcony of the largest church in Christendom by wishing the world a happy Easter in 53 languages including Slovak, Croatian, Hebrew, Swahili, Tamil, Russian and Albanian.

And in Jerusalem, Christians prayed at Jesus's traditional burial place here on Easter Sunday but for the second successive year their mood was sombre rather

than festive.

"This year and last year there is no joy or happiness because of the Palestinian uprising," said Father Adib Zoomot, chancellor of the Latin Patriarchate.

Latin Patriarch Michel Sabbah marched with other clergymen and pilgrims through the narrow stone-covered lanes of the walled Old City to the tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

But scouts playing drums were absent from the march and many foreign pilgrims stayed away. Arab hotel owners said their rooms were only half full. — Sapa Reuter

Thatcher full of hope for peace

From JAN HOBBS

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher flew into Africa yesterday convinced that her visit will contribute to the dawning of a new era of stability and peace in South Africa and the frontline states.

She will arrive in Harare later today from Nigeria after spending her first night in Africa as the guest of King Hassan in Morocco, where she was treated with all the splendour of a head of state. She is scheduled to leave Morocco today for Lagos. The working end of her visit will be her two days in Zimbabwe when she is expected to promote the idea of an all states regional peace conference and support for a proposed new Mozambique-South Africa trade and security accord.

- Thatcher plan 'a golden opportunity' — Page 2
- Matias say talks with ANC 'a victory' — Page 3

Correspondents travelling on the tour were told that Mrs Thatcher genuinely felt there was a great deal of room for hope in South Africa — which is what she told Parliament last week after her meeting with Mr P. W. Botha. Mrs Thatcher will argue against sanctions when she meets Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and sees President Joshua Nkomo of Zaire. She will warn that any increase in sanctions will serve only to slow or stop promised dramatic reform in South Africa under the expected leadership of Mr F. W. de Klerk. However, Zimbabwe has already said its insistence that to secure the release of its detained Mandela the ANC should contribute by suspending or abandoning its policy of armed struggle. On Saturday Mrs Thatcher will return to London, her whirlwind after spending the last two days in Zimbabwe. Her African tour will correspond with a rare meeting of South African, Zairean, Mozambican and ANC representatives at a "peace summit" meeting sponsored by an American charitable society starting in Harare.

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Mandla in the lion's den
 ELONG-Mandla the lion tamer who cracks the whip in the lion cage at Boswell-Wrinkle Circle. The big cat huddles in a row, flogging quite fierce but obeying the commands of 25-year-old Mandla, who is taking his debut as lion tamer. INSET: When the hard work is done, Mandla gives one of his stars a gentle pat. ● Mandla's story — Page 3





MAGGIE IN MOROCCO British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher with her Moroccan counterpart, Mr Azeddine Laraki, in Marrakesh yesterday Mrs Thatcher's African tour started in the West African kingdom where she was welcomed with flowers at the airport. Picture REUTERS

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MRS Margaret Thatcher's plan for a Southern African peace conference was "a golden opportunity which should be grabbed by the contending forces with both hands," Professor David Welsh of UCT political science department said yesterday

But he cautioned that despite the widespread benefits that could accrue to the contending forces, a number of telling obstacles remained in the way of an internationally brokered settlement for the region at this stage

"There is as very good case for saying that deadlock we find ourselves in at moment could last for a couple of decades, with devastating consequences for society, if the antagonists are foolish enough to turn up this latest opportunity"

Professor Welsh, who specialises in Southern African politics, noted that an internationally mediated settlement to the conflict in the region would carry a number of advantages

- It would enjoy widespread legitimacy.

- It could halt, or significantly reduce, many of the violent conflicts in the area.

- It could lead to the lifting of sanctions which affect not only South Africa but the region as a whole, and

- It carried the prospect of superpowers and others thinking in terms of large scale aid for the region — a sort of Marshall Plan for Southern Africa

Professor Welsh said the international community had been "deeply impressed" by what had

Thatcher plan 'a golden opportunity'

CAF & Tink
28/3/89
(Handwritten initials and scribbles)

been achieved so far with the Angolan-Namibian settlement which had demonstrated that "this kind of thing can work"

He added that if the US mediated efforts to reach an accommodation between Israel and the PLO succeeded this could have "quite a profound demonstration effect for South Africa"

However, Professor Welsh noted that moves towards reaching regional peace faced formidable obstacles

"The South African government — particularly the more hawkish elements — are likely to see internationally brokered attempts to reach peace as an attempt to meddle in the Republic's internal affairs"

Another difficulty facing Pretoria was that any meaningful peace initiative must have at its core "the legalising the ANC or 'bringing it out of the cold'"

Even if the ANC could be persuaded to forswear — or more likely temporarily abandon violence — there were doubts about whether the South African "would buy this"

"Bringing the ANC out of the

genie out of bottle and it might be hard to see how it could be put back in again if things don't go according to plan — this is a tremendous source of concern"

Professor Welsh said that while it might be less difficult to persuade the ANC than the SA government to come to conference table, it would not be easy to get the banned organisation "to throw away its most powerful bargaining chip" — armed struggle

A more feasible prospect was for the ANC to say it was prepared to

cold in this way lets an enormous call a truce and suspend rather than abandon violence "provided the SA government does likewise"

"This will be a crucial bargaining chip," he said

Professor Welsh also cautioned that it was unlikely that any progress could be made on a new peace initiative for Southern Africa until the leadership issue was sorted out in the SA government

"I'm not sure that a lame duck President has the legitimacy to pull this off"

"It would probably be better to wait until the Groot Krokodil (President P W Botha) was safely locked up at the Wilderness first"

Another obstacle facing Mrs Thatcher's peace conference plan was the stance of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe towards both South Africa and Britain

Referring to the upcoming meeting between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Mugabe, Professor Welsh observed "The chemistry between the two is not good"

From page 1

It is reported that Mr De Klerk approved the attendance of Nationalist MPs on condition they did not share the same platform as the ANC delegation, led by the organisation's chief of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki

Both the ANC and South African diplomats are playing down the meeting as no more than an academic event, but Africa watchers consider it highly significant in the present climate of communication and the pressure on both sides to start broaching talks

Mrs Thatcher arrived at Marrakesh in Morocco yesterday under tight security

On her arrival, to a welcome of unprecedented warmth from the country's royal family, Mrs Thatcher made clear her determination to use talks with King Hassan to make further progress towards peace in the Middle East

Mrs Thatcher and King Hassan held at least two hours of talks last night before he hosted a state banquet in her honour

Her meeting with the king was preceded by the unique honour of lunch with Princess Lalla Latifa, the king's chief wife, her three daughters and sister in law, at the princess's palace in the city

Princess Latifa is rarely seen in public and granting Mrs Thatcher access to his family in the sumptuous palace is a distinction the king did not even confer on Queen Elizabeth during her 1980 state visit

The Middle East question and matters of EEC trade — Morocco applied unsuccessfully to join the community two years ago — dominated Mrs Thatcher's discussion with the king

Before arriving in Morocco Mrs Thatcher had welcomed the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union, a community of five North African nations of which King Hassan is the president

In this new role, the king has suddenly acquired wider influence in the Arab world, and the chance for Mrs Thatcher to talk with him was, in this context, particularly valuable

Mrs Thatcher did however issue a veiled rebuke to the Maghreb for its decision to include Libya as a partner in an interview published locally to coincide with her arrival, Mrs Thatcher said "We have strong reservations about the inclusion of Libya, with its record of support for terrorism, not least in Northern Ireland"

Mrs Thatcher leaves Morocco this morning for Lagos where she will meet President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria before heading for Zimbabwe

Matie student leaders defend Eastern bloc meetings

WINDHOEK — Defiant Matie student leaders have defended their meetings in Lusaka with Eastern bloc diplomats and ANC members, claiming the contacts as a victory for Stellenbosch University over SA's politically enforced isolation.

The 18-member group, expecting a "hot reception" in Stellenbosch, tried yesterday to cool the campus row triggered by their four-day Zambian trip that included a three-hour breakfast with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and passing contact with ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

KEVIN JACOBS

But they defiantly pursued meetings with a broad range of political interests, arriving in Windhoek yesterday hoping to meet Swapo officials, former members of the disbanded Koevoet police unit, labour leaders and farmers, during the switchover to UN stewardship in the territory.

The dissident students, among them eight SRC members, are considering accepting further invitations to visit Angola and Zimbabwe.

SRC chairman Pierre van der Spuy and colleague Mark Behr yesterday de-

fended the Lusaka visit "It is widely acknowledged inside SA that the country's future lies on the path through Africa. As Matie students we are proud to be part of that process," they said.

Behr led a similar Matie mission to Maputo last September for meetings that included ANC members.

Sidestepping a decision by the SRC to avoid contact with the ANC, the latest group accepted personal invitations from Kaunda to attend four days of specially arranged discussion forums that began last Wednesday, Behr said.

"The goal of this tour, and the reason

for President Kaunda's invitations to Zambia, was to expose us to the rest of the world's perceptions of South Africa and to meet diplomatic and African leaders," he said.

"The forums created to facilitate those discussions were not ANC-based forums but forums at which ANC members were present."

Officials and diplomats from Angola, Zimbabwe, Cuba, East Germany and Tanzania also attended the brainstorming sessions.

Van der Spuy said foreign diplomatic sources paid the group's expenses.

Thatcher set to push for peace conference

LONDON — UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to encourage a southern African regional peace conference when she arrives in Harare today on the main leg of her whirlwind five-day African tour.

Thatcher is believed to be determined to explore and promote all possible means of opening communication between SA, its neighbours and the ANC.

In a BBC radio interview yesterday she said the peace process could begin if, for a start, Nelson Mandela was released and the ANC abandoned its "armed struggle".

IAN HOBBS

Her insistence on the ANC abandoning or suspending armed violence is expected to cause fierce arguments, with the tone already set at the weekend by Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, who told the BBC "I don't think the ANC should be required to take that step in advance of any movement on the part of the (Pretoria) regime."

Shamuyarira said Thatcher should support sanctions as "the only peaceful way of pressurising" SA, but she had refused to do so.

ANC executives who visited Harare last week told the Zimbabwe government and Organisation for African Unity (OAU) leaders, who supported them, that they could not even consider abandoning the "armed struggle" as it would be seen by SA's black majority as treacherous.

The ANC also indicated that it is not opposed to SA evolving a federal government as long as divisions are not made on racial or ethnic lines.

● Comment: Page 6.



● THATCHER

Maties group views Lusaka meetings as 'a victory'

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Matie student leaders have defended their meetings in Lusaka with Eastern bloc diplomats and ANC members, claiming the contacts as a victory for Stellenbosch University over South Africa's politically-enforced isolation.

The 18-member group, expecting a "hot reception" in Stellenbosch, tried yesterday to cool the campus row triggered by their four-day Zambian trip that included a three-hour breakfast with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and passing contact with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

But they pursued meetings with a broad range of political interests, arriving in Windhoek yesterday hoping to meet Swapo officials, among others.

"The tour can be seen as a triumph for Stellenbosch University and for South Africa because of our country's isolation," SRC chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy and colleague Mr Mark Behr said in a statement yesterday defending the Lusaka visit.

"We expect a hot reception at Stellenbosch, people there are very angry," Mr Van der Spuy said. "But when we have had a chance to tell the truth, they will understand. We won't be seen as radicals."

Mr Behr said "The goal of this tour, and the reason for President Kaunda's invitations to Zambia, was to expose us to the rest of the world's perceptions of South Africa and to meet diplomatic and African leaders."

Officials and diplomats from Angola, Zimbabwe, Cuba, East Germany and Tanzania also attended the brainstorming sessions.

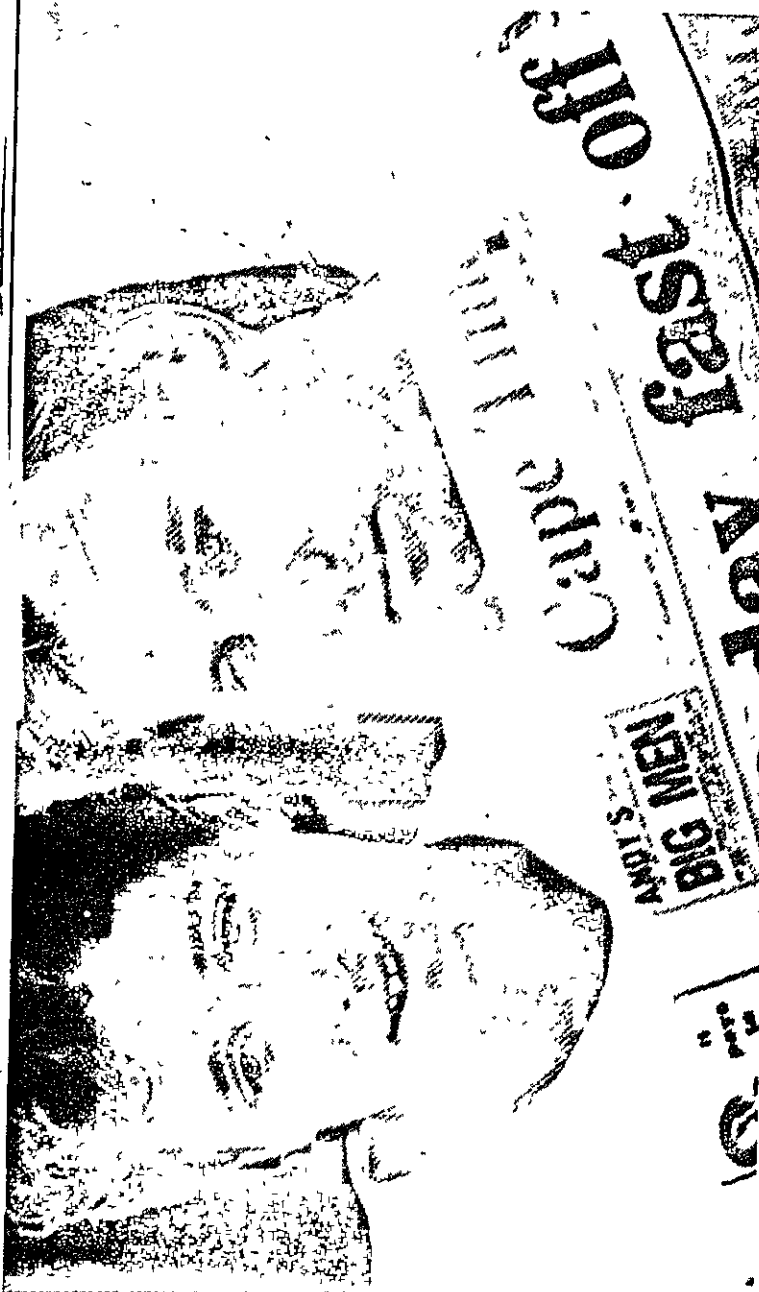
Mr Van der Spuy and Mr Behr said that their group travelled as individuals after disputing the university SRC's authority to curb personal decisions.

Members of the SRC who did not join the trip to Zambia and Namibia said that they had been "betrayed", as a motion had been accepted by the SRC that no talks would take place with the ANC.

Shortly before leaving last week a motion to that effect was accepted, as an opinion poll had found that 60% of Stellenbosch students supported National Party policy.

"They have betrayed our trust," said SRC member Ms Liesl Truter.

And SRC member Mr Lomon van der Vyver said that the group had damaged the university's name. He said that he was very worried about the possible negative reaction of financial institutions and sponsors of the university who provided valuable funds.



IN BLACK AND WHITE. Stellenbosch SRC chairman Pierre van der Spuy (left) and SRC member Mark Behr read yesterday's Cape Times in which their meeting with ANC members in Lusaka was reported. PH. NAMIBIAN PRESS CENTRE



Political opposites meet to define 'SA problem'

MS 665 28/3/89

11A 207A

From RAMSAY MILNE
The Argus Foreign Service

BERMUDA — In terms of a global power struggle, it is hardly a repeat of the historic first "Bermuda Conference," when Sir Winston Churchill met President "Ike" Eisenhower and the French Premier, M Joseph Laniel, in December, 1953, on this beautiful mid-Atlantic island to discuss the future of Europe.

But in southern African terms, the five-day meeting here this week between influential US Congressional and academic leaders and as wide

a range of South African political opposites who could ever be brought together to define "the South African problem" and its new, evolving solutions, might well turn out to be of much greater historical impact — certainly for South Africans

The first of this week's debates got under way under surprisingly strong local security surveillance at one of Bermuda's most luxurious hotels where delegates ranged from South Africa's liberal "left" represented by Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Nthato Mot-

lana, to the radical Right represented by Mr Koos van der Merwe, of the Conservative Party

In the wings, waiting, are the ANC. They will have their full and free say, too. And the influential Americans who are here, everyone from such powerful Democrats of influence as ex-Senator Dick Clark, he of the "Clark Amendment" fame, to Congressman Howard Wolpe

Then there is the black Congressman William Gray, former chairman of the Black Caucus, leading spokesman on

African policy in the House of Representatives and author of the Anti-Apartheid Acts of 1985 and 1986 — forerunners of all the punitive measures since adopted by the US, including today's sanctions and the basis of other measures that may yet come

The Americans have come to listen and to learn. Ranged against them in the next five days in closed sessions these disparate groups of black and white, English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans will present their conflicting "stories"

Cap 7116 29/3/89 11A

Alleged captive 'loyal' to ANC

JOHANNESBURG — The family of Paul Annegarn, the 23-year-old South African reported to be held at the ANC's Quatro detention barracks in Angola, has given up trying to secure his return

Mr Joe Annegarn, a past president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said yesterday that he had received a message from his son after the International Red Cross traced him in Angola

"The message said he was happy where he was now, and that his family should not try to contact him again. It said my son was with the ANC of his own free will and is no longer being held captive. He remains a loyal member of the organisation," Mr Annegarn said

"We will therefore leave everything just as it is. We will make no further attempts to have Paul brought back to South Africa."

Mr Annegarn last saw Paul after he deserted from the SADF in 1982 to go and live with his 25-year-old brother Stephen, who is now a dancer with the London Ballet Company

Paul was a member of the four-man insurgent group that entered South Africa in July 1987, but he left the Broederstroom cell in November of the same year after allegedly becoming disenchanted with dissension in the group — Sapa

SAW 29/3/89 (11A)

Annegarn is 'happy in the ANC'

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

The family of Paul Annegarn, who was reportedly detained by the African National Congress in its Quatro detention camp, will make no further attempts to bring him back to South Africa after his father was told his son was "happy in the ANC".

Mr Joe Annegarn said yesterday he had received a message from the Red Cross in August last year saying that Paul, a deserter from the SADF, was happy and his family should not try to contact him again.

"His mother in London also received a letter saying he was happy in the ANC," said the East Rand businessman and former president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries.

The ANC last year promised Mr Annegarn it would produce his son and hold a press conference to respond to allegations that he was being detained in the Quatro camp in Angola, but this did not materialise.

Paul was allegedly a member of the all-white Broederstroom ANC cell but left the country before members were arrested last year. Police said he was sent to a detention camp after telling the ANC he no longer believed in the "armed struggle".

DP the latest of a long line

ARCUS 29/3/89

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A NEW opposition party, the Democratic Party, is about to join the large number of parties that have fought against the National Party since it came to power in 1948.

None of those that opposed the National Party in 1948 is still in existence and in the past 41 years many parties have come and gone, sometimes having taken part in only one election

The NP's oldest, and most traditional foe since the thirties, the United Party, went under in 1977 when it merged with the then Democratic Party to become the New Republic Party

POLITICS

**By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent**

The NRP, which won 10 seats in the 1977 election finally went under last year when its representation in Parliament had dwindled to one.

The Labour Party, still represented in Parliament after the 1948 and 1953 election disappeared from the parliamentary scene afterwards and was finally disbanded

The Communist Party put up a few candidates in the 1948 election but did not come near to winning anywhere and was soon banned by the new government

The Dominion Party, in coalition with the United Party during the war years, also disappeared after the 1948 election

The Afrikaner Party, in coalition with the National Party in the 1948 election, had merged with the NP by the 1953 general election.

A number of splits occurred in the United Party leading to the formation of a number of smaller parties, among them the Reform Party in 1974 and the South African Party in 1977

The Reform Party soon merged with the Progressive Party to become the Progressive Reform Party and later the Progressive Federal Party.

The old Progressive Party in turn split from the UP in 1959

After having only Mrs Helen Suzman as an MP from 1961 to 1974 it then made some progress until it had 27 members and was the official Opposition for two Parliaments until the 1987 election. Now it has 17 MPs in the Assembly and two in the House of Delegates

The Conservative Party started after the split in the National Party in February 1982, at first with 18 MPs. Since the 1987 election it is the official Opposition in the Assembly with 23 MPs

The first major split in the NP occurred in 1969 when right-wingers broke away to form the HNP

For a short session at the beginning of 1970 the party had four members but in the general election later that year it was completely wiped out

The Liberal Party existed from 1953 to 1968, putting up candidates in the 1958 and 1961 elections. It never made any headway among white voters, but for a while in the fifties had Mrs Margaret Balingier, a "Native representative" as MP in the Assembly. It disbanded when restrictions were put on multiracial parties.

A large number of small and obscure parties have come and gone since 1948 among them the National Union, led by Mr Japie Basson who had an election pact with the UP in 1961, Dr Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party which stood in the 1981 election

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The British government has called for the release from jail on humanitarian grounds of Cape Town trade unionist Oscar Mpetsha. It has recently made representations to SA's London ambassador Ray Killen for Mpetsha's release.

This has been disclosed in a letter to Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) chairman Archbishop Trevor Huddleston from C D Powell, private secretary to

UK calls for release of Mpetsha

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was jailed in 1985 for five years after his appeal against conviction on terrorism charges was turned down by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein. A diabetic, he has had one leg amputated and has recently suffered kidney problems as well as a lung infection.

Powell said in his letter to Huddleston that the British government had been concerned about Mpetsha for some time. "Our embassy in South Africa has made representations on Mr Mpetsha's behalf on several occasions," he said.

"Mrs Lynda Chalker (Minister of State in the Foreign Office) raised this matter again with the South African Ambassador very recently and impressed upon him the need for the South African government to give urgent consideration to Mr Mpetsha's release on humanitarian grounds. "I can assure you that we will continue to urge the South African government to free him," Powell wrote.

Earlier this month 115 British MPs signed a petition calling for Mpetsha's release, and the AAM, together with several trade union movements, launched a campaign for his freedom.

Majority of SA blacks oppose sanctions

17645 29/3/89 (11) (1778) 2388

LONDON. — A majority of black South Africans oppose economic sanctions and violence as a means of ending apartheid, according to a poll conducted on behalf of the Independent and ITN, the television company

Although a minority said sanctions should be imposed on South Africa — even at the cost of their own jobs — the findings reveal that most blacks are unwilling to jeopardise job opportunities and financial well-being, and see the presence of foreign companies in the country as helping to sponsor change rather than support apartheid

No solution

The survey, conducted by Markinor, an independent South African research company, of 550 black South Africans living in all the main metropolitan areas showed that 54,7 percent were against the imposition of economic sanctions to bring about the abolition of apartheid. Of the minority who supported sanctions, nearly three-quarters wanted them imposed even if it meant black job losses. However, a much smaller proportion of the total polled (only 8,8 percent) were in favour of sanctions if it cost them their own jobs.

According to the survey, not only do most black South Africans dismiss sanctions as a so-

lution to the country's racial problems, they are also opposed to violence as a means of ending apartheid. Over 61 percent said it was wrong to use violence. About one third of the more radical respondents (those who support sanctions even if caused unemployment) believed violence was justified.

The survey shows that a majority of blacks believe South Africa's most pressing problems are economic rather than political. Almost 58 percent said their biggest concern was either jobs, wages or unemployment. Only 13,5 percent mentioned petty apartheid regulations and a surprisingly small 1,6 percent the Group Areas Act.

Regardless of attitudes to sanctions, nearly a third singled out unemployment as their key concern — partly a reflection of the fact that over 60 percent of those polled were unemployed.

The greatest concern about unemployment — 33,3 percent — was registered among those who supported sanctions but not if they entailed job losses. Paradoxically, 30 percent of those who favoured sanctions at any price shared this concern about lack of jobs.

The primacy of economic over political considerations was also reflected in answers to the question "Which aspect of apartheid affects you most?" Over 40 percent said it was the wage differentials between black and white. Only 17,3 percent said it was having to live in separate areas and 12 percent that not having the vote was the greatest handicap.

In the context of these concerns, it is not surprising that nearly two-thirds of those polled said a boycott of South African exports by foreign countries would not help to end apartheid.

Interestingly, 37 percent of those who support sanctions did not see such a boycott being of any use. Among those who want sanctions provided they do not result in job losses, a large majority — 65,3 percent — opposed such a boycott — The Independent



DP's multiracial meeting banned

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — A Pretoria City Council ban on a multiracial Democratic Party meeting in the City Hall has sparked a row with National Party councillors speaking out against the decision of the management committee

And the Conservative Party is accusing the NP-controlled council of "double standards"

The monthly council meeting was told last night that the management committee had refused permission for the Democratic Party to hold the meeting in the City Hall on April 18

The management committee advised the Democratic Party's steering committee to make an application to lease the Skilpad Hall at Pretoria's showgrounds instead

Permission given

CP member Mr Joseph Chiole told the meeting that in Maritzburg, where the NP was also in control, the Democratic Party had received permission to hold a meeting in the City Hall

The management committee member responsible for the city secretary's department, Dr Gerhard Davidtsz, said it was the council's policy to refer applications for racially mixed meetings

to the Skilpad Hall, as had also been done with the Labour Party on a previous occasion

Two Pretoria NP city councillors, Mr Justus van Zyl and Mr Lappe Laubscher, said today that this policy would have to be changed

Mr van Zyl said he had nothing against multiracial meetings in the City Hall

Leaders under fire

Meanwhile, a South African flag displayed at a Democratic Party meeting in Boksburg's coloured township of Reiger Park last night caused an outburst of indignation from members of the multiracial audience

And the troika leadership of the merger party — the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zac de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan — came under fire for speaking Afrikaans to an audience which contained blacks

Some members of the 600-strong audience demanded that the flag be removed immediately

Several Reiger Park residents voiced their anger about the "patronising" attitude of the speakers, white people's ignorance of the hardships caused by apartheid and their lack of knowledge about township life

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New crisis for govt

A DRAMATIC 600km flight to freedom, the occupation of two foreign missions, a thirst fast by Durban detainees and the threat of other detainees resuming their hunger strike has plunged the government into a deepening crisis.

Emergency detainee Simon Ntombela, publicity secretary for the outlawed South African Youth Congress (Sayco), left

Durban's Shifa hospital early on Wednesday morning clad in his pajamas after telling guards he was going to the toilet.

Hours later, he sought asylum at the United States embassy in Johannesburg.

Immediately after his escape police reinforced security at the hospital which is situated near several arterial roads, but Ntombela clearly moved far faster than police

(TIA) (S) South 30/3-5/4/89.

They were still manning guard posts outside foreign missions in Durban to prevent him getting in when he arrived at the US Consulate in Johannesburg - where UDF leaders Murphy Morobe, Mohamed Valli Moosa and the NECC's Vusi Kanyile last year sought refuge after staging a similar escape from hospital.

Ntombela, who is a schoolteacher, had been held in detention since September 1 1988.

He stopped his first hunger strike on February 24 after his attorney met with Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

However, together with several other Durban detainees, Ntombela resumed

TURN TO PAGE 2

(HWA)

Smith

30/3-5/4/89.

(11A)

Hunger strike

FROM PAGE 1

his hunger strike on March 13. Police denied that he had renewed his hunger strike and said he was hospitalised for depression.

And in a second major embarrassment for Pretoria, six former detainees yesterday sought refuge in the British embassy in Pretoria to protest dusk-to-dawn house arrest and other restrictions imposed on them upon their release.

The six are among 600 detainees released in the past month, following a wave of hunger strikes by detainees to protest the authorities' refusal to charge or release them.

More than half the detainees were house-arrested, banned from political activity and otherwise restricted.

Thatcher

And although police say they have no interest in the six who are seeking asylum in the British embassy, their presence is unlikely to please British premier Margaret Thatcher.

The six are:

* Donsie Khumalo, northern Transvaal regional secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), released last week after briefly undertaking a "thirst strike", in which he refused both liquids and food

* Grace Dube, an administrator for the Cosatu-affiliated Construction and Allied Workers' Union

* Mike Seloane, secretary general of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation

* Selebogo Mabena, former organiser for the Mamelodi Youth Organisation

* Ignatius Jacobs, an executive member of Sayco and the only non-Pretoria resident among the six

* and Sandile Lebeso, an organiser for the Pretoria Council of Churches

The two incidents are the latest in a series of events which have hampered government attempts to limit media coverage and resultant public protest over the hunger strike.

"They came just a day after authorities announced plans to transfer all hunger strikers to the Pelonomi hospital in Bloemfontein. ~~Public Public Relations~~ Officer Brigadier Leon Mellet said Ntombela's escape was proof that any more detainees on hunger strike should be sent to Bloemfontein for stricter control.

Meanwhile, as Sandile Thusi ate his first meal in 38 days, the South African Health Workers Congress warned that seven other hunger strikers at the hospital Ntombela escaped from faced death in a matter of hours.

Death

The detainees are refusing liquids as well as food.

Thusi, however, has threatened to return to his strike if Vlok does not release him.

The educational researcher and youth organiser, still bedridden and grey-faced, has described his life to lawyers as "miserable" and his detention like an "endless, timeless pit".

He feels that if he cannot be released to be of use to his family, then there is no use in him living.

According to reliable sources, several other detainees throughout the country are also poised to resume the hunger strike should they not be released.

'FED UP WITH SA'

LONDON — Mrs Thatcher's insistence on the release of Nelson Mandela before she will visit South Africa, illustrates her "disillusionment" with the South African Government, says Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira.

In a *BBC Radio* interview, he said he was pleased to hear that she had made this a condition for a possible visit, but added:

"That statement shows her disappointment, or at least illustrates her disillusionment with the South African regime

Asked if the African National Congress should be prepared to renounce or suspend violence to secure Mr Mandela's release, he said.

"I don't think the ANC should be required to take that step in advance

of any movement on the part of the regime.

"I don't see why the victim should be the one who is asked to make the first moves."

In his view, the release of Mr Mandela would be a pre-condition of any suspension of violence — *Sowetan Foreign Service*

Sowetan 30/7/89

~~118~~ ~~118~~ 118

Some 100 percent and showed no sign of returning to the company's decision to return to the white man for a few rands were keen to start construction soon.

Survey commissioned by UK newspaper and TV network produces startling statistics

'Most SA blacks oppose sanctions'

A poll by a London news paper and British television network shows resistance to sanctions by black South Africans. They also oppose violence.

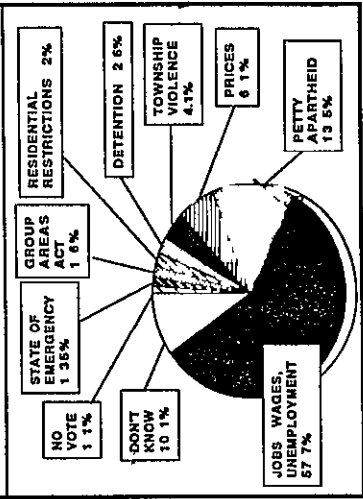
Most black South Africans oppose economic sanctions and violence as a means to end apartheid, according to a poll conducted on behalf of The Independent news-paper of London and the independent ITN television station.

Although a minority of blacks said sanctions should be imposed on South Africa — even at the cost of their jobs — the findings reveal that most are unwilling to jeopardise work opportunities and financial well-being, and see the presence of foreign companies in South Africa as helping to sponsor change rather than support apartheid.

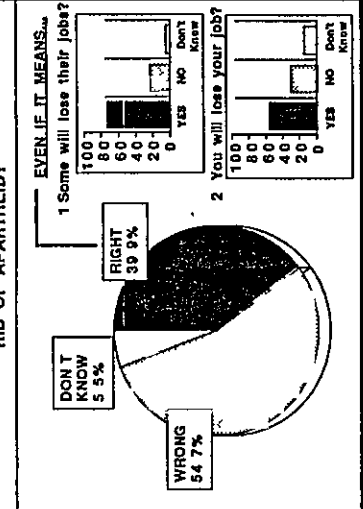
Job sacrifices

The survey by Marknor, an independent South African research company, of 550 black South Africans living in all the main metropolitan areas, showed that 54.7 percent were against economic sanctions to bring about the abolition of apartheid. The survey said that not only

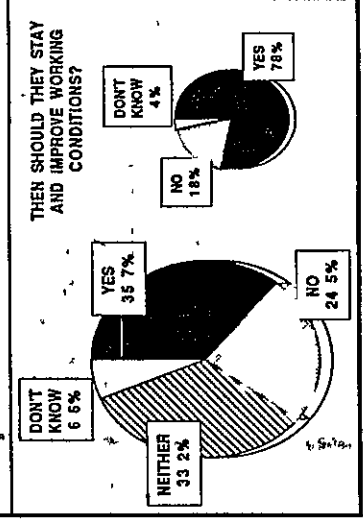
WHAT IS THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY?



ARE OTHER COUNTRIES RIGHT OR WRONG TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS UNLESS SOUTH AFRICA AGREES TO GET RID OF APARTHEID?



ARE OVERSEAS COMPANIES WHICH RUN BUSINESSES IN SOUTH AFRICA HELPING TO END APARTHEID?



their businesses and leave South Africa. There was also considerable support — 37.3 percent — for the notion that foreign companies had a beneficial role to play in helping to end apartheid. Under a quarter saw foreign businesses as supporting apartheid.

It is therefore something of a contradiction that most of those questioned believed that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is incorrect in her belief that sanctions would not bring down apartheid.

Radical groups

Some 46 percent said sanctions would not help to end apartheid, while 43 percent said they would. But the 46 percent includes a disturbing 32.4 percent from the more radical group who support sanctions even if it leads to job losses.

More than a third of those polled said the British government was helping to support apartheid. The poll indicates that blacks living near Cape Town are more radical than in other parts of the country. Cape Town is the only metropolitan region which shows a majority in support of sanctions and an end to foreign imports.

would not have any impact on apartheid. The survey also revealed that disinvestment by foreign companies had little popular support. The vast majority — 77.9 percent — said foreign firms should stay in South Africa and improve the conditions of their workers.

Only just over a third of those who supported sanctions said that foreign firms should sell

Interestingly, 37 percent of those who supported sanctions did not see such a boycott being of any use. Among those who wanted sanctions, provided they did not result in job losses, a large majority — 65.3 percent — opposed such a boycott.

There was equally little support for foreign countries refusing to sell goods such as cars or television sets to South Africa. More than 64 percent said it

between black and white. Only 17.3 percent said it was having to live in separate areas, and 12 percent said that not having the vote was the greatest handicap.

In the context of these concerns, it is not surprising that nearly two-thirds of those polled said that a boycott of South African exports by foreign countries would not be help to end apartheid.

sanctions, nearly a third singled out unemployment as their key concern — partly a reflection of the fact that more than 60 percent of those polled were unemployed.

The primacy of economic over political considerations was also reflected in answers to the question, "Which aspect of apartheid affects you most?" More than 40 percent said it was the wage differentials be-

blacks believe South Africa's most pressing problems are economic rather than political. Almost 58 percent said their biggest concern was either jobs, wages or unemployment. Only 13.5 percent mentioned petty apartheid regulations, and a surprisingly small 1.6 percent mentioned the Group Areas Act, which demarcates residential areas on racial lines.

Regardless of attitudes to

do most blacks dismiss sanctions as a solution to the country's racial problems, they are also opposed to violence as a means of ending apartheid. More than 61 percent said it was wrong to use violence. About a third of the more radical respondents (those who support sanctions even if this caused unemployment) believed violence was justified.

The survey shows that most

'British investment needed in SA'

8/27/87
THE STAR'S FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — British Premier Margaret Thatcher should offer British investment in South African enterprises in which workers of all races are promoted on merit, the *Independent* newspaper said in an editorial yesterday

The newspaper said the survey it commissioned on black South African opinion "raises serious difficulties for supporters of economic sanctions"

But the results also suggested Mrs Thatcher has failed to convince black South

Africans of her good faith.

"Mere opposition to sanctions is a mean-spirited position to adopt. It is amply justified in theory. The more a country is cut off from the outside world, the greater the scope powerful bigots inside it enjoy to impose their narrow-minded prescriptions"

"But in practice, hostility to sanctions can appear indistinguishable from support for racism. Mrs Thatcher is right about sanctions, but so far she has failed to convey repugnance for apartheid, still less to

show imagination in seeking ways to hasten its end"

It suggested vast economic development was needed in South Africa. This would dissolve opposition from poorer whites afraid of losing their jobs to black competition

"Capitalism is colour-blind. This is the point Mrs Thatcher should be making on her present tour, and to prove her good faith she should offer additional British investment in South African enterprises in which workers of all races are promoted on merit"

11A

Uproar over SA flag at Democratic meeting

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A South African flag displayed at a Democratic Party meeting in Boksburg's coloured township of Reiger Park last night caused an outburst of indignation from members of the multiracial audience.

And the troika leadership of the merger party — the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan — came under fire for speaking Afrikaans to an audience that featured blacks

Shouts of "Viva" greeted the speakers shortly after entering the hall to the music of "Chariots of Fire"

Some members of the 600-strong audience demanded that the flag be removed immediately.

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

However, meeting chairman Dr Louis Luyt called on the audience to reserve their comments until question time

Several Reiger Park residents voiced their anger about the "patronising" attitude of the speakers, and white people's ignorance of the hardships caused by apartheid and their lack of knowledge about township life

One resident accused the speakers of "not having done your homework" by speaking under the South African flag.

"If you want to reach out to the black community you must obey the basic rules. One ground-rule is that we do not gather under that flag. You should have an understanding of the hostility towards that flag," he said — in Afrikaans — to loud applause

The DP was also criticised for co-operating with the Labour Party

New MEC named

CAPE TOWN — Bosveld Regional Services Council member, Mr SES Ferreira, a former provincial councillor, has been appointed as a member of the Transvaal Executive Committee from April 11, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis announced yesterday. — Sapa.

which, according to one resident, had done the coloured community great harm

Other residents demanded clarification of the DP's policy on the redistribution of land, the state of emergency and participation in the tricameral system

The meeting, which was the DP's unofficial launch in the eastern Transvaal, was held in Reiger Park because no multiracial venue could be found in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg

But one resident boldly told the speakers "You have come here by mistake. This meeting was intended for white people"

The DP leaders urged the audience to accept the party's bona fides in its attempts to create a nonracial, democratic dispensation through negotiation across the political divide.

In his speech, Mr Malan said the DP would enter into talks with all political groupings in South Africa.

Dr de Beer said huge effort was needed to break the logjam of racism, and apartheid in the country.

Dr Worrall spelt out a reform agenda to which the National Party should commit itself in the current favourable international attitude towards South Africa

He urged the NP to adopt such an agenda at a special caucus meeting on April 8, including

- The ending of the state of emergency, the release of all political detainees and prisoners, and the restoration of press freedom.
- A clear commitment to the abolition of all apartheid laws, and a willingness to negotiate a dispensation based on nonracialism, democracy and free enterprise
- The amendment of the constitution to allow for the election of a black state president
- A commitment to a bill of rights and a new constitution, as spelt out recently by the SA Law Commission.
- The release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners
- The adoption of the Indaba proposals for kwaZulu/Natal

A STELLENBOSCH University SRC resolution barring SCR members from holding talks with the ANC "has no basis in law, equity or reason", the university's human-rights expert said yesterday.

Professor Laurie Ackermann, was one of three top campus academics who strongly supported the trip to Lusaka by eight "rebel" SRC members.

The others were professor John Degeenaar, head of the

Professors back eight Maties who went to Lusaka

Political Philosophy section of the Department of Philosophy, and Mr Jannie Gagi-ano, a lecturer in the Political Science department.

Professor Ackerman was reacting to a statement by SRC secretary Mr Tjaart Vander Walt that the student

committee would enforce the "no talking to the ANC" resolution — which bars members from either private or official contact.

Professor Ackermann said the resolution was comparable to the SRC forbidding its members to watch rugby or cricket in their personal capacities or visit overseas countries.

The SRC "rebels" who returned home to a hostile campus, have said they were acting as individuals.

Reacting to the 11-4 voting in favour of the "no talks" resolution, Professor Ackermann said: "You cannot bind the minority."

Breach

He immediately added, however, that it would be a breach of faith if those who voted in favour of the resolution had gone on the trip.

The eight were invited by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and claim that the SRC acted beyond its legal powers in limiting their individual rights.

Professor Degeenaar, who promised the rebels "all the support I can give them", said: "The way back to acceptance in the world is through Africa."

Sowetan 30/3/89



Top NSL men to attend funeral of Themba Sishi

sowetan 30/3/89

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SENIOR officials of the National Soccer League will be in Durban to attend the funeral of Mr Themba Sishi (38), eldest son of NSL chairman Mr Rodger Sishi, on Saturday.

Mr Sishi was shot three times by an unknown gunman on Sunday night in Mpumalanga, between Durban and Maritzburg.

As a mark of respect all soccer teams will observe a minute's

silence before their matches this weekend.

Mr Sishi, who is mayor of Mpumalanga, said yesterday he is baffled by the killing.

Mr Sishi has been involved in peace moves to bring the warring factions in the township together.

He also appealed to the ANC to meet with officials of Inkatha and Cosatu to help end the unrest in Natal.

Mr Sishi said that the killings in the townships are motivated by revenge and that if the leadership did not meet to sort out the differences, the deaths would continue.

Quiet

Public Relations Officer of the NSL, Mr Abdul Bhamjee, said Mr Sishi's son was a quiet man who ran the family's garage business.

The young man was

killed while driving home with three friends, after making a social call.

The gunman pumped three bullets into him. He died on the spot.

"When we arrived on the scene he was covered in blood," said his father.

Themba will be buried on Saturday — his 39th birthday. The cortege will leave his home for the Roman Catholic church at 10am.

Most urban blacks oppose sanctions ~~poll~~ poll

LONDON — Most urban black South Africans opposed the use of sanctions and violence to end apartheid, a new survey has found.

The Markinor poll, commissioned by ITV and The Independent, also showed that Nelson Mandela would be the most popular choice to lead the country

Of the 550 urban blacks polled,

54,7% were opposed to sanctions, 39,9% favoured them and 5,5% did not have a position ~~B1Dcu1 30/3/80~~

The poll showed that more than 61% were opposed to the use of violence

Questioned about the most serious problem facing black South Africans today, 57,7% said it was jobs, wages and unemployment. Only 1,1% said it

was the question of voting rights

On the national leadership issue, 41% supported Mandela. The second choice was President P W Botha with 18%

Archbishop Desmond Tutu received 8,7% support, Mangosothu Buthelezi 6,8% and NP leader F W de Klerk 4,8% — Sapa.

(11A)

Lusaka's night of Afrikaans freedom songs

A group of Stellenbosch students recently spoke with the ANC in Lusaka. Much of what they heard cannot be repeated but SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN, who has just returned from the Zambian capital, outlines the gist of some of the discussions.

LUSAKA — A Matic arrived in the foyer of the famous Pamodzi hotel, turned to an African National Congress official and said "What nationality are you?"

The ANC official information spokesperson Tom Sebina, dished out his usual rolling chuckle and plucked at various branches of his family tree for the Matic's benefit.

"But I mean," continued the Stellenbosch student, undaunted "what South African nationality are you Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho? You see, I used to live among the Xhosas in the Transkei."

That, unofficially signalled the start of discussions between the white, privileged proteges of Afrikanerdom and a wide range of ANC officials, including youth representatives.

ANC President Oliver Tambo addressed the students and newly-appointed head of internal affairs, Thabo Mbeki, sat in for hours on the discussions.

An important feature of the meeting was that the ANC gave the students access to their top personnel. Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party, was also present.

Burning questions

The burning questions, especially issues that affect white South Africans, were discussed for hours in a conference room of the Pamodzi, the hotel of togetherness.

Firstly ANC officials do not underestimate the desire for political change among white South Africans and, according to their estimation, various important factions of the Afrikaner community are in favour of negotiations with the exiled movement.

While the stand of some students Afrikaner intellectuals and dissatisfied business people are well-known, there were interesting forecasts about the possibility of drawing conservative blue collar workers into a changing society.

A scenario is foreseen where the white worker minority is increasingly unable to match the large black unions when it comes to bargaining power.

Already there are indications that some white unions have sought temporary alliances with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in order to increase their stakes at the negotiating table.

The feeling in Lusaka is that Cosatu should form these alliances because the long term advantages far outweigh the short-term political problems.

Tactical moves like this form part of an important process moving towards the release of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the political wing of the ANC and working out positions for negotiations, beyond the National Statutory Council.

People's war

This process is being dictated by events inside the country, the developments on the sub continent, the amelioration of East/West relations and the initiatives of the ANC.

Possible differences of opinion that could result between the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) inside the country and the ANC are seen as a necessary part of healthy political development.

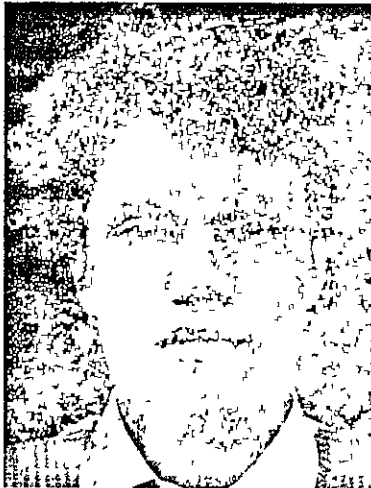
ANC leaders believe it is their task to lead and realise that sometimes their leadership initiatives will clash with opinion inside the country.

For example their meeting with Danie Craven of the South African Rugby Board drew sharp criticism from some quarters.

However, as a result there is intense discussion not just around the desegregation of rugby but on every aspect of sportspeople's lives.

A major conference on sport and apartheid is planned in September, possibly in Sweden.

The world sporting controlling bodies at the conference will undoubtedly discuss, among other issues, the possibility of accepting nonracial South African sport into the international fold.



SRC member Andre Gaum critical of initiative



Pierre van der Spuy also went to Lusaka



Thabo Mbeki sat in for hours on discussions



Marc Behr - sang Afrikaans freedom songs

Some ANC officials say they are aware of dissatisfaction among senior people in the South African Defence Force and the National Intelligence Services (NIS).

A Natal Indian Congress delegate, returning from meetings in Lusaka, was questioned at great length about the talks with the ANC and almost all the NIS interest centred on the readiness of the ANC to negotiate.

The Defence Force learnt in Namibia that they could not keep the lid on the pressure forever and that there has to be a political solution in sight.

An interesting aspect of the Matic's trip is that some students claim they were visited by security police before going to Lusaka.

"They were told it was alright for them to meet the ANC but they should not go to Lusaka because it was being seen as a second capital of South Africa."

When the students said it was too late to change the venue, they were allowed to go.

ANC representatives acknowledged that the intense political unrest of the mid-1980s did not weaken the South African regime militarily but it was an important step in the development of the struggle.

The situation cannot be reversed and the spirit of rebellion can be sustained to focus around day-to-day issues.

They also admitted that there was general dissatisfaction with the armed struggle and said there was a determination to transform this aspect of the struggle into a people's war.

There were lengthy discussions on the need for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions and disinvestment. A new order in South Africa would prefer to inherit a strong economic order but it was not impossible to rebuild.

However the economic progress of Europe after World War II was a good example that economic

setbacks did not need to be permanent.

The only other option waiting until the South African government undergoes a quick, dramatic change of heart, is not available.

Talking about the newly formed Democratic Party, representatives said there could be support for what they called the Van Eck option but that the whole question of participation versus boycott was still an unresolved issue.

Advancing the struggle against apartheid, not merely legitimising government institutions, is at the heart of the matter.

ANC leaders expressed interest in discussions on this issue, declaring that it was very much on their agenda.

One night in Lusaka, Stellenbosch SRC member Marc Behr asked me if I had ever heard Afrikaans freedom songs.

Not from Stellenbosch students, I replied. Behr and a small group of Matic students obliged by singing a repertoire that varied from the choral strains of typical Afrikaanse studentekoor liedjies, through the strident words of conventional freedom songs to an impressive collection of satirical lyrics in which PW Botha and his wife Elize came off badly.

When I told some people in the ANC the following day they were clearly surprised.

These are important developments in the move towards a democratic South Africa and yet South Africans are being prevented from knowing what happened.

And, the acceptance of censorship runs so deep in some sections of the South African community that a few of the Stellenbosch students sat outside the conference hall on certain days because they had promised they would not speak with the ANC.

Thank heavens the majority of the students stayed inside.

Star
31/3/89

11A

2 000 march in Paris for September

By James Tomlins,
Foreign Staff

PARIS — Two-thousand anti-apartheid demonstrators marched through Paris on Wednesday on the anniversary of the assassination of ANC representative Miss Dulcie September in the French capital on March 29 1988

South African writer Breyten Breytenbach and Solly Smith, Miss September's successor, headed the 1.5 km march, which went from the Gare du Nord to the ANC office where she was shot

Other personalities who took part included Mr Eddy Amkongo, who represented Swapo, and the heads of a dozen anti-apartheid movements in France

The parade snarled traffic for two hours during the evening rush hour in the busy commercial area of the French capital. There were no incidents

Meanwhile police sources said the September file was still open. No arrests have been made

ARMS DEALER

The sources said French police had questioned former South African arms dealer Mr Dirk Stoffberg in Lucerne, Switzerland on January 10 following reports that the assassination was planned by South African agents in Switzerland

Mr Stoffberg, whose name was mentioned shortly after the slaying, denied any involvement. He told police he was no longer an arms dealer and lived in Frankfurt where he worked for an American bank

The ANC has always claimed that Miss September was assassinated by South Africa's National Intelligence Service. But one theory in France is that she was the victim of an internal quarrel within the ANC, as she was opposed to increased communist domination

FOCUS

A MAJORITY of black South Africans oppose economic sanctions and violence as a means of ending apartheid, according to a poll conducted on behalf of the *Independent* and ITN, the television company

Although a minority said that sanctions should be imposed on South Africa — even at the cost of their own jobs — the findings reveal that most blacks are unwilling to jeopardise job opportunities and financial well-being, and see the presence of foreign companies in the country as helping to sponsor change rather than support apartheid

The survey, conducted by Markinor, an independent South African research company, of 550 South Africans living in all the main metropolitan areas showed that 54.7 percent were against the imposition of economic sanctions to bring about the abolition of apartheid

Of the minority who supported sanctions, nearly three-quarters wanted them imposed even if it meant black job losses. However, a much smaller proportion of the total polled (only 8.8 percent) were in favour of sanctions if it cost them their own jobs

According to the survey not only do most black South Africans dismiss sanctions as a solution to the country's racial problems, they are also opposed to violence as a means of ending apartheid

Over 61 percent said it was wrong to use violence. About one third of the more radical respondents (those who support sanctions even if it caused unemployment), believed violence was justified

The survey shows that a majority of blacks believe South Africa's most pressing problems are economic rather than political

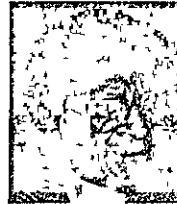
Almost 58 percent said their biggest concern was either jobs, wages or unemployment. Only 13.5 percent mentioned petty apartheid regulations and a surprisingly

SANCTIONS, VIOLENCE NOT RIGHT WAY - POLL

11/3
Touche
31/3/89

A SURVEY by the London newspaper the *Independent* and ITN television network shows surprising resistance to sanctions by black South Africans. They oppose violence as a way to end apartheid.

They fear that sanctions could jeopardise jobs and undermine living standards, and see the presence of foreign companies as a hope of bringing change.



ARCHBISHOP Tutu
pro-sanctions



MARGARET Thatcher
anti-sanctions

ment by foreign companies had little popular support. The vast majority — 77.9 percent — said that foreign firms should stay in South Africa and improve the conditions of their workers

Only just over a third of those who supported sanctions even if it produces general unemployment said that foreign firms should sell their businesses and leave South Africa

There was also considerable support — 37.3 percent — for the notion that foreign companies have a beneficial role to play in helping to end apartheid. Under a quarter saw foreign businesses as supporting apartheid

It is therefore something of a contradiction that the majority of those questioned believe that Margaret Thatcher who arrived in Southern Africa this week, is incorrect in her belief that sanctions will not bring down apartheid

Some 46 percent said sanctions would not help to end apartheid while 43 percent said that it would. However the 46 percent includes a distorting 82.4 percent from the more radical group who support sanctions

More than one third of those polled said the British Government was helping to support apartheid

The poll indicates that blacks living around Cape Town — a coloured preferential district in which blacks were said to have semi-permanent residential status — are more radical than in other parts of the country

Cape Town is the only metropolitan region which shows a majority in support of sanctions and in support of an end to foreign imports — *The Independent News Service*

small 1.6 percent the Group Areas Act which demarcates residential areas along racial lines

Regardless of attitudes to sanctions nearly a third singled out unemployment as their

key concern — partly a reflection of the fact that over 60 percent of those polled were unemployed

The greatest concern about unemployment — 33.3 percent — was registered among those who supported sanctions but not if they entailed job losses

Paradoxically 30 percent of those who favoured sanctions at any price shared this concern about lack of jobs

Handicap

The primacy of economic over political considerations was also reflected in answers to the question: Which aspect of apartheid affects you most?

Over 40 percent said it was the wage differentials between black and white. Only 17.3 percent said it was having to live in separate areas and 12 percent that not having the vote was the greatest

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub editing headlines and posters by Sydney Muthuku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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IF WE SOUTH AFRICANS WITH COURAGE AND GOOD SENSE WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO THE FUTURE

That's not OUR flag!

Sowetan 3/13/84



A SOUTH African flag displayed at a Democratic Party meeting in Boksburg's coloured township of Reiger Park on Wednesday night caused an outburst of indignation from members of the multi-racial audience.

And the troika leadership of the merger party — the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan — came under fire for speaking Afrikaans to an audience which featured blacks

Shouts of "viva" greeted the speakers

Take it down, demands crowd at DP meeting

**SOWETAN
Reporters**

shortly after entering the hall to the music of "Chariots of Fire"

Some members of the 600-strong audience demanded that the flag be removed immediately.

However, meeting chairman Dr Louis Luyt called on the audience to reserve their comments until question time

Several Reiger Park residents voiced their anger about the "patronising" attitude of the speakers, white people's ignorance of the hardships caused by apartheid and their lack of knowledge about township life

A resident, Mr Henry Jefferies of the Urban Foundation, accused the speakers of "not having done your homework" by speaking under the South African flag

The rules

"If you want to reach out to the black community you must obey the basic rules. One groundrule is that we do not gather under that flag. You should have an understanding of the hostility towards that flag," he said — in Afrikaans — to loud applause

The DP was also criticised for co-operating with the Labour Party, which, according to one resident, had done the coloured community great harm

Other residents demanded clarification of the DP's policy on the redistribution of land, participation in the tricameral system and the state of emergency

Launch

The meeting, which was the DP's unofficial launch in the Eastern Transvaal, was held in Reiger Park because no multi-racial venue could be found in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg

But one resident boldly told the speakers "You have come here by mistake. This meeting was intended for white people"

The DP leaders urged the audience to accept the party's bona fides in its attempts to create a non-racial, democratic dispensation through negotiations across the political divide

In his speech, Mr Malan said the DP would enter into talks with all political groupings in South Africa

SA's soul laid bare

BERMUDA — The large and influential contingent of senators and congressmen and leading US academics attending this week's "Bermuda conference" were exposed to what one delegate described as "the full blast of South African political realities"

They were reported to have been deeply impressed by what they heard

The "realities" came in what delegates agreed were brilliant presentations of their differing political points of view delivered by Mr F van Zyl Slabbert, former Progressive Party leader, and Mr Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC's national executive committee

8/13/89
Soweto



MR Thabo Mbeki . . . ANC delegate.

Though their presentations were unrelated and not intended to complement each other's, one conference source said it was surprising how the views they expressed shared common ground on so many issues

"It is clear that black and white South Africans are not only seeking a negotiated settlement to their political differences, but are able to articulate them very clearly," said one observer

"The ANC, for instance, though not willing to abandon its declared right to use armed struggle when and if needed, sees very clearly that the best way is through peaceful negotiations

"In that sense, the ANC remains unaffected by the new, more moderate stance on Southern Africa adopted by the Soviet Union because it also believes the road to a peaceful settlement can be opened," he added



BLACK POLITICS

APRIL 1989

Helene Passtoors

TR

14 SUNDAY TIMES, April 2 1989

The 'new' Helene

By CHARIS PERKINS

JAILED ANC arms courier Helene Passtoors has adopted the Muslim faith and wears Muslim dress.

She keeps her whole body covered and wears a scarf on her hair. And she calls herself Yasara.

The former wife of Klaas de Jonge — who holed up in the Dutch Embassy for two years to avoid arrest — has found a new life in religion. And, it is claimed, she has renounced violence.

But to her 17-year-old son Fabrice — who saw her for the first time in three years this week — she is still just mum.

Teenager

Fabrice is in South Africa to spend the Easter holidays with the mother he has not seen since he attended her trial in early 1986.

At first glance he looks like an ordinary teenager. He has unruly dark hair, big brown eyes and wears a U2 T-shirt. He's cute.

But look a bit closer and you will notice weariness in his eyes and a hint of hesitation when he speaks. And though he is only 17, he chain-smokes.

He has always been close to his mother, and the separation across three years and many thousands of kilometres has not been easy.

This week he spoke about his visit to South Africa.

"It is difficult to visit someone you haven't seen for three years," he said. "But it is wonderful to see her, and she is looking well."

Since her imprisonment the ANC activist has converted to Islam and has renounced armed struggle.

"She has found a new life in religion that means more to her than anything else. She now believes that without religion the world is doomed," says her spiritual guide, imam Yusef Hassim.

Release

Fabrice's trip to South Africa was sponsored by a Belgian-based Passtoors' special action group.

The second youngest of Helene's four children, he is the third to have visited her since her imprisonment.

He sees her every morning for 40 minutes in the presence of a wardress. What do they talk about? He shrugs. "Things."

They do not talk about her possible release. "Helene feels it is better not to think of such things," he said. "She doesn't want us to live on false hopes."

"We have heard a lot of talk about it back home over the past years and there is a strong movement in Belgium to have her freed."

"But most speculations are just that and I have given up



Fabrice .. son of jailed Helene Passtoors. Picture. KEVIN CARTER

SON TELLS OF ANC MUM'S LIFE IN JAIL AS A MUSLIM

believing them." Now his trip to South Africa has given him a new hope.

"I have not been told anything definite about Helene's being freed. But now that I am here I feel more positive it will happen soon," he said.

Fabrice lives with his father — Helene's first husband — Dutch anthropology Professor Pierre van Lanselle, in Leyden, Holland.

His friends back home consider his mother something of a heroine. But for Fabrice, having a mum in a South African jail spells loneliness.

"I miss Helene — but I don't feel sorry for myself. She did something she felt she had to do and I don't blame her for it," he said.

Fabrice says his mother's involvement with the ANC and her imprisonment made him politically and socially aware.

"Helene never sat us children down and told us exactly what she was doing. But we knew."

"We lived with her and Klaas in Mozambique and my friends were all just kids of ANC members," he said.

Suicide in lions' den

A NAKED man committed suicide by throwing himself to a pride of lions.

Police say the former psychiatric patient climbed a 5m fence and may have taken on the four lions in a bizarre martial arts contest.

His horribly mauled body was found in the lions' den at Melbourne Zoo in Australia. His clothes were neatly nearby. "It was a gory sight," said a keeper.



Slain anti-apartheid activist Abu-Baker Asvat.

Alleged Asvat killers in court

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE

TWO alleged killers of anti-apartheid activist, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, made their third appearance in a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this week.

Before PH Bredenkamp were Zakhele Cyril Mbatha, 20, and Thulani Nicholas Dlamini, 21, both of no fixed address.

The case was postponed to May 11 this year, for the Attorney General's decision whether to prosecute in the Rand Supreme Court.

The State alleges that Asvat was shot dead in his surgery in Rockville on January 27, and robbed of R145.

They are also charged with possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition.

At the first hearing, Mbatha shocked a packed court as he described how he had twice shot Asvat, with the aim to rob him.

Earlier, Dlamini pleaded not guilty and denied that he knew Mbatha, while on the other hand Mbatha also said he did not know Dlamini.

Mbatha said he shot at Asvat twice.

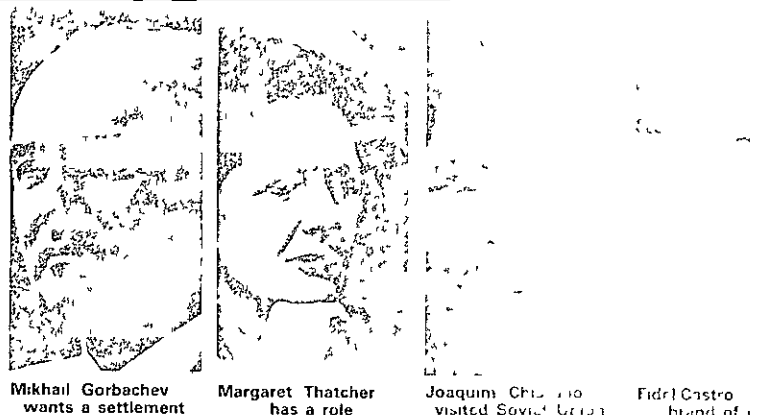
He said a man named Johannes had planned the robbery, and had given him the firearm. Mbatha said Johannes came to the scene of the crime and took R145, which they later shared.

Mbatha pleaded guilty to the charge of murder and robbery.

But the magistrate entered a plea of not guilty on the murder charge.

Change in South Africa can only come from within

OFF TOP
6/4/89



Mikhail Gorbachev wants a settlement

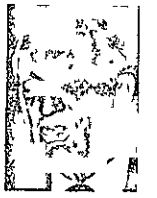
Margaret Thatcher has a role

Joaquim Chissano visited Soviet Union

Fidel Castro brand of

man at the centre of recent talks between academics and South Africa is no to the sub con Sir John Killick and off in South since 1956 when bought a plot of land Wilderness In- PW Botha was his MP

Robert Gentle speaks to Sir John Killick (right), once British Ambassador to Moscow and chairman of the recent talks held in a Surrey hotel between Russian and South African academics



They spoke about the need to protect the right of academics. Note the plural — they clearly had others in mind besides the whites. They questioned the usefulness of the armed struggle and sanctions in bringing about fundamental change.

British ambas in Moscow in the '80s. During the era, he be what rare breed able to ap from firsthand of change blowing moved back to Eng from South Africa and is now en his retirement in Kent countryside. In his mind, the chances of in southern is the state of his Afrikaans, like his is far from. However, he chose this interview. Are you surprised by the new Soviet policy on southern Africa? They were there all As far back as when Mozambican Joaquim Chissano was visiting the So- Union, President told him the collapse of apart is inevitable. But

we are not supporters of the thesis that the worse things get the better it is. There is no doubt about it that the elimination of the racist system by way of a political settlement would be in the interests of all South Africans, both black and white.

really, the result of almost two years of contacts between various academics here in England and South Africa. It was financed by a charitable trust. Entirely private. There was no government input though I dare say they had no objections.

Gorbachev picked up on the theme again at his keynote speech to the UN, in December last year, just before the earthquake. He spoke of abandoning "established stereotypes and outdated views", of "de-ideologising relations between states", of "an exchange of constructive ideas instead of recriminations".

What about the Wilton Park conference which was going on at about the same time and was apparently conducted at a more official governmental level?

All of this could not have been more clearly illustrated than by our recent meeting. The media in general were too busy looking at the East-West problems, missing the wider context.

There was absolutely no connection I didn't even know Wilton Park was on! However, I've no reason to believe that what was said there was any different from what we heard.

How did this meeting you chaired come about? It was spontaneous,

Which was? That in a nutshell, confrontation was out and negotiation was in. To quote Gorbachev, there were no "stereotyped views". It was different from anything I'd heard before.

They acknowledged South Africa's role as the economic powerhouse of the region and the need for that to be built upon. What surprised me was the great amount of mutual respect — not agreement, but respect — on both sides. Each saw the other as human beings.

Their bottom line was really a round table conference at which all parties concerned could thrash out an acceptable solution.

Were any parties mentioned by name?

Only the ANC but I assure you they meant anyone with anything to contribute. They even said the government should be talking to people who are regarded in some quarters as collaborators.

It's not always explicit. A lot is implied. Look, this is politics. They're not going to stand up and say "We are abandoning the ANC".

I have no doubt that Buthelezi will be making contact with the Rus-

What is the next step forward? Some kind of Emancipation Group?

Does SA re-orient another EPG? I think the whole concept has been overplayed. People just want to be seen to be playing a role — whether it actually helps South Africa is a secondary consideration. The Commonwealth EFG was just a gimmick invented to make the Commonwealth look good.

Why this change in policy? It's not for reasons of altruism or high-mindedness. Gorbachev sees it as being in the Soviet interest. The same applies to the new faith in the UN as a peace-keeping force. Namibia. The average Russian has no desire to see expeditionary forces in southern Africa — or even Afghanistan.

Where does Cuba fit in with this new line? My personal contact with sources in Cuba has convinced me that Castro has always tended to follow his own brand of policy rather than that of Moscow. But Gorbachev obviously is used to him over the Namibia/Angola issue.

It would be entirely in line with Moscow's new way of thinking for him to apply similar pressure in other regions of the world where Cuba operates.

The cynic might well ask can we trust the Russians? It's an irrelevant question I don't expect them to trust us. So long as there is the beginning of a common interest, why not sit down together? Of course in the meantime you'll keep your hand firmly on your wallet!

Will southern Africa be high on the agenda when Gorbachev meets Thatcher this week? I don't think it'll loom very large. They've got other things to talk about — East-West relations, even the environment. The problem with some people in Pretoria is that they think they're the centre of the world.

Changes in Russian thinking will not of themselves bring about peace in Southern Africa. Indeed not. It means nothing unless there is a corresponding reaction from Pretoria. A drastic re-appraisal of the old "total onslaught" view of Russia is needed, a willingness to move towards real dialogue — and that includes the ANC.

That said, the ANC also needs to change. Their views are just as outdated. They are deluding themselves if they underestimate the new mood in Moscow.

I suppose... their... status — its... way of life... political... mean... that

What is the next step forward? Some kind of Emancipation Group?

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Let's face it. Even the Russians have said as much — change must come from within South Africa. Outsiders can at best facilitate the process.

What about Thatcher?

She's different. Unlike other world leaders she is prepared to... status to do... very unpopular things. She has a role to play — provided she doesn't think she knows all the answers because she doesn't.

What about her insistence that Nelson Mandela be released? We'd all like to see Mandela released but frankly I think this factor has been played up to ridiculous proportions, as if it was some magic formula. Even the Russians have admitted that.

I would imagine Mandela has very little to contribute. It's like the outside world constantly clamouring for Tutu to be present at the negotiation table.

Who is Tutu? The South African problem is much larger than either Tutu or Mandela. What about all the others? Local leaders, the PAC, Buthelezi, black SA businessmen.

Do you think the leadership struggle will slow down reform? I hope not. Interesting, it may even speed it up. PW may want to go down in history as the man who released Nelson Mandela. It would be a brilliant coup like Reagan and the INFIA arms agreement.

Is there any point you'd make? Yes. Something getting away at my... Have you any idea it is?

Fidel Castro brand of

FW de Klerk better

Desmond Tutu at negotiating

As for FW, seem a better than I first. Thank God he a short fuse! PW per was always, worst enemy.

Do you think negotiations crossed its course? I wouldn't say views on the economy are well mented. It is wrong and ductive.

I'm not against... but it... on what you... achieve I support boycott of the Olympics, but as of disapproval of invasion of A... We certainly expected it to be... thing.

Is there any point you'd make? Yes. Something getting away at my... Have you any idea it is?

Mothers speak of sons' ordeals

27/4-3/17/89
11A
South

LONDON — The mothers of two African National Congress members are presently touring England to highlight the plight of detainees and political prisoners in South Africa.

Mrs Andrina Forbes, mother of Ashley Forbes, who is serving 14 years on Robben Island, and Mrs Ivy Kriel, mother of Ashley Kriel, who was shot dead by police in July 1987, are the guests of SATIS, South Africa the Imprisoned Society

Mrs Forbes said she was in England to tell the world

that her son, and others in jail and detention in South Africa, were in jail "because of their beliefs and their convictions"

The mothers are speaking at meetings across England, recounting the stories of their sons' harassment.

Said Forbes: "I do not think young people should be locked up in prison where their lives are wasted. Their talents and energy should be used for the good of the community"

She talked of the pain and worry when her son was on the run and after he was arrested.

It was at the time that



Andrina Forbes

Ashley Kriel had been shot, she said

"I didn't know if my son was alive or dead"

During his trial, she said, it had hurt her to see her son caged up

"Ashley was such a restless and energetic child. Such a freedom-loving person"

Forbes said she started writing poetry after her son went on the run. The creative exercise helped "relieve the tension"

One of her poignant poems, which she carries with her in her handbag, is about a visit by the families to the trialists in Pollsmoor

She writes: "Curbed within four walls, their caged eyes, watch us turn away, to go outside, to leave them behind"

no uno amov a dy pndictet ed asis -prob ill

2 Cape Times, Thursday, May 25, 1939

'We're far poorer than 20 years ago'

By BRUCE WILLAN

CITY tax expert Mr David Clegg yesterday repudiated statements by the Deputy Minister of Finance and said the average employee was much worse off than in 1970 and would be in an even worse situation next year.

He was responding to recent statements made by Deputy Minister Dr. Org Marais. Figures released by the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce show that using 1970 as a base year and the official consumer price index (CPI), personal disposable income in 1980 will not keep up with inflation. As Dr Marais yesterday tried to defend

his statements, Mr Clegg, who is chairman of the chamber's tax committee repudiated the comments and said the average employee was much worse off now than in 1970 and will be in an even worse situation next year.

Before the budget announcement the chamber had written an open letter to the Minister of Finance Mr Barand du Plessis appealing for relief from fiscal drag. The chamber wrote that if no adjustment was made, the standard of living would be worse in the coming year. Now Mr Clegg has shown that the situation has become even worse than before, with the higher inflation rate and higher interest rates.

The individual's salary which may have kept up with the official inflation figure does not allow for fiscal drag and the person is consequently much poorer.

Attempts by the government to allow for fiscal drag have not managed to keep the average taxpayer abreast of inflation.

According to Mr Clegg any reduction made by the government to the individual's tax bill will have to be made up elsewhere and this compensatory revenue will eventually lead to higher prices.

That remedy is no solution at all, he says. The time has come for the government to tighten its belt, since the man in the street has done so for long enough.

Maties 'better informed' after ANC talks

4/4/89
CMT 7/1/89

Staff Reporter
SRC students of the University of Stellenbosch returned from meetings with the ANC and other groups in Zambia and Namibia with a positive attitude, believing that they were better informed than before.

Mr Mark Behr, one of the group's leaders, said the trip had been a great success, and that there would be more trips of the same kind in the future.

The group — welcomed by a small group of enthusiastic supporters at DF Malan Airport last night — has been strongly criticised by campus members who believe that no one from the university should talk to ANC members till that organisation renounces violence.

On possible action by campus members, Mr Behr said: "We live in a world of conflict and differing views, and I stand by our decision to have informal, 'personal' talks with members of the ANC."

"The meetings were on an individual level."

The stipulation made by the SRC before the group left SA was that they should not talk to the ANC, either formally or informally.



FACING A STORMY RETURN ... Stellenbosch SRC members at D F Malan Airport on their return from their controversial tour of Zambia and Namibia, during which they spoke to the ANC. From left, SRC chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy, Nusas member Mr Mark Behr and Mr Danie Folscher.

Picture ANNE LAING

118

No SAP reaction to spy claims

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The South African Police have refused to comment on African National Congress claims that the ANC is holding an alleged South African police spy, Mr Billy van Zyl.

"The South African Police does not react on speculation or uncorroborated information of any nature," was the official response to questions from The Star.

The SAP added: "It must be pointed out that various parties have already made numerous allegations concerning the case of Mr van Zyl without making any effort at evaluating or verifying the said allegations."

The ANC claims Mr van Zyl (26), a former eastern Cape newspaper photographer, has been in custody since 1986 — after he was allegedly betrayed by self-confessed police spy Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth.

Mr van Zyl's father, Mr Willie van Zyl of Burgersdorp, in the north-east Cape, said his son "disappeared off the face of the earth" three years ago after saying he was going to Lusaka on business for a few days.

Mr van Zyl senior is attempting to establish his son's whereabouts and is not sure whether he is alive.

Row as Maties' ANC-talks ringleader faces rector

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

THE furore surrounding recent meetings between Stellenbosch SRC members and the ANC escalated sharply yesterday as SRC chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy met with the university's rector, Professor Mike de Vries, in what were described as "very formal" talks

Professor Flip de Wet, director of student affairs, was also present at the meeting. Mr Van der Spuy, one of the "renegades" who defied an SRC motion by participating in talks in Lusaka at which the ANC was present, said members of the tour group would today hold a report-back meeting on the campus

Prof De Vries will meet the entire SRC later to discuss the tour and the increasingly hostile response it has evoked. Pamphlets supporting the SRC decision to ban talks with the ANC yesterday littered the campus and National Party student branch chairman Mr Dawie Wilkens distributed a letter condemning the tour

Prof De Vries confirmed his meeting with Mr Van der Spuy — who is also an NP student branch member — last night, but said he could not comment on the content of their conversation

Defending the tour, Mr Van der Spuy adamantly denied he had spoken to ANC members, but said he approved of the talks

ARCUS 5/4/84
11A

MP warns on township violence

A REPEAT of the Crossroads destruction and killing of 1986 was imminent in Khayelitsha unless something was done to restrain the community's mayor, Mr Mali Hoza, and his "vigilante bully boys", Mr Jan van Eck (Indep Claremont) has claimed

He told the Extended Public Committee on Cape provincial affairs that the Provincial Administration and the government had been fully informed about the crisis, but so far nothing had been done

The government should not blame people for drawing the conclusion that it actively supported the creation of vigilante-type warlords such as

Crossroads Mayor, Mr Johnson Nxobongwana, and Mr Hoza and their open use of violence and intimidation against their opponents to take total control of the black townships which had been allocated to them

"Marauding gangs of Mr Hoza's bully boys, which comprise kitskonstabels, councillors and others, armed with guns, swords and kleries, go door-to-door in the Khayelitsha squatter areas intimidating people who do not swear loyalty to Mr Hoza," said Mr van Eck

Mr Van Eck said there had already been shootings and there would be more if the situation did not change

— Sapa

Political Staff

VIOLENCE will erupt in Khayelitsha unless action is taken against the mayor of the area, Mr Mali Hoza, and his "bully boys" who are using violence and intimidation to gain control, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, warned yesterday

He also said that squatters in Khayelitsha are being dragged off to kangaroo courts presided over by Mr Hoza, who imposes fines on them, earning R400 to R500 a day, or sentences them to whipping

The situation in Khayelitsha is potentially dangerous and tensions between Mr Hoza

Township mayor 'using bully boys'

Case TMS 5/4/89
114 288 329

and a large cross-section of residents are "reaching such a point that massive, large-scale violence can erupt any day"

Mr Van Eck, who was speaking during the sitting of the extended public committee on Cape provincial affairs, said that the result of making Khayelitsha one ward for the whole of the area, instead of dividing it into different wards, had resulted in Mr Hoza and

his group winning all the seats, while at least nine other well-established leaders were excluded even though they were prepared to fight the elections

"Because residents residing in these areas are still supportive of these nine leaders, Mr Hoza has resorted to a vicious and violent campaign to force residents in those areas to support him

"Marauding gangs of

Mr Hoza's bully boys, which comprise kitskonstables, councillors and others, armed with guns, swords and kerries, go door-to-door in the Khayelitsha squatter areas intimidating people who do not swear loyalty to Mr Hoza

"Squatters who did not approach Mr Hoza for permission to erect a shack, but had received permission from one of the other nine leaders before Mr Hoza was

elected, have to be forced to re-apply to Mr Hoza and pay R25

"When they refused, they were beaten with gun butts by kitskonstables and had their shacks demolished"

The provincial administration and the government had been fully informed about this crisis in Khayelitsha but so far nothing had been done, Mr Van Eck said

Vigilante-type war lords, like Mr Hoza, were openly using violence and intimidation against their opponents to take total control of the black townships

Moreover, the government and the provincial authorities are giving support to him

CME Times 6/4/89

(Handwritten initials and scribbles)

Black wing 'unafraid' of threats

KIMBERLEY — Black left-wing Thobile Kobese arrived here yesterday to play for the President's XV against the SA Barbarians today, despite threats on his life.

The convener of the selection committee, Professor Daan Swiegers, said Kobese would play in today's match at the De Beers Stadium as part of the SARB's centenary celebrations that began here on Tuesday.

Earlier yesterday, at the board's annual meeting, the president, Dr Danie Craven, told members Kobese's life had been threatened if he played in the game "I spoke to him and said he must play I told him if there must be war, it will be open warfare," Dr Craven said.

On arrival at his hotel yesterday, Kobese was welcomed by Dr

Craven and said he (Kobese) was unafraid and was happy to meet the challenges ahead.

Over the years numerous black players, particularly in the Eastern Cape, have been threatened with intimidation if they did not quit the SARB. A number of players have been lost to rugby because of this.

Though no trouble is expected at the ground today, the police

have been informed of the situation, Dr Craven said.

Dr Craven also mentioned the situation of leading coloured administrator Mr Dougie Dyeis, a national selector who has been involved in trying to normalise the game for over 10 years.

"Dougie's house was bombed, his dogs were poisoned and children victimised."

"This is not pleasant, but we will fight these people."

The SARB's main opposition has come from South African Council on Sport (Sacos)-affiliated organisations, while the SA Rugby Union (Saru), associated with Sacos, and the SARB have been at loggerheads for years — Sapa

See Back Page

Applause for Maties who visited ANC

CAPE TIMES 6/4/89
114

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

NEARLY 2 000 Stellenbosch students yesterday roundly and repeatedly applauded 18 fellow Maties, including eight SRC members, who recently met Zambia's President Kenneth Kuanda and members of the ANC and Communist Party of SA.

Messages of support from student representative councils and academics throughout South Africa, as well as former independent candidate for Stellenbosch Dr Esther Lategan, were read out at the report-back meeting by the tour members.

At a press briefing afterwards it was heard that tour initiator and SRC member Mr Mark Behr's car tyres had been slashed and Ms Pearlke Joubert returned to Stellenbosch to find her room ransacked, about 50 academic books ruined with liquid detergent and most of her clothes damaged with bleach.

Pledging his loyalty to the university, SRC chairman and tour participant Mr Pierre van der Spuy said he had "no regrets" about being associated with the tour, which also included Namibia in the itinerary.

"I despise communism and violence, yet suddenly I am seen as the Karl Marx of South Africa. But the opportunity for peaceful negotiation with the ANC is fast disappearing," he added.

Referring to press reports that suggested that he had spoken to ANC members despite an SRC motion prohibiting this, he said he and four other SRC members had watched videos while the other stu-

To page 2

From page 1

Maties

CAPE TIMES 6/4/89 (114)

dents spoke to representatives of the banned organisation.

The students, besides being addressed by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, had also held informal and sometimes heated discussions with high-ranking ANC members and Communist Party of SA (CPSA) chairman Mr Joe Slovo, said Mr Behr.

While discussions focused on the ANC's use of violence for political ends, students debated the organisation's economic policy, constitutional guidelines and the relationship between the CPSA and the ANC, he added.

Noting parallels between the negative press response evoked by the 1986 "Dakar safari" of South Africans to meet the ANC and that experienced by the Matie students' recent tour, Mr Behr added "The University of Stellenbosch is not an ivory tower, isolated from the rest of the country".

With reference to Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries's concern that students had sung "freedom songs" in Lusaka, Mr Behr quoted — to loud cheers and laughter — an Afrikaans "strydlied" from the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge song book.

Change in South Africa can only come from within

OMK 7074
6/2/89

Man at the centre of recent talks between Russian and South African academics is no danger to the sub-continent. Sir John Killick, once British Ambassador to Moscow and chairman of the recent talks held in a Surrey hotel between Russian and South African academics.

we are not supporters of the thesis that the worse things get, the better it is. There is no doubt about it that the elimination of the racist system by way of a political settlement would be in the interests of all South Africans, both black and white.

Gorbachev picked up on the theme again at his keynote speech to the UN in December last year, just before the earthquake. He spoke of abandoning "established stereotypes and outdated views", of "de-ideologising relations between states", of "an exchange of constructive ideas instead of recriminations".

All of this could not have been more clearly illustrated than by our recent meeting. The media in general were too busy looking at the East-West problems, missing the wider context.

How did this meeting you chaired come about?

It was spontaneous,

Robert Gentle speaks to Sir John Killick (right), once British Ambassador to Moscow and chairman of the recent talks held in a Surrey hotel between Russian and South African academics.



They spoke about the need to protect the rights of minorities. Note the plural — they clearly had others in mind besides the whites. They questioned the usefulness of the armed struggle and sanctions in bringing about fundamental change.

They acknowledged South Africa's role as the economic powerhouse of the region and the need for that to be built upon.

What surprised me was the great amount of mutual respect — not agreement, but respect — on both sides. Each saw the other as human beings.

Their bottom line was really a round table conference at which all parties concerned could thrash out an acceptable solution.

Were any parties mentioned by name?

Only the ANC, but I assure you they meant anyone with anything to contribute. They even said the government should be talking to people who are regarded in some quarters as collaborators.

It's not always explicit. A lot is implied. Look, this is politics. They're not going to stand up and say "We are abandoning the ANC".

I have no doubt that Buthelezi will be making contact with the Rus-

really, the result of almost two years of contacts between various academics here in England and South Africa. It was financed by a charitable trust. Entirely private. There was no government input, though I dare say they had no objections.

What about the Wilton Park conference which was going on at about the same time and was apparently conducted at a more official, governmental level?

There was absolutely no connection I didn't even know Wilton Park was on. However, I've no reason to believe that what was said there was any different from what we heard.

Which was?

That in a nutshell, confrontation was out and negotiation was in. To quote Gorbachev, there were no "stereotyped views". It was different from anything I'd heard before.



Mikhail Gorbachev wants a settlement

sians soon. He may even go to Moscow. Who knows?

One could argue that all this is very well, but these were only academics. What influence do they have?

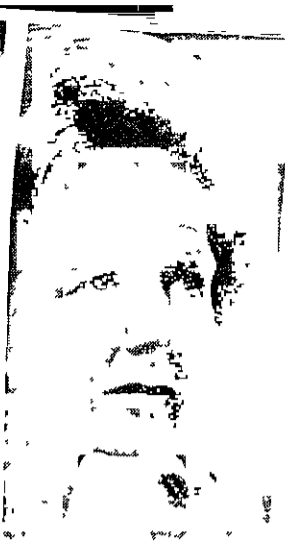
The term academics has a different meaning in Russia. The Academy of Sciences is a State organisation.

Gromkvo (the head of the Soviet team) was at pains to point out that academics like himself effect much more input into policy-making than they ever did in the past. And don't forget, perestroika is first and foremost an intellectual movement.

Even still, is the new line on southern Africa mainstream thinking?

In the Soviet sense of the word, yes. "Mainstream" there means the government, the politburo, Foreign Affairs. Gorbachev has a majority in the politburo. I can't see anyone opposing him on southern Africa, which is a hell of a long way off from Soviet interests.

Gorbachev's real opposition is on other is-



Margaret Thatcher has a role

sues — East-West relations, arms cuts, expenditure on the military.

Why this change in policy?

It's not for reasons of altruism or high-mindedness. Gorbachev sees it as being in the Soviet interest. The same applies to the new faith in the UN, its role as a peace-keeping force, Namibia. The average Russian has no desire to see expeditionary forces in southern Africa — or even Afghanistan.

Where does Cuba fit in with this new line?

My personal contact with sources in Cuba has convinced me that Castro has always tended to follow his own brand of policy rather than that of Moscow. But Gorbachev obviously leaned on him over the Namibia-Angola issue.

It would be entirely in line with Moscow's new way of thinking for him to apply similar pressure in other regions of the world where Cuba operates.

The cynic might well ask can we trust the Russians?

It's an irrelevant question. I don't expect them to trust us so long as there is the beginning of a common interest, why not sit down together? Of course in the meantime you'll keep your hand firmly on your wallet!

Will southern Africa be high on the agenda when Gorbachev meets Thatcher this week?

I don't think it'll loom very large. They've got other things to talk about — East-West relations, even the environment. The problem with some people in Pretoria is that they think they're the centre of the world.

Changes in Russian thinking will not of themselves bring about peace in Southern Africa.

Indeed not. It means nothing unless there is a corresponding reaction from Pretoria. A drastic re-appraisal of the old "total onslaught" view of Russia is needed. A willingness to move towards real dialogue — and that includes the ANC.

That said, the ANC also need to change. Their views are just as outdated. They are deluding themselves if they underestimate the new mood in Moscow.



Joaquim Chissano visited Soviet Union

I suppose the ANC, their exiled leaders, their international status — it's all become a way of life in itself. A political settlement means the end of all that.

What is the next step forward? Some kind of Eminent Persons Group?

Does SA really need another EPG? I think the whole concept has been overplayed. People just want to be seen to be playing a role — whether it actually helps South Africa is a secondary consideration. The Commonwealth EPG was just a gimmick invented to make the Commonwealth look good.

Let's face it. Even the Russians have said as much — change must come from within South Africa. Outsiders can at best facilitate the process.

What about Margaret Thatcher?

She's different. Unlike other world leaders, she is prepared to use her status to do some very unpopular things. She has a role to play — provided she doesn't think she knows all the answers because she doesn't.

What about her insistence that Nelson Mandela be released?

We'd all like to see Mandela released, but frankly I think this factor has been played up to ridiculous proportions, as if it was some magic formula. Even the Russians have admitted that.

I would imagine Mandela has very little to contribute. It's like the outside world constantly clamouring for Tutu to be present at the negotiation table.

Who is Tutu? The South African problem is much larger than either Tutu or Mandela. What about all the others? Local leaders, the PAC, Buthelezi, black SA businessmen.

Do you think the leadership struggle will slow down reform?

I hope not. Interestingly, it may even speed it up. PW may want to go down in history as the man who released Nelson Mandela. It would be a brilliant coup, like Reagan and the INF arms agreement.



Fidel Castro brand of

FW de Klerk ... better prospect



Desmond Tutu ... at negotiating table

As for FW, he doesn't seem a better prospect than I first imagined. Thank God he hasn't a short fuse! PW's top per was always his worst enemy.

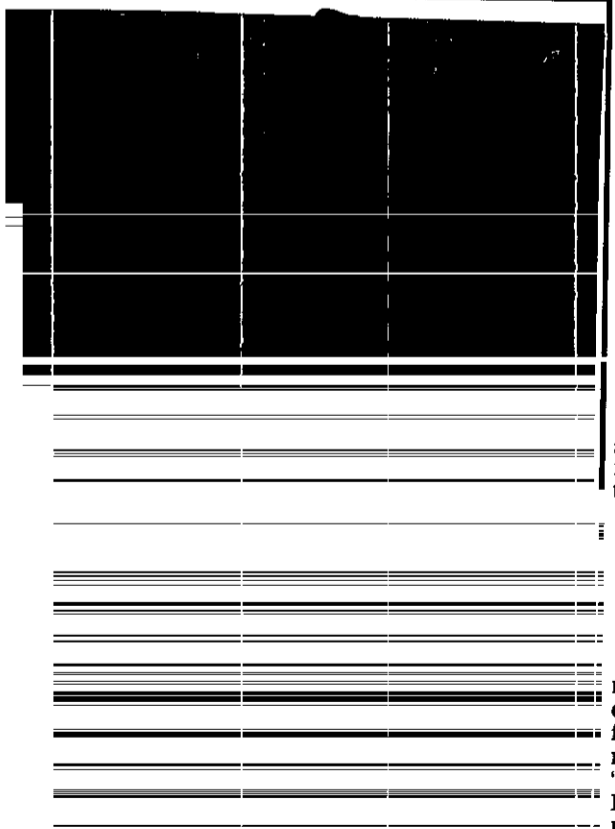
Do you think the negotiations crusade has its course?

I wouldn't say so. Views on the destructiveness of the South African economy are well documented. It is total wrong and counterproductive.

I'm not against negotiations — but it depends on what you want to achieve. I supported the boycott of the Moscow Olympics, but as a mark of disapproval over the invasion of Afghanistan. We certainly never expected it to achieve anything.

Is there any point you'd like to make?

Yes. Something's going away at my daffodil. Have you any idea what it is?



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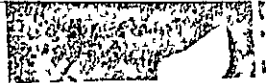
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Desmond Tutu not at negotiating table.

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Do you think the sanctions crusade has run its course?

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I'm not against sanctions — but it depends on what you want to achieve. I supported the boycott of the Moscow Olympics, but as a mark of disapproval over the invasion of Afghanistan. We certainly never expected it to achieve anything.

Is there any other point you'd like to make?

Yes. Something's being lost away at my daffodils. Have you any idea what it is?

- 1. Books and Manuals.
- 2. Pamphlets
- 3. Theses. HOR
- 4. Conference papers. Second Southern African Theses. The following most papers of particular interest.

The following material (excluding journals, co-operatives and co-operatives with both South African and foreign material. Peripheral areas include education, resettlement, Black Politics, foreign firms in SA, Sanctions, housing, Health and Homelands. A large number of International Labour Office publications are held. The collection specializes in the fields of labour, development and co-operatives (excluding journals, co-operatives, co-operatives resources and government publications) is classified and indexed according to the Saltru Library Subject Headings. Material filed under Education and Manpower (Personpower) would be of particular interest to teachers.

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ANC 'safari' Maties deny Idasa fund link

By BRONWYN DAVIDS and SHARON SOROUR Staff Reporters

THE 18 Matie student leaders who met ANC members on a Zambia tour which reportedly cost R70 000 received overwhelming support at a 1 500-strong meeting

The leader of the "safari" Mr Mark Behr, said "The rector, Professor Mike de Vries, is satisfied with the financial source and it is not necessary for it to be revealed

"All you have to know is that the money did not come from Idasa but from a Western government"

Last week conservative student organisations demanded an explanation of the funding source

Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine has demanded an apology from SRC member Mr André Gaum for his "scandalous insinuations" that Idasa had funded the tour with "suspicious financial backing"

The travelling group also came under fire for allegedly ignoring an SRC motion not to talk to the ANC.

No apology

Five of the eight SRC members, including chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy, respected the motion by not attending a political forum organised by a Zambian youth group, in which members of the ANC, Eastern bloc and Western countries took part.

Mr van der Spuy read a statement on behalf of the eight SRC members and deafening applause met the group's declaration that they would "not apologise for their participation in the tour and would go again should the opportunity arise"

"It was not our intention to associate the university with the tour to Zambia. We wish to inform parents, donors, past and present students that our actions were not intended to harm the university in any way

"How can we judge the ANC and other groups if we do not know how they think?" Mr van der Spuy said.



SCRAMBLE: Maties scramble to get seats at the meeting which was attended by more than 1 500 students. Pictures: DANA LE ROUX, The Argus

The main issue — approval

Staff Reporter

AFTER a meeting with the SRC, Professor Mike de Vries, rector of the University of Stellenbosch, said in a statement that the main issue was not whether talks should or should not be held with ANC, but whether the students approved.

In a statement last night he said the university advocated freedom of association, speech and open debate.

Professor de Vries said unnecessary tension had been created as a result of the way the tour to Lusaka by 18 Maties was organised.

"Students should have been kept informed and had to decide whether or not they approved of the initiative taken by the tour group."



SRC chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy.

Stellenbosch SRC strife over Zambia trip

Staff Reporters

TENSION mounted in the Stellenbosch Students' Representative Council this week after the return of the SRC Zambian tour group as pamphlets and letters condemning them were distributed on campus.

Chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy criticised fellow SRC members for "running to the press and issuing a statement on the tour before speaking to

the group". "The organisers of the Blue Alliance (National Party SRC election group) have accused us of breaking the bond of trust and have portrayed us as betrayers."

He questioned why the NP had not written pamphlets and letters to Dr Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGK, when he said a "denouncement of violence should be a result, not a

prerequisite, of discussion"

"The Blue Alliance stood for certain things that the NP opposes such as the eradication of the Group Areas Act and the release of Nelson Mandela. And now talks with the ANC create havoc on campus," he said.

Popular Student Alliance leader Mr Danie Kriel said the outcome of the tour would ultimately be detrimental to Stellenbosch.

**Mabusa with
Idasa in Russia**

THE Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabusa, is a member of a four-man Idasa delegation visiting the Soviet Union

Idasa's national co-ordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell, confirmed yesterday that Mr Mabusa would spend about 10 days in Russia along with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Prof Jakes Gerwel, UWC rector, and Prof Johan Degenaar, professor of philosophy at Stellenbosch

It is the first visit by a homeland leader to the Soviet Union.

School murder: Sentence

capl 10/15/87 *206*

JOHANNESBURG — Twenty-five year-old Nkosingathi Zuma has been sentenced to death by the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, for the murder of a pupil who had refused to participate in a school boycott at Imolweni Secondary School near New Hanover in 1987. Mr Justice Combrink sentenced two other accused, Vukani Ngcobo, 20, and a 12-year-old youth to 12 years' imprisonment each and jailed a 17-year-old youth for six years for their part in the killing of pupil Mr Ferrington Shange after finding extenuating circumstances in that the three had been influenced by Zuma, as well as their youth.

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Mbeki is believed dead

TOP Botswana lawyer Mr Jama Mbeki, who skipped bail in 1984, is believed to be dead, the Botswana Press Agency reports

Mr Mbeki, a South African exile, was facing charges of murder and mismanagement of his trust account when he absconded

The initial accounts were that he joined the ANC in Lusaka where he allegedly met his death

Since Radio Botswana published a speculative story of his death on Wednesday, Mr Mbeki's close associates in Botswana and abroad had expressed surprise why Bopa was only running the story when the man actually died three years ago

Following days of inquiry from Bopa, the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, finally released a statement saying "as far as the ANC is concerned he never joined the ranks of the ANC after he left Botswana "

Swofan 7/4/89



11/17

ANC to be factor in

'new SA'

Parliamentary Staff

Just as Swapo was a factor in Namibia's future, so, too, would the ANC be a factor in the "new South Africa", Mr John Douw (LP, Nominated) said

For this reason, he said in the joint first reading debate on the Budget, the path to negotiations, including the release of Nelson Mandela, must be followed.

He said the Maties students who had held discussions with the ANC in Lusaka deserved praise.

Mr Douw said. "For all oppressed South Africans, violence and apartheid are equivalents" and it was necessary that both were suspended.

He said South Africa and the world were waiting for Mandela's release, and he reminded the private sector of its "duty" to take up seriously its potential role as a "catalyst" for "peaceful negotiation and compromise".

The time had come for the business community to "stand up as one man and pressure the Government to remove all discriminatory legislation".

Cape Times 7/4/89

KwaZulu backs Mandela on peace

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — Members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly voiced their support yesterday for peace sentiments regarding the Natal violence expressed by restricted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in a letter to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Chief Buthelezi read out the contents of the letter, received on Wednesday night, which, he said, was from "our national martyr"

The letter was addressed from the Victor Verster Prison at Paarl

According to Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said he wanted to see cordial relations established again between the ANC and Inkatha

ANC invites Zulu king for meeting

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The Executive of the African National Congress in Lusaka has invited King Goodwill Zwelithini, the king of the Zulu people, to Lusaka for discussions.

This was disclosed in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday by the Chief Minister of the region, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said the invitation was "an act of political desperation".

He said the banned ANC leader had described the violence in Natal as "deplorable" and had said it was shameful that the involved parties could not stop the

slaughter of so many innocent lives.

Meanwhile the central committee of Inkatha will discuss a peace initiative outlined by the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, when it meets at Ulundi on April 28, Chief Buthelezi said yesterday.

Responding to an invitation received from the archbishop, Chief Buthelezi also said the matter should be discussed by the members of the House

● The present commissioner of the security police in Maritzburg, Brigadier Jac Buchner, has been appointed commissioner of police in KwaZulu with effect from May 1 this year

Chief Buthelezi, who is also Minister of Police, said Brig Buchner would succeed Brig Andries Laas who was retiring

Stranded dolphin shot dead by officer

Staff Reporter

A LONE and stranded survivor of the school of Risso dolphins which tried to beach themselves on Wednesday, was yesterday shot dead by a conservation officer after attempts to return it to sea failed

Five of the Risso dolphins — a species common along the South African coast — died after beaching at Stomp-

Bop PR may request hearing over dismissal

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The Bophuthatswana government could face an embarrassing public hearing into the activities of its London office following the dismissal of its public relations representative, Miss Ruth Rees

A hearing could involve details of huge amounts spent by the London office, including the cost of all-expenses-paid trips by more than 30 British MPs and their wives over the past two years

Miss Rees, Bophuthatswana's only professional PR representative in Europe for nearly seven years, claims unfair dismissal

The former international journalist said she had not been given a reason for her sacking

She said she had been dismissed by former Rhodesian district officer Mr Ian Findlay, who now operates from the Bophuthatswana government's magnificent R5-million London offices as chief executive

Miss Rees said a dismissal notice from Mr Findlay, who is currently escorting British VIP visitors in the territory, claimed he had acted in concert with senior Bophuthatswana ministers

But Foreign Minister Mr Solomon Ratebe yesterday insisted the sacking was Mr Findlay's responsibility

CML Times 7/4/89

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Cape Times 7/4/89

114
222
200

Township mayor slates Van Eck

Staff Reporter

KHAYELITSHA mayor Mr Mali Hoza has lashed out at the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, accusing him of abusing his privilege as a member of an all-white Parliament.

Mr Van Eck had used a forum for attack which did not offer Mr Hoza the opportunity to answer allegations against him, he said last night in response to an article in the Cape Times yesterday.

In the article, Mr Van Eck warned that violence would erupt in Khayelitsha unless action was taken against Mr Hoza.

Mr Hoza expressed concern at facts Mr Van Eck appeared to have at his disposal and said he "would very much like to share and test this information

"As the responsible authority we are very concerned at the news in the light of our objective of establishing a peaceful community"

Mr Hoza emphatically denied claims that squatters in Khayelitsha were dragged off to kangaroo courts presided over by himself and which imposed fines earning R400 or R500 a day, or which sentenced them to whipping.

Further allegations that kitskonstabels were beating people up had nothing to do with the local authority.

He invited Mr Van Eck to debate the issue with him in Khayelitsha.

11A
Cape Times, Friday, April 7, 1988. 5

GABORONE — Prominent Botswana lawyer Mr Jama Mbeki, who skipped bail in 1984, is believed to be dead, the Botswana press agency Bopa reports

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Following days of inquiry from Bopa, the ANC headquarters in Lusaka finally released a statement saying "As far as the ANC is concerned, he never joined the ranks of the ANC after he left Botswana"

At the same time as the ANC statement was released, the Pan African News Agency, in a story datelined Lusaka, said the ANC could neither deny nor confirm Mr Mbeki's death

Political analysts in Botswana said yesterday that it sounded strange that the ANC would not account for Mr Mbeki's whereabouts when he was the son of a prominent ANC leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, and his brother Thabo is a top official of the ANC based in Lusaka

Mr Mbeki had been accused by the state of killing a black South African visitor to Botswana who the refugee community thought was a Pretoria agent

He had also been accused of squandering tens of thousands of dollars entrusted to him by his clients

The circumstances of Mr Mbeki's death were not known. Some said he was killed in a South African raid on Lusaka in May 1986, while others believe he was the victim of an internal feud — Sapa

Exiled lawyer thought to have died

Maties back

ANC talks

Star 7/11/82
Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Nearly 2 000 Stellenbosch students strongly applauded 18 fellow Maties, including eight SRC members, at a report-back of their recent meeting with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and members of the ANC and Communist Party of SA

Messages of support from student representative councils and academics throughout South Africa, as well as former independent candidate for Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan, were read out at the report-back meeting by the tour members

At a press briefing afterwards it was heard that the car tyres of Mr Mark Behr, tour initiator and SRC member, had been slashed. Another participant, Miss Pearlle Joubert, returned to Stellenbosch to find her room ransacked

THE MATIE TRIP TO LUSAKA

A SUMMIT WITH OUR OWN SOULS

In the VIP lounge of Lusaka airport, with its pink walls and framed presidential portrait, we wait in an almost hallowed silence for something to happen.

The adverse publicity in the Afrikaner establishment newspapers at home is still fresh in our minds. So is the emotional and heated SRC motion passed the previous evening. "No SRC member shall speak to members of the ANC." We think of our parents. Everyone seems to have forgotten that we are guests of the Zambian President, Kenneth Kaunda.

We pass the "Welcome to Lusaka" sign. We have come here to break down the image of raids, charred bodies and grinning "terrorists", and what this beautiful city has come to symbolise on our TV screens.

The driver of our bus is an exiled South African from Bloemfontein, who fled the country during the 1976 student uprisings. He enquires after the Free State "Hoe lyk dit nou daar?" (What's it like there now?) The shock of the Afrikaans and its honest simplicity is frightening. For the first time many of us realise the consequences of the history that formed us.

During the next five days we meet dignitaries from many African and European countries — and from the "enemy", Angola and Cuba.

The Cuban military attaché speaks forcefully and confidently about the victory of Cuito Cuanavale. There is much scepticism among the South Africans, especially those who have fought in the "bos oorlog" and know intimate facts we ordinary liberals don't.

I do sense a slight shock registering among some of us as a totally foreign perspective is unfolded for the first time. Polite arguments ensue, neither party admitting anything.

Later we meet the East German ambassador, who hails the ANC as a government in exile. He supports his government's policy on the educational and military training of ANC members.

The Angolans admit that we are the first white South Africans they have spoken to. An elaborate diplomatic display is staged, complete with the portrait of Comrade Dos Santos and a draped flag. The stage is set. We have begun the battle of sorting out our suspicious minds.

It is the meeting with our compatriots in the international forums that leaves the deepest impression on our minds. We are forced to confront our prejudices one by one — even those that lie deeply hidden under the veneer of liberalism. Ultimately we are forced to confront the concept of our very existence, *Afrikanerdom*.

Discussion hinges on our fears and guarantees for our future. The ANC members are patient with our hysteria about the armed struggle. At last an ANC military leader poses the question "What would you have done after 77 years?" Quietly, he explains the ANC history, of peaceful protest. He has spent 15 years on Robben Island for

"There were many moments of truth, as different words and emotions cracked the protective Afrikaner armour of arrogance, bit by bit ..."

A personal account of the Stellenbosch student trip to Lusaka, by delegate

ANNELIESE BURGESS

planting one of the first bombs in the Eastern Cape — the area I come from.

Every morning after breakfast on the patio of the Palmodzi Hotel, our chauffeured kombis and bakkies pull up to take us to the Mulugushi International Conference Centre. The strains of Afrikaner songs follow the vehicles up Adis Ababa Avenue. We also learn Xhosa and Zulu songs from our friends in the Youth Brigade.

We discuss culture and education — an especially tender point with almost every Stellenbosch delegate. Some are uncompromising on their *Christelike Nasionale Opvoeding* (Christian National Education). Others feel betrayed by the concept.

Barbara Masakela's knowledge of Afrikaner culture is evident, as is the fact that it is discussed in ANC circles. Afrikaner culture will exist in a post-apartheid South Africa, when it has been stripped of its racism, but it must lose its exclusivity as the possession of the oppressor. Education will be democratised, the history taught to students will be seen from a different perspective and will not negate the heritage of the majority of its actors.

Every day ANC leaders take part in forums — an honour which overwhelms us. Oliver Tambo delivers an emotional plea of reconciliation. Joe Slovo, uncompromising on his allegiance to the SACP, sparks the greatest opposition from the Maties students.

Other South Africans are also in Lusaka. We wonder if the Cape newspapers know.

Women's issues take up a long session. Auntie Ruth and the leader of the women's section are mighty examples of liberation, as women and black South Africans.

Later we are to receive a great compliment from yet another executive member. "We are especially impressed by the women in the delegation. They show intellectual strength and confidence." Someone adds "Especially considering their cultural background." It makes even the men think.

Later we dance to African music in the Palmodzi. We have two days to go, and the emotional toll is beginning to show. Many discussions are held at night, behind closed bedroom doors and in the security of shared white fears.

At dinner one evening I become involved in a discussion with a man from Durban, which continues deep into the night. He is in his 12th year of exile, but only contacted his parents three

years ago to let them know that he was still alive.

He tells me about his family, about his father who still cannot accept the decision taken so long ago, he talks with obvious longing of his mother and sister. He talks with fervour, and yet a certain realistic resignation, of the circumstances leading up to his fleeing South Africa.

I tell him about the violence in Durban, although he is better informed than I am. I answer his questions about "how it is at home now" as best I can.

This soft-spoken man, his dignity, his total lack of bitterness and above all his patience with the whiteness of my skin totally overwhelms my tightly controlled Afrikaner emotions.

We light another cigarette and I ask him about the very first thing he would do if he could return to South Africa. "Go home for a week or so," is his immediate answer. I feel totally inadequate before this confession.

My experience is an echo of many very emotional moments of human contact between the "passport-carrying" and the "non-passport carrying South Africans", as we began to refer to each other.

There are many different moments of truth, as different words and emotions crack the protective Afrikaner armour of arrogance, bit by bit. Moments of spontaneity are milestones of personal liberation from the apartheid world waiting for us back home.

Afrikaner culture is liberated for a brief moment when newly composed words for traditional Afrikaans folk songs are sung as a farewell to our friends, leaders and compatriots. "*Hot agter haar agter klim op die wa, bevryding is om die draai*" (Pell-mell we climb into the wagon, freedom is round the corner).

We are back in the VIP lounge, preparing for our trip home. Everyone is nervous — once again we don't know what to expect. The Cubans and the Zambian students who have accompanied us realise that we can only share this moment with the other South Africans present.

A week later we drive into Stellenbosch, and see men jogging to rugby practice. The room of one of the group, Pearlle Joubert, is wrecked — all her philosophy books are ruined, her clothes are burnt by acid and her photos defaced by obscenities. Smear pamphlets are distributed on campus. Graffiti appears on walls. *Rooi Behr moet weg* (Get back red Behr — referring to tour leader Mark Behr).

A mass meeting is organised as a report-back, and almost 1 000 students attend. The support is great, but so is the disapproval. There are talks about a referendum to secure the dismissal of the SRC members who went on the "safari". At the same time, messages of support begin to pour in from all over the country, from SRCs, academics and political groupings.

Somehow the trip to Zambia has become a trip to the ANC in the eyes of many. Maybe it was inevitable. ■

11A W. Mail 7-13/4/89
FOCUS: THE BERMUDA MEETING

It is not often that all the major actors in the South African political conflict speak at one conference. It is even less often that the two main members of the cast — the National Party and the African National Congress — take comparable positions.

The conference of South Africans and Americans in Bermuda last week saw these two parties concur — at least in broad terms — on two key issues.

- They both said the renunciation of violence should not be a precondition for negotiations,
- They both expressed faith in the recent Law Commission report on group rights as a basis for a new constitution.

"All parties now accept that the conflict will be resolved through negotiation," one academic concluded at the end of the conference.

Organised by the Washington-based Aspen Institute, the conference can probably claim to be the first meeting where every single major political actor was represented. There were political representatives of the NP, Conservative Party, Democratic Party, ANC, United Democratic Front, Inkatha and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Although the representatives of the ANC and NP or CP did not actually meet, there were 10 "experts" who delivered papers and stayed throughout the conference. Significantly, these "experts" reflected in their different ways all the major viewpoints on the political spectrum, except for the far rightwing.

The conference was convened to educate a significant group of American congressmen and senators. However, its importance lay in the fact that the conference provided a forum where all the major South African actors could articulate policy positions at a time when the major superpowers are working out their approaches towards South Africa after Namibian independence.

All these approaches share the same view: a "negotiated settlement" between the principal parties must be the starting point, in other words, there can be no solution if the NP and the ANC plus others on the white and black sides do not negotiate.

The Americans came away with the clear conclusion that it is no longer a question of whether this is desirable or not, but how to get there.

Some clues to the road ahead did emerge in Bermuda. The NP representatives made three new and significant points:

- It has committed itself to the constitutional inclusion of Africans, but has reached a point where it cannot implement this policy because of the failure of negotiations with black leaders;

- The NP has accepted that "renunciation of violence" should not be a pre-condition for negotiations.

This echoes a *Beeld* editorial in February after various Nationalists argued for this at a Transvaal NP "dinskerm" (thinktank). It also echoes the words of Johan Heyns of the NG Kerk who told a church meeting in early March that "a rejection of violence should be the result of negotiations, not a pre-condition for negotiations".

- The NP said the recent Law Commission report articulates principles not substantially different from the NP's conception of what should be the basis for constitutional negotiations.

The ANC reiterated its published views on negotiations and

the principles contained in its Constitutional Guidelines. The ANC said it is "willing and ready" to enter into negotiations as long as these are aimed at "transforming South Africa into a non-racial democracy".

The pre-conditions for these negotiations were clearly spelt out: release political prisoners and detainees, unban political organisations and dismantle repressive security laws.

On violence, the ANC said it is not prepared unilaterally to suspend or renounce the armed struggle. Instead, the "cessation of hostilities must be negotiated".

It is important to note that the Inkatha representative laid

down the same pre-conditions for negotiations — a position which has been tabled during the deliberations of the joint committee that was formed in February by Buthelezi and Heunis to "investigate the obstacles to negotiation".

Inkatha also spoke about its commitment to a "multi-strategy approach" — an acceptance of the right of other parties to use strategies it disagrees with.

As far as its conception of change is concerned, the ANC did not see a fundamental difference between the principles articulated in its Constitutional Guidelines and the approach outlined in the Law Commission report. This confirmed the conclusions reached during the recent conference in Harare where lawyers and legal experts from the internal and exile community agreed on basic constitutional principles such as a Bill of Rights.

The ANC also repeated its commitment to a mixed economy and its opposition to "black" majority rule and the notion of "group domination" — this concept implies the ANC prefers "democratic rights" and "majority rule".

The Conservative Party's position was, not surprisingly, controversial and couched in language Americans had never heard before. Nevertheless, the CP's presentation clarified what this party envisages for the first time.

In the past, when questioned the CP has simply insisted that it stands for old-style Verwoerdian apartheid, or geographical partition. The most intelligent, ideologically pure nationalists in its ranks have questioned the practicality of this policy and proposed in its place a separate "Boerestaat".

In Bermuda, the CP announced that this "strategy for secession" as opposed to "partition" was official party policy. This is of extreme significance because, unlike the NP, the CP said it is prepared to accept that the majority of black people and a significant number of whites are part of a non-racial South African nation in the making.

However, it also insists that there are English- and Afrikaans-speaking "Afrikaners" who define themselves as a separate "nation" and they want to reserve the right to secede from the future non-racial South African nation-state. This would mean a separate "Boerestaat" that could link to the South African state through some sort of confederation.

The boundaries for this "Boerestaat" will have to be "negotiated". However, the CP representative said that Pretoria would be the only major metropolitan area that should be included in the "Boerestaat". In other words, the "Boerestaat" would comprise a minor, geographical proportion of the current South Africa.

BERMUDA

Where Nats and ANC agreed on the tricky topic of violence

Perhaps it was the balmy climate, but there were some remarkable areas of agreement between ANC and NP-aligned delegates to the conference in Bermuda, reports MARK SWILLING



Profile of a shot 'terrorist': a 75-year-old disabled chief

"TWO alleged terrorists were killed in Soweto in a shootout with the South African Police," read a bland police unrest report this week.

What the report omitted to mention was that one of the "terrorists" killed was a disabled, 75-year-old chief of four districts in the Transkei.

Jackson Nkosiyaane, Nelson Mandela's cousin and the chief adviser to Chief Sabatha Dalindyebo, King of Thembuland, had come to Johannesburg for medical treatment, according to relatives. They said he was shot dead as he slept.

The other person killed was a young man known only as "Bantu". The unrest report says "shots were fired at police with an AK-47 rifle when they went to a house in Zondi. Police returned fire and hurled a hand grenade at the house. The bodies of two men, one trained, were found."

Witnesses deny that the shooting was initiated by the men who were killed. Family members said police

jumped over a locked three-metre gate while the occupants of the house were asleep, and opened fire. When a *Weekly Mail* reporter visited the scene of the shooting later the same day, she found the house badly damaged by gunfire. The family estimates R5 000 damage was caused. Police were also present, apparently inspecting the home.

Relatives said it was a mere coincidence that Nkosiyaane had found himself sharing a room with the young man known as "Bantu". Dumile Madiba, at whose house the shootout occurred, said Bantu was brought to the home by a woman from the Madikizela royal family in the Transkei.

Nkosiyaane had come to Johannesburg to receive medical treatment and was due to return to the Transkei shortly, relatives said. He had a disabled right leg.

Although he was a long-time oppo-

chieftainship of four districts in the Transkei, he wanted non-racialism in one South Africa," his brother told the *Weekly Mail*.

After leaving the country and joining the African National Congress, Sabatha died in Lusaka in 1984. Nkosiyaane's cousin, Kaiser Matanzima, refused him the right to address his protégé's funeral.

Nkosiyaane was educated at Healdtown College in the Eastern Cape, often termed the "black Eton" of the time. Other traditional rulers, such as Swaziland's King Sobhuza II, were educated at the school.

After completing his studies in the Eastern Cape he became a keen student of politics — particularly of Thembuland.

Among other duties, Nkosiyaane kept the books of Chief Sabatha and acted as an interpreter during important discussions between the Thembu people and the South African government.

ment of the Matanzima brothers and an adviser to Chief Sabatha Dalindyebo, former King of Thembuland and a member of the African National Congress, he was never a member of the ANC.

In 1962 Nkosiyaane challenged the lumping together of Greater Thembuland and Migrant Thembuland — the traditional seat of the Matanzimas — under the homeland system.

In 1968, he was tried and convicted in the Transkei for conspiracy and plotting to kill his cousin Kaiser Matanzima. He was sent to prison for seven years and subsequently banished for five years.

"Even in 1953, when he was given

ANC invite king, but not Boya ^(11A)

THE African National Congress recently invited Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini to Lusaka for talks with the organisation, says kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi

The ANC is keen to activate an agreement that will end the interne-cine strife in the townships of Natal and may have invited the king as part of an attempt to galvanise a peace plan

However an ANC representative in the organisation's London office said he had no knowledge of any invitation to Zwelethini. ANC sources in Lusaka were not available for comment last night.

A statement released by Buthelezi's office said the chief minister saw the ANC's move as an "attempt to drive a wedge between His Majesty the King, himself and the Zulu people"

"He (the chief minister) was astounded that anybody would be so stupid as to accept an invitation to go to Lusaka to have discussions with the ANC, while the ANC is lambast-

By MUSA ZONDI ^{WMM}
and EDDIE KOCH ^{7-13/4/89}

ing his chief minister," the statement said.

Meanwhile the outlawed organisation has turned down a request from Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, for a top-level meeting

Boya told the *Weekly Mail* he had recently met ANC officials at the organisation's offices in the United Nations building in New York and that "arrangements were made to meet the ANC executive"

However a senior ANC source in Lusaka yesterday said Boya's request had been rejected because "there is nothing we can discuss with him. We did not see any common ground for the meeting".

Boya said he had been told by the organisation he would have to resolve differences between his organisation and the United Democratic Front before a meeting with the ANC could take place.

to report

ULUNDI — kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly that the ANC executive had recently invited his nephew, the King of the Zulus, to Lusaka for talks. Dr Buthelezi described "this act of political desperation" as a serious attempt to drive a wedge between the king, himself, and the Zulu people. He said the king had become "angry that anybody would dare think of dividing him from us". Dr Buthelezi added that the king "was astounded that anybody would be so stupid (to think) he would possibly accept an invitation to go to Lusaka to have discussions with the ANC while it is lambasting his Chief Minister and uncle and even plotting my murder".

Dr Buthelezi called on the ANC to "come home and re-join the struggle". "I call on my brothers and sisters in exile to be aware of changing political climates in southern Africa and in international relations. "Let my brothers and sisters out in the cold return to whatever political quarter they judge best."

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By CHARL DE VILLIERS

THE Department of Justice yesterday remained tight-lipped amid mounting hopes for the imminent release of ailing veteran trade unionist and community leader Mr Oscar Mpetha.

It was reliably learnt yesterday that the 79-year-old diabetic could soon leave Groote Schuur Hospital — where he is being treated under guard — a free man if the state was assured that he would be adequately cared for.

The source, who has been professionally linked to the veteran former Food and Canning Workers' Union leader for nearly 40 years, said. "As soon as the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) establishes a committee to arrange health care facilities for Mr Mpetha, an urgent application will be brought for his release."

Fawu (Western Cape) regional secretary Mr Miles Hartford disclosed yesterday that the union's national executive committee was considering establishing a committee to arrange health care and funding for Mr Mpetha, if released.

Asked for official confirmation of the state's moves to free Mr Mpetha, a spokesman for the Department of Jus-

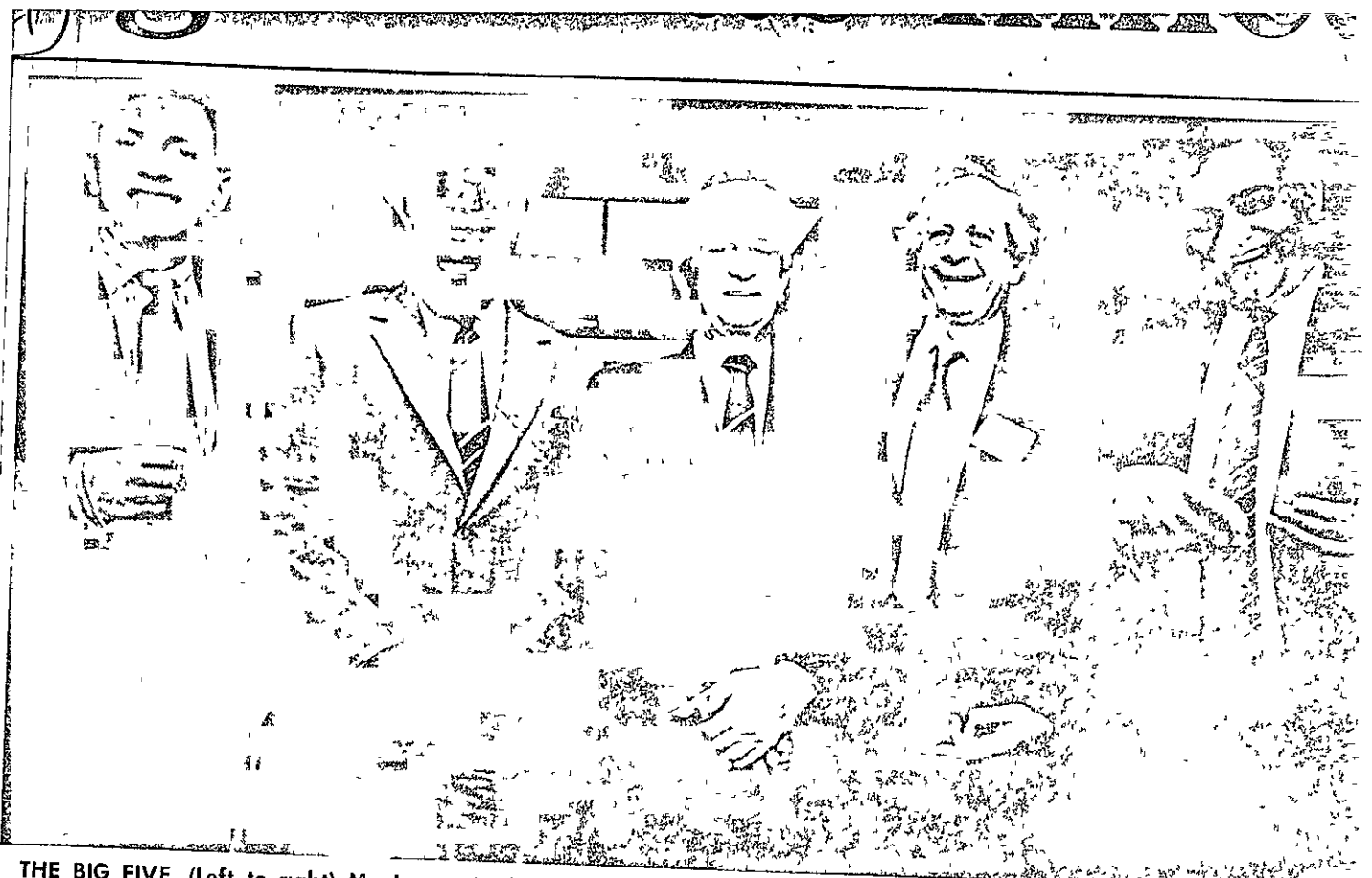
79-year-old unionist to be released?

tice yesterday said it was "departmental policy" not to comment on the circumstances of individual prisoners

The London-based Commonwealth Trade Union Congress (TUC) recently offered to pay for Mr Mpetha's care if he were released

Mr Mpetha, sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1983 for terrorism, was jailed in August 1985 after his appeal was rejected. He has been hospitalised almost continuously for the past three years for diabetes, which cost him a leg in 1983.

A Groote Schuur Hospital doctor who treated Mr Mpetha for insulin diabetes, said the sick man — who had been equipped with an artificial leg and was "ambulatory" — would, if released, require nursing care, a special diet and fortnightly visits to the hospital for specialist treatment.



THE BIG FIVE (Left to right) Mr Justice Michael Kirby, Court of Appeal of New South Wales, Australia, Mr Keith Kur, chairman Black Mayor's Association; Mr Justice G P C Kotze SC, former judge of Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Sydney Kentridge QC, barrister, Mr Ismael Mohamed SC, advocate and Judge of Appeal, Lesotho/Swaziland.

Now lawyers take up cry of the townships

THE CRY of the townships — one man, one vote — is increasingly on the eloquent lips of lawyers in the universities and their colleagues at the Bar

Universal adult suffrage was an interlinking thread in the erudite addresses of distinguished jurists at the 10th anniversary conference of the Legal Resources Centre, which ended behind closed doors yesterday

The question was not so much whether the time had come for one man, one vote in South Africa, but whether it was enough

Mr Jules Browde, SC, noted that even the government-appointed Law Commission had declared in favour of universal adult suffrage in its report on human rights in South Africa

It was the *sine qua non* for the achievement of human rights for all South Africans

But, warned Mr James Robertson, former director of the American Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, the mere extension in law of the vote to the disenfranchised did not in itself guarantee their es-

PATRICK LAURENCE

cape from poverty and humiliation

He told delegates from four continents a tale entitled *The Mississippi Parable*

After the American Civil War (1861-65) the vote was extended to black Americans in the South, in Mississippi, where blacks were in the majority, 67 percent registered

Backlash

Then came the white backlash. Various techniques were introduced to disqualify black voters, including a literacy test and the "eight box law".

The literacy test required a knowledge of the constitution, whites were asked ridiculously simple questions, blacks had to have a PhD on the Mississippi constitution to pass

Under the "eight box" test, voters were given eight votes. To qualify they had to place four votes in the "correct" boxes, whites were given all the help they needed and blacks

were ignored *Nov 15/11/07*

It was only after the great drive for civil rights in the United States in the 1960s that a halt was called to the trickery that deprived blacks of the vote

Professor Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town asked whether it was enough to repeal apartheid laws in South Africa.

Apartheid laws were, he said, merely the scaffolding which had made erection of the apartheid structures possible, removal of the scaffolding did little — in the short run — to topple structures, particularly economic ones, dominated by whites because they had been the beneficiaries of apartheid laws

It was not enough, he said, to abolish discriminatory laws and let market forces sort out the situation

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 had enabled a few whites to concentrate an overwhelming share of privately-owned farming land in their hands; there was no way that that imbalance would be undone by the action

of market forces in the foreseeable future

Mr Steve Kahanovitz of Cape Town Legal Resources Centre raised the question whether the demand for privatisation, and the ideology that went with it, was not motivated by a desire to place vital resources beyond the reach of State now that the prospect of a black-controlled state was in the offing

Rubicons

One corrective — as Mr Robert Marcus of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies pointed out — was through affirmative action or positive discrimination in favour of people who had been disadvantaged

Mr Ernest Moseneke, a former Robben Island prisoner who obtained his legal degree while in jail, said "massive reconstruction" was needed

"If you have doubts that disadvantaged people can handle the vote responsibly, you still have a private Rubicon to cross," said

Pik hints at talks about SA with Soviet Minister

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs

Govt moves on Mandela release

CAPE TOWN — The Government is seriously considering the release of jailed African Na-

POLITICAL STAFF

garet Thatcher through to S

GHOST OF A NATION

Legacy of Solomon Mahlangu lives on

By CHARLES MOGALE

YESTERDAY marked the 10th anniversary of the ending of ANC guerrilla Solomon Mahlangu - and his ghost still haunts South Africa

Mahlangu, then 22, was hanged on April 6, 1979, for his involvement in the Gogh Street, Johannesburg, shooting which left two people dead. Although he did not fire the fatal shots that killed the two

victims, Mahlangu was convicted on the controversial "common purpose" doctrine under which the Sharpeville Six were convicted and condemned.

Mahlangu, an only son of his mother Martha, has been honoured by liberation movements and human rights organisations in and outside the country for giving his life in resistance to apartheid.

He is regarded as the

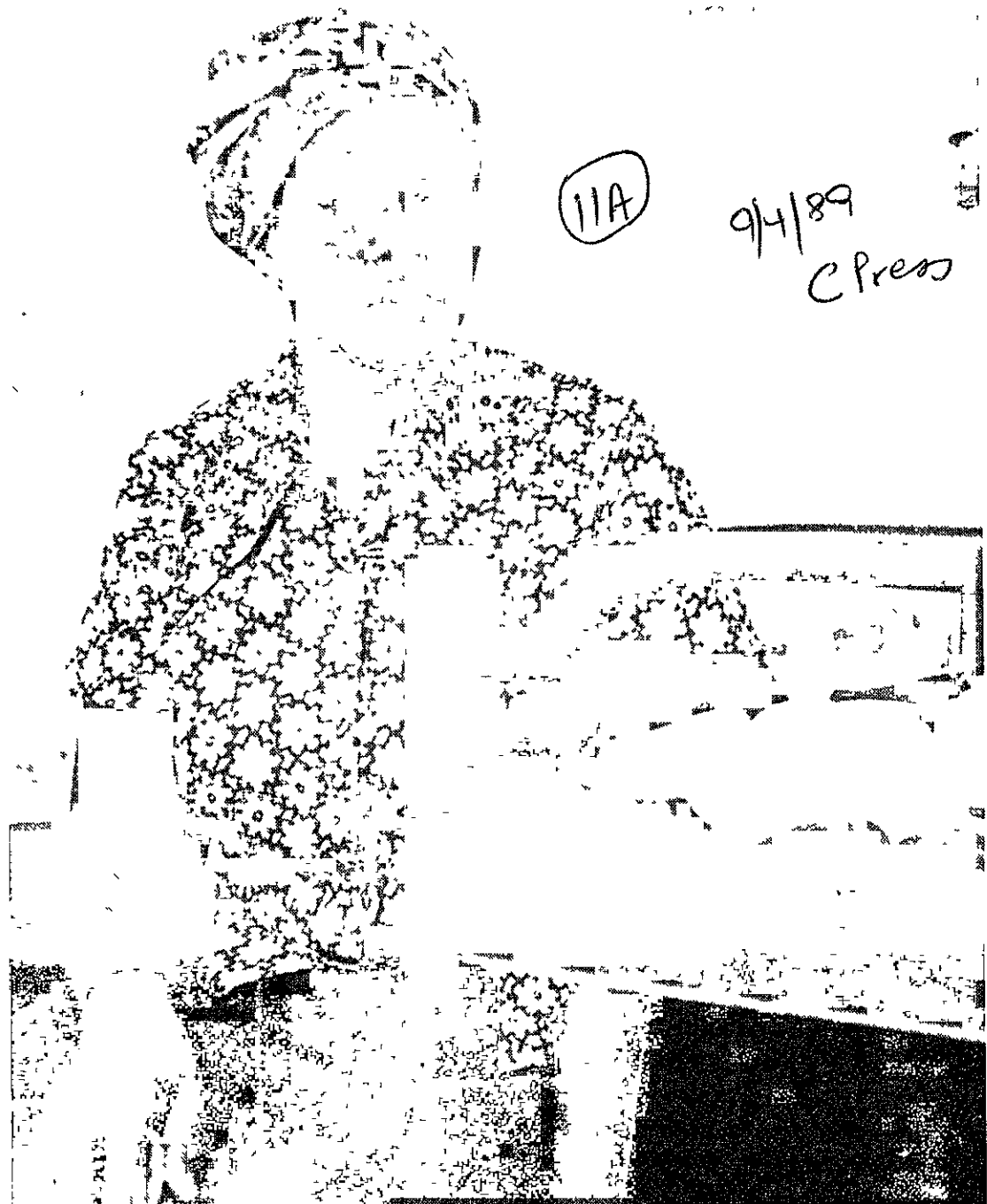
first ANC cadre to be apprehended and executed in South Africa. In his honour, the ANC started the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School in Tanzania, which caters for the children of exiles from South Africa.

Back home in South Africa, April 6 has been observed for 10 years with services commemorating his death. He even shot into international recognition with pleas from all over the world for clemency pouring into Pretoria, but being ignored.

It was a humble beginning for Mahlangu, the Mamelodi, Pretoria, youth who wanted to teach carpentry after school. His mother, Martha, describes him as a "very quiet" child who was always helpful around the home. She proudly displays a small table in the kitchen made by her son, who loved working with wood.

Then came the 1976 June 16 uprising in Soweto which spread nationwide. One morning in October, when Mamelodi was also on fire, Mahlangu disappeared. His parents never heard from him until some time in 1978 when the police told them of his arrest.

Mahlangu had been in the company of two other cadres in downtown Johan-



Grieving mother Martha Mahlangu says life has not been the same since the execution of her son. She has also suffered detention without trial.

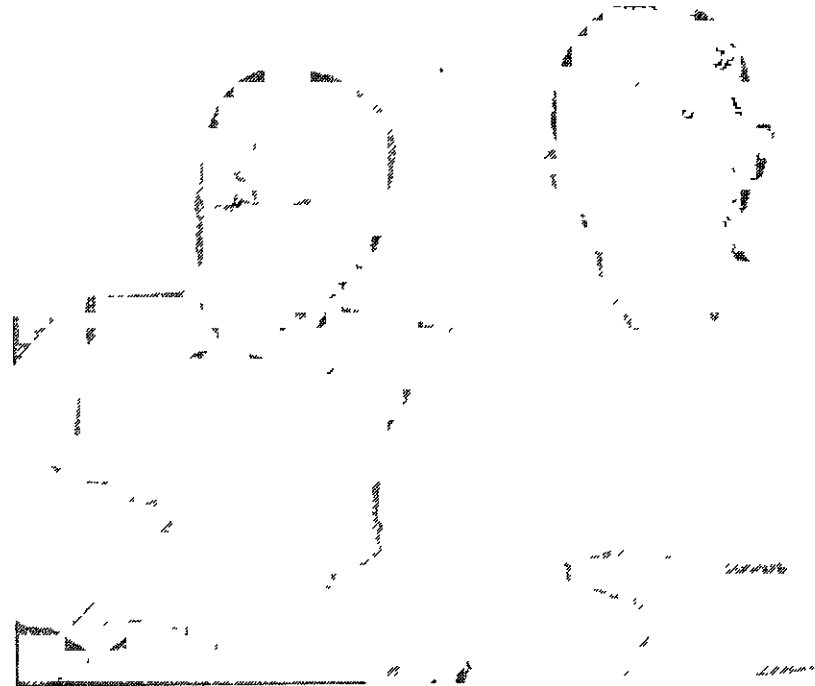
nesburg carrying weapons when someone raised the alarm. The police were alerted and there was a mad chase that ended with Mahlangu and his companions walking into a store in Gogh Street. Shots were fired, killing two men and wounding several policemen.

At the subsequent hearing, Mahlangu's co-accused was declared unfit to stand trial. Mahlangu was sent to the gallows.

Since then, life has not been the same for Mrs Mahlangu. Every April brings sad memories of the son she will never see again. Her health has deteriorated, and she has had to stop working.

Mahlangu, herself often active in anti-apartheid activities, has had a 12-month spell in detention without trial.

Mahlangu is dead, but his legacy lives on.



Solomon Mahlangu and a schoolmate posed for this picture before his capture and execution.

Mpetha barred from funeral

Staff Reporter

THE Prisons Department denied veteran 79-year-old trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha, a diabetic serving a five-year prison sentence, permission to attend his son's funeral at the weekend.

About 3 000 people attended the Nyanga funeral of Mr Karl Mpetha, 36, who died in a car accident 11 days ago.

Mr Mpetha jnr, a fruit and vegetable salesman, is survived by his wife Pearl and three young children.

Attorneys acting for Mr Mpetha, who is undergoing treatment at Groote Schuur Hospital, submitted an urgent application for his release early last week, said lawyer Mr Essa Moosa yesterday.

"The Commissioner of Prisons initially indicated that consideration would be given to granting Mr Mpetha permission to attend his son's funeral on Saturday if his physicians agreed to this," said Mr Moosa.



MOURNERS .. Thousands of people gathered at the weekend to attend the funeral Mr Karl Mpetha, son of veteran trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha. Among the mourners were Mr Mbaiala Mpetha (centre) and his sons Malvunguza (left) and Nkosana.

Picture. FANIE JASON

On Friday, however, the authorities turned down the request for Mr Mpetha's temporary release saying instead that the jailed man could receive additional visits.

An SA Prison Services spokesman, Captain D Bornman, said last night that "it was not possible to grant permission, for obvious reasons, (for Mr Mpetha) to attend his son's funeral.

"Provision was made that Mr Mpetha could, during that time, receive additional visits from his family," said Captain Bornman.

Mr Mpetha was also barred from attending the November 1986 funeral of his wife Rose.

Letter from Mandela 'in dispute'

CAP: TMS
10/4/89

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THE authenticity of a letter allegedly written by jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela to Mrs Margaret Thatcher to thank her for the "positive" work she was doing on the South African issue has been disputed.

Mr Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismael Ayob, said last night "I know nothing about the letter and I doubt that such a letter has been written"

And Brigadier Erica van Zyl, of the SA Prisons Service, said, "We are not aware of any such letter written or dictated by the person involved and the alleged letter should therefore be dealt with with the greatest cir-

cumspection"

According to a UK newspaper report, Whitehall officials said the letter had been sent by Mr Mandela's lawyers to Britain's ambassador in South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick.

It was allegedly dictated by Mr Mandela at the prison house near Paarl where he is being held in custody. In the letter, Mr Mandela says they "agree to differ" on the British Prime Minister's stand against the imposition of sanctions on the Republic. The ANC leader says he is "grateful" to her for Britain's £6 million (about R28m) in aid for South African blacks.

The report alleged that the letter was historic because it is the first from him to a Western head of state

Is Mandela letter to Maggie a fake?

8/16/89 The Star Bureau (11A) 180

LONDON — Nelson Mandela has sent a letter of thanks to Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the British government for the aid being given to schools and other projects in black townships.

But a Prisons Department spokesman said this morning that it was not aware of any such letter written or dictated by the jailed ANC leader, and it should therefore be treated "with the greatest circumspection".

Mandela is reported to have said "even though we disagree on the subject of sanctions" he was grateful "for the positive work (R26 million in aid to blacks) you are doing".

He reportedly dictated his remarks to his lawyers from the bungalow where he is held in custody in Paarl, and they passed them on to the British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

There was, however, some confusion yesterday over whether he had thanked Mrs Thatcher for deciding not to visit SA until he is released.

MODERATE, FRIENDLY TONE

Senior diplomats in London said the letter was a clear sign that Mandela would accept Mrs Thatcher as an intermediary in future negotiations for black rule in South Africa.

And the moderate, friendly line he has taken in his first contacts with the British government could help hasten his freedom.

● Sapa reports that Britain's *Mail on Sunday* said senior diplomats believed Mandela was beginning to exert his influence from inside prison prior to his release.

Last week it was revealed that the ANC leader had communicated with Chief Buthelezi, calling for a rapport and an end to the black-against-black fighting in Natal.

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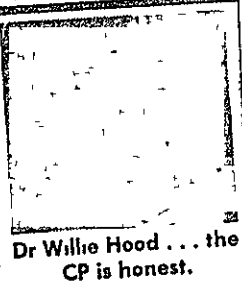
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(118) 4/21/1959

Leaders to discuss Pretoria apartheid



Dr Willie Hood ... the
CP is honest.

Pretoria Correspondent

Community leaders from Eersterus, Laudium, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi are to meet within days to discuss the continued practice of apartheid by the Pretoria City Council.

Dr Willie Hoods, Transvaal MEC and Transvaal region deputy chairman of the Labour Party, who took the initiative, said it had become necessary to take action after the refusal of the National Party to do away with petty apartheid

Among those invited to the special meeting are Mr Patrick da Gama, MP for Eersterus, Mr Boetie Abramjee, MP for Laudium, Mr Willie Filander, chairman of the Eersterus Management Committee, Mr Bernard Ndlazi, mayor of Mamelodi, Mr Abdul Cassim, chairman of the Laudium management committee, and Mr Joseph Matebula, mayor of Atteridgeville

Dr Hoods said it would be an informal meeting where a strategy would be formed to voice opposition to the city council's continued practice of petty apartheid.

BOKSBURG

He said that in recent weeks it had become clear that National Party policy in Pretoria did not differ from Conservative Party policy in Boksburg and Carletonville

"The CP is honest about its intentions. It is using laws created by the NP to practise petty apartheid The Nat outcry about Boksburg and Carletonville is farcical," he said.

This will be the first meeting between such leaders to discuss racial problems in the city

Dr Hoods said incidents during the past few weeks had shown that the city council did not want to move away from apartheid Action was needed to show that the black residents of Pretoria rejected such actions.

"Amenities created with public money must be used to the benefit of all"

Dr Hoods said it would be decided at the meeting whether to organise communities to demonstrate their disapproval of the council's continued policy of petty apartheid.

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ANC to ask
Australia to cut
South African ties

1988.3
10/4/89

The Argus Foreign Service

11A

MELBOURNE — The African National Congress will ask Australia this week to sever ties with the South African government.

The Treasurer-General of the Congress, Mr Thomas Nkobi, arrived in Canberra at the weekend for a series of meetings with the government and union leaders

ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT

It is understood that he would officially ask the Australian Government to close the South African Embassy and recognize the ANC as the alternative government of South Africa.

He would also ask Australia for assistance with food, clothing, housing and education.

The Australian Government declined to comment.

Zach slams ANC terror

ANC 7MB 10/10/89 (11/11) (20/11)
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC should end its campaign of terror and should reconsider its stance on sanctions and disinvestment, a co-leader of the newly-formed Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said at the weekend.

Addressing the founding congress of the party, he said democracy could never be built on the foundation of Wimpy Bar bombs and township necklaces.

Though the DP shared some important long-term goals with the ANC and its associates, their claims for full and equal freedom, human dignity and political rights were often vitiated by actions and policies which in certain circumstances denied dignity and freedom. He said the ANC should end its campaign of symbolic terror.

SAP killed Mandela's cousin

CAPE TIMES 10/16/84
Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela's cousin, 75-year-old Transkeian chief Mr Jackson Nkosiyané, was one of the two "alleged terrorists" killed by police in Soweto last week.

Professor Fatima Meer, spokesperson for Mrs Winnie Mandela, yesterday confirmed that Mr Nkosiyané was one of the two dead men. She said Mrs Mandela had attended the funeral.

Police said in their unrest re-

port that they had been fired on with an AK-47 rifle when they went to a house in Zondi, so they fired at the house and threw a grenade at it.

According to a Johannesburg newspaper report, Mr Nkosiyané had come to Johannesburg for medical treatment for his leg.

While in Soweto, he stayed at the home of Mr Dumile Madiba, sharing the room with another guest, known only as "Bantu". He was the other person killed.

At the time of his death Mr Nkosiyané was chief of four districts in Transkei. He had been a close friend of another famous Transkeian chief, the late Mr Sabatha Dalindyebo, who fell foul of the Matanzimas, fled the country and joined the ANC before his death in 1984.

Mr Nkosiyané's relatives said he himself had never joined the ANC, although he had been a fierce opponent of his cousins the Matanzimas.

11A 3 3

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

Van Eck agrees to debate challenge

THE MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, yesterday accepted a challenge from the Mayor of Lingeletu West, Mr Mali Hoza, for a public debate about the conditions in Khayelitsha

Mr Hoza issued the challenge after Mr Van Eck warned in Parliament that violence could soon erupt in Khayelitsha if the government did not take action against Mr Hoza and his "bully boys". He also accused Mr Hoza

of using violence and intimidation to gain control

Mr Hoza rejected his statements and accused Mr Van Eck of abusing his privilege as a member of an all-white Parliament

In a statement last night, Mr Van Eck said he accepted Mr Ho-

za's invitation to a debate with him, provided the debate took place at a public meeting

Mr Van Eck said it would have to be agreed that he be allowed his own interpreter and that he and Mr Hoza agree upon the choice of chairperson

251 'directly elected' ^{Mr. Truitt 11/14/84} ^{11/14}

ALL but 18 of the 269 coloured management committees and one local authority were directly elected, Mr Chris Heunis said yesterday. The only coloured local authority is at Paarlstown near George

1/14/89

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Black leader Kgame is critical

Moderate black leader Mr Steve Kgame is fighting for his life under tight security in a Johannesburg hospital after being gunned down by assassins

Mr Kgame, a strong supporter of Government's reform programme, is regarded as one of the moderate leaders who the Government was looking to in order to negotiate

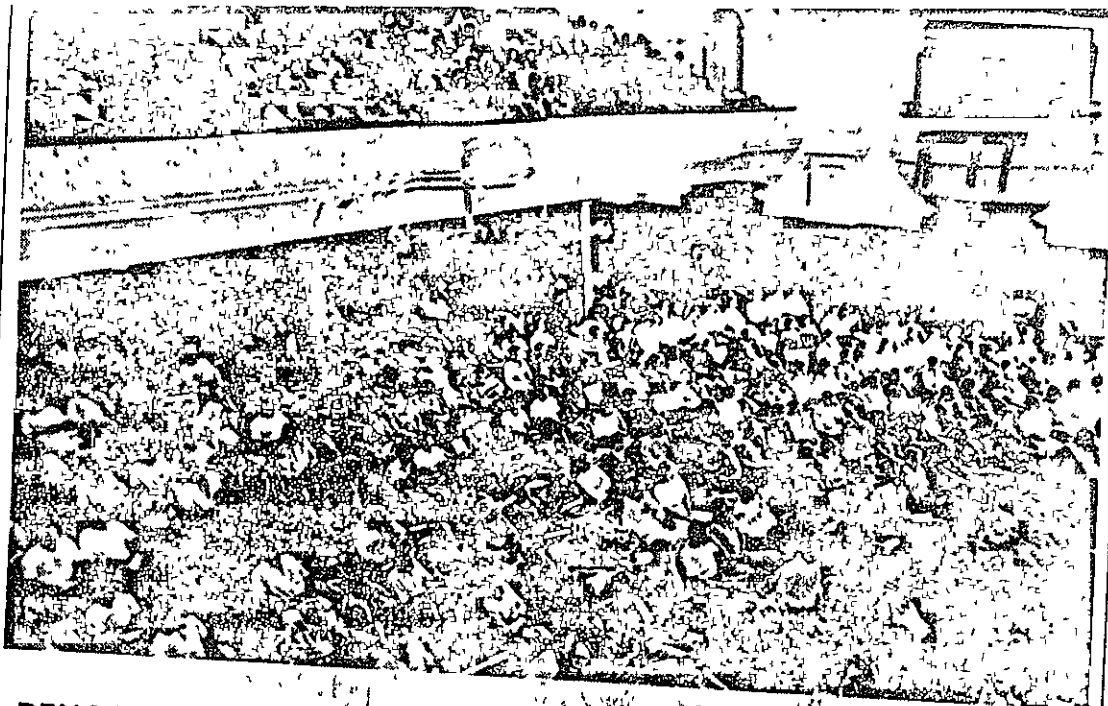
His name has been included in

press speculation as a candidate for being the country's first black Cabinet Minister

A director of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA), Mr Kgame was shot six times, his wife said.

He was shot outside his Dobsonville shop by three gunmen last Thursday.

This is the second attempt on Mr Kgame's life in 14 months



DEMOCRATIC CROWD: About 1 500 people attended the Cape Democrats meeting at the City Hall last night. Pictures: HANNES THIART, The Argus

Hunger strikes an effective weapon, Cape Democrats told

By BRONWYN DAVIDS
Staff Reporter

THE recent hunger strike by political detainees dealt the system of detention without trial a severe blow, Claremont independent MP Mr Jan van Eck told nearly 1 500 people at a Cape Democrats meeting in the Cape Town City Hall.

"A few years ago, I thought that torture and interrogation of prisoners only happened in Russia. But it happens at police stations in our own nice white suburbs," he said last night.

He exhorted the newly formed Democratic Party to "break down the barriers between blacks and whites"

The main issue was no longer apartheid but power and the only way to remove the government was to mobilise white democratic parties left of government in working towards a united South Africa

The Democratic Party should align itself with the majority of South Africa and the freedom struggle

FREEDOM CHARTER

"They should encourage the white electorate to come to terms with the Freedom Charter and any new manifestoes drawn up by the African National Congress. The Democratic Party will achieve very little if they build up links with non-democratic organisations such as Inkatha"

Of the hunger strike, Mr van Eck said it was sad so many lives had to be laid on the line



APPLAUSE: Former detainee Mr Ephraim Mkoe and Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, applaud a speaker during the meeting.

before people were released. The restrictions the government was using instead still destroyed lives as it removed people from the community.

Mr Ephraim Mkoe, a hunger striker who escaped from Hillbrow Hospital to seek asylum in the West German Embassy and was later released, was greeted with a standing ovation.

He said he had been in detention since July last year.

He and fellow detainees had petitioned Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok for

their release without success.

As a last resort, a group of 20 prisoners at Johannesburg Hospital began a hunger strike on January 23.

HEALTH DAMAGE

"We could either submit to detention without trial or fight for truth. We choose to fight, knowing we could die or suffer irreversible health damage."

Miss Debra Marsden, who is on the executive of the Cape Democrats, said "Hunger strikes have become the weapon of the weaponless."

Blacks living a lie and reaping a whirlwind

TWO YEARS ago, when Frontline published information regarding the Mandela United Football Club, what was interesting was the reaction that followed. A great number of Soweto residents, especially from around Orlando West near the Mandela house, accused us of scratching the surface and not exposing all

Meanwhile, politicians — including white liberals — accused us of supporting government, and some others said it was wrong to air black people's dirty linen to the white public

The white media latched on to one part of the story — Mandela's new mansion — and ignored the issue of the football club. Perhaps it was easier to focus on the house as it stood there for everyone to see. Although both issues were already major topics of conversation in Soweto, black newspapers kept silent about the house as well as the football club. Mandela summoned certain leading journalists to her house. She told them that we were agents of the system and they should publish that. They did not, knowing this as untrue, but kept in with her by running complimentary stories.

One liberal newspaper published a story portraying the football club as a haven for homeless boys being harassed by the police. At that time, residents of Phetem in Orlando West were frantic with fear of their sons being press-ganged by the football club. Members of the club were openly walking around Soweto with machineguns over their shoulders, and people in Soweto were mystified as to why the police were laying off.

All sorts of people urged me that I should leave home for a while, but on learning of the issue my neighbours insisted that I stay and their menfolk would keep watch. After a few

better off with us ruling, because this is how you would be ruled otherwise." But the real problem is the system. If blacks were citizens with proper political structures, the whole affair would have been brought short long ago.

All along there has been hypocrisy in the treatment of Mandela. I have known people who have appeared in newspapers hugging her, including whites, to privately tell all sorts of stories. Of the people who are rushing to distance themselves from her, some have for years known of courts and punishments behind her walls, and when her neighbours went to the leaders to tell of the screams the leaders said it was the work of the struggle.

Some prominent people have played the role of assistant judges. Now they are saying it is wrong, but they said nothing when it was still supposed to be "the work of the struggle" and there was glamour in the people setting up rival courts to the regime's courts.

Headlines like "Fallen idol" create the impression that blacks had revered the "Mother of the Nation". The fact is that this title is a mystery, and many black people have never known where it came from. Ever since it appeared it has been common to hear people scoffing, with phrases like "No, my mother is Mrs so-and-so". However, the title was made

popular in the eyes of the outside world, which shows that if a small group of people set out with determination to create a lie they can succeed. The lesson is that, if we wish to be understood, we must speak up in time and not trail along with the lies until they crash upon us.

This is not the only lie we have lived with. The whole issue of black leadership needs a close look. At a recent seminar I was surprised to find that the speaker was a "black leader". This was a Soweto person who I had never heard of and who went ahead to tell the white audience that his own personal views were "what blacks think". No wonder the whites are confused about us and we are confused about ourselves. How can anyone know who is a leader and who is not, when anyone with a black skin and a mouth can be a "black leader" if he says he is?

Many people have been calling for government to unban the political movements, not as a game to score points but as a genuine attempt to bring about stability. When the country was engulfed in blood and fire, we would have done anything to have leaders to speak to and ask some questions.

When the children sought "liberation now and education later", we wanted to be able to speak to leaders. When peoples' homes were gutted and their cars taken we wanted to know if that would bring us liberation. But with the movements banned there was nobody we could ask. What we saw was lawlessness and destruction, and how did government react? It banned the few organisations that sought to intervene and put emerging leaders into jails.

We are only beginning to reap the results of that era.

□ This is an extract from a lengthy article in the current edition of Frontline magazine.

Staff Reporter

ANC supporters in the medical professions were mixing their "extremist politics" with medical principles, Administrator of the Cape Mr Gene Louw said this week

Speaking at a congress in the city on "Labour Relations in Health Services", Mr Louw warned that health services were "by no means excluded from the intensity of the revolutionary onslaught in South Africa today"

About 300 delegates attended the two-day congress which was organised by the Department of Health Services and Welfare, Administration, House of Assembly South-West Cape Region

"We regrettably learnt of the fact that the ANC members of the medical profession organise under the banner of 'Natural Health System' and 'Health for All', and are thus launching a strong medico-political health strategy in which extremist politics are inex-

Louw warns medics on politics

Cap & Trip
12/12/89
114

tricably bound with medical principles," he said

While the health services could expect increased political attacks, several "so-called health organisations" whose main purpose was "purely political", would appear occasionally, Mr Louw said

The National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) had, for example, subscribed to an advertisement commemorating "75 years of the ANC" and the ANC

had, in turn, referred to Namda as a "front organisation", he said
Reacting to Mr Louw's statements last night, a Namda spokesman said apartheid, besides "predetermining" an individual's political, economic and social status, had a "profound effect" on their health status

It could not be denied that blacks in SA suffered from diseases of poverty such as TB, kwashiorkor, malnutrition, gastro-enteritis etc, whereas whites generally suffered from diseases of affluence

"Health for All", the spokesman said, was not a "radical or jargonised concept", but a strategy initiated by the World Health Organisation and one to which the majority of the countries in the world subscribed

Mr Louw appealed to health practitioners to elevate the health profession "far above politics and to practise it with independent and unsullied professionalism"

PAC leader (114)

and wife given
SA passports (114)

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, and his wife have been granted passports and plan to travel overseas soon.

Mr Mothopeng said yesterday that he was happy because he would be able to receive medical treatment overseas.

Mr Mothopeng, who was released from jail in November last year, said he would travel to Britain, the United States and other countries on dates to be finalised.

The three-month passports were granted after several refusals. Mr Mothopeng, who has been ill for a long time and underwent an operation, was nominated for the United Nations Human Rights Award together with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

ANC not a terrorist group — US

By Neil Lurssen
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has again named the African National Congress in an official list of organisations that engage in terrorism — but has repeated its belief that the ANC is not a terrorist organisation.

In a report on international terrorism released to the US Congress yesterday, the US government also casts suspicion on the South African Government, noting that South African agents are "widely suspected" of killing ANC representative Dulcie September in Paris last March and of trying to assassinate ANC member Albie Sachs in Maputo in April.

The release of the list yesterday recalls a similar episode last year when two US government departments — the Pentagon and the State Department — differed sharply over whether or not the ANC was a terrorist organisation.

The Pentagon (defence) said the ANC was a terrorist body and the State Department (foreign affairs) said it was not.

ANC not

From NEIL LURSEN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States government has again named the African National Congress on an official list of organisations that engage in terrorism, — but has repeated its belief that the ANC is not a terrorist organisation.

In a report on international terrorism released to Congress yesterday, suspicion was also cast on the South African government.

It was noted SA agents were "widely suspected" of killing ANC representative Dulcie September in Paris last March and of trying to assassinate ANC member Albie Sachs in Maputo in April.

The release of the list yesterday, and the observation about the ANC, recall a similar episode last year when two US government departments — the Pentagon and the State Department — differed sharply over whether or not the ANC was a terrorist organisation.

The Pentagon (defence) said it was, while the State Department (foreign affairs) said it was not.

Methods questioned

The difference reflects the difficulties Washington has in defining a relationship with organisations that are seen as politically legitimate but which have factions that engage in terrorism.

After the report was handed to newsmen a State Department spokesman said the government had not determined that the ANC was a terrorist organisation, but that it was a "politically diverse organisation representing a range of views".

While the US shared some of the ANC's goals, such as ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial government, it differed strongly with some of its methods — such as the planting of bombs in public places.

In an apparent attempt to avoid last year's confusion the report included this note. "Groups listed include those we define as terrorist because of the types of attacks they mount."

"Insurgent groups that frequently engage in terrorism and umbrella organisations, composed in part of terrorist groups, are also included."

Anti-terrorist strategies

● The report also dealt with strategies to curb international terrorism, and said the only way to deal with the phenomenon was to adopt a tough stance, and called on other countries to do likewise.

"The first element of our counter-terrorism policy is that we do not make concessions of any kind to terrorists," it says.

"We do not pay ransom, release convicted terrorists from prison, or change our policies to accommodate terrorist demands — such actions would only lead to more terrorism."

"And we vigorously encourage other countries to be firm with terrorists, for a solid international front is essential to overall success."

The second element was to make state sponsors of terrorism pay for their actions, either militarily, or through political, diplomatic and economic actions, public diplomacy and sanctions.

The strategy also involves bringing terrorists to justice and training law enforcement agencies worldwide in anti-terrorist operations.

1108

Mothopeng to go overseas

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng and his wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, have been granted passports and plan to travel overseas soon.

Mr Mothopeng told the *Sowetan* from his Orlando West home yesterday that he was happy because he now

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

had an opportunity to receive medical treatment overseas

Mr Mothopeng, who was released from jail last November, said he would travel to Britain and the United States at dates still to be decided on by the family

He will be travelling abroad for the first time after several attempts to do so failed because he was refused a passport

Happy

"I feel happy although it is a right for every South African to have a passport and not a privilege," he said

He said their passports

were valid for three months during which they would be in a position to see other countries

He did not rule out the possibility of addressing and speaking to international leaders

Mr Mothopeng, who has been ill for a long time and underwent an operation, was nomi-

nated for the United Nation's Human Rights Award together with jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela

He is also expected to address a special session of the UN which paid tribute to him as leader of the PAC in New York at the weekend

● Picture down page.



AILING Pan Africanist Congress president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, is to travel to Britain where he will undergo treatment. He and his wife, Urbania, received their passports yesterday.

Southern Africa
Pic LEN KUMALO

Cosatu

backs

peace

talks

COSATU and UDF affiliates have stated their full support for the proposed peace conference to end violence in Natal, a spokesman for Cosatu said in a statement yesterday.

"We fully support and encourage those who wish to convene the conference

"Our organisations have been aware of the urgent need for peace and have reached agreement on the necessity of all organisations, including Inkatha, to be part of a peace conference," he said

He said the consulting process had not been an easy exercise on the part of the UDF affiliates because of the restrictions placed on the organisation

"We wish all people and all concerned organisations to support the call for peace and to do all in their power to see to its success."

He said a memorandum had been sent to the convenors and to Inkatha — Sapa

Sowetan 13/4/89

11A

WASHINGTON - The United States Government has again named the African National Congress in an official list of organisations that engage in terrorism

But it has repeated its belief that the ANC is not a terrorist organisation

In a report on international terrorism released to the US Congress this week the US Government also casts suspicion on the South African Government, noting that South African agents are "widely suspected" of killing ANC representative Dulcie September in Paris last March and of trying to assassinate ANC member Albie Sachs in Maputo in April

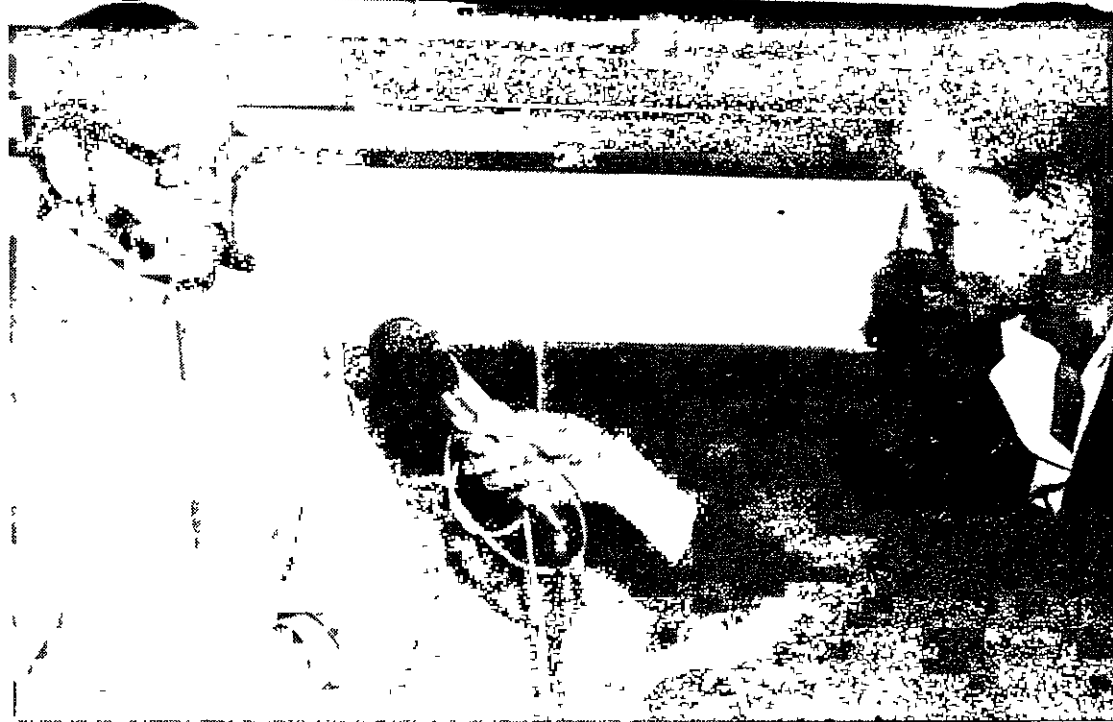
The release of the list this week and the disclaimer about the ANC that followed it, recalls a similar episode last year when two US Government departments — the Pentagon and the State Department — differed sharply over whether or not the ANC is a terrorist organisation

Terrorist

The Pentagon (defence) said the ANC was a terrorist body and the State Department (Foreign affairs) said it was not

The difference reflects difficulties that Washington has in defining a relationship with organisations that are seen as politically legitimate but which have factions that engage in terrorism

After the report was handed to reporters, a State Department spokesman said that the US Government had not



OLIVER Tambo . . leader of the ANC.

US Govt still has clashing views on ANC

11A

Sanctum 13/4/87

determined that the ANC was a terrorist organisation but that it was a politically diverse organisation representing a range of views

While the US shared some the ANC's goals, such as ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial system of government in South Africa, the US differed strongly with some of its methods — such as the planting of bombs in public places, the spokesman said

In an apparent effort to avoid last year's confusion, the new

FOCUS

report includes this note "Groups listed include those we define as terrorist because of the types of attacks they regularly mount or have mounted in the past. Insurgent groups that frequently engage in terrorism and umbrella organisations composed in part of terrorist groups are also included"

The report states. "The struggle against apartheid, although largely non-violent, has generated a cycle of violent repression by the government and violent resistance by black opposition, which has resulted in some acts of terrorism

"The leadership of the ANC, while disavowing a strategy of deliberately targeting civilians, has not punished any of its members for violating this

"The US Government has strongly counselled the ANC against further acts of violence of this nature

Listed among terror groups but 'not a terror group'

"The increasing implantation of munim-pet mines in crowded urban settings, however, suggests a possible shift in tactics or, perhaps, an inability of the ANC to exert central control"

The report notes that black-ruled countries in the region accused South Africa of terrorist attacks

last year, including a car bombing in Bulawayo in which two died in January and at least two bombings in Zambia

"The US Government has expressed serious and repeated concern to the South African Government about the incidents of cross-border violence"

It says that the sub Saharan Africa region continued to trail other regions in total numbers of international terrorist incidents, but that the number of incidents increased from 30 in 1987 to 52 last year

Raids

The increase came largely from a fivefold acceleration of cross-border raids on Zimbabwean villages by Renamo guerillas from Mozambique.

Renamo (not listed in Last year's Pentagon report) has 20 000 guerillas, according to the new report, has murdered and kidnapped numerous civilians in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia, and gets assistance from South Africa as well as from private individuals in Europe and elsewhere.

The ANC, the report says, has an estimated 12 000 to 15 000 members outside South Africa and





CHANTING NUM members rise to the mood of the occasion at Nasrec Centre yesterday

ANC GUIDELINES 'CAN ENCOURAGE SA TALKS'

Sowetan 13/4/84 (11A)

THE African National Congress' constitutional guidelines could be an instrument to encourage talks on the constitutional future of South Africa, an official of the National Union of Mineworkers told the union's congress in Johannesburg yesterday

Mr James Motlatsi, Num's vice-president, said groundwork was needed to build "mass-based participatory, democratic organisations" throughout the country

"To build broad unity and the anti-apartheid coalition, we need to strengthen the structures of our allies at local, regional

By LEN MASEKO

and national level," the Num official told more than 600 delegates attending the five-day congress at Nasrec, Crown Mines

Speaking on the Namibian conflict, Mr Motlatsi said the recent attacks on the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) by South African security forces were an attempt by the Government to "galvanise Western support"

"The coming independence of Namibia after years of struggle is an important development. However, the Western

governments seem intent on destabilising Swapo, the representative of the Namibian people," he said

Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, told the congress that the Government, "with the open backing of allies such as Thatcher and those in the United States administration" had tried to undermine the legitimacy of Swapo as the authentic representative of all Namibian people

"Our central task today is to build solidarity with Swapo and the National Union of Mineworkers," Mr Naidoo said

Former Robben Island life prisoner, Mr Harry Gwala, also addressed Num's conference. He cannot be quoted in terms of the provisions of the Internal Security Act.

Greetings

Mr Gwala spoke on behalf of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who is the honorary life president of Num. Mandela's continued incarceration was symbolised by a chair which stood unoccupied near the podium at the meeting

Among organisations which sent fraternal greetings to Num were the South African Congress of Trade Unions, South African Communist Party and British National Union of Mineworkers

Hippo in walk of life . . .

GOKWE — A hippopotamus is walking about with an axe stuck in its back around Masaka Dam, on the outskirts of Masaka Village in the Gumunyu area of Gokwe, after a man there tried unsuccessfully to axe it to death . . .

MANDATELA DENIAL

SA Press Association

NELSON Mandela has denied writing a letter to British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, thanking her for her "positive work" in South Africa

A statement issued by the South African Prisons Service last night said that "due to the public interest arising out of the recent media reports" that Mandela had written to Mrs

Thatcher, Mandela wished to set the record straight.

In view of "the ensuing contradictory reports in this regard, Mr Mandela has requested the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that the letter he had written on April 10 to the British Ambassador in South Africa be released to the

media," the statement said

In a letter to Sir Robin Renwick, Mandela referring to reports that he had "thanked" Mrs Thatcher for the "positive work she was doing on the South

African issue" wrote "I neither wrote such a letter nor dictated it to any attorney"

"If I had wanted to express my views on Mrs Thatcher's work. I would have preferred to do so in a face-to-face discussion with you in person," wrote Mandela.

No letter

written to

Thatcher

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Sundown 13/4/89

Wilson Sandura, was sworn-in on January 3 by President Robert Mugabe

investigation so that criminal proceedings can be instituted — Sapa

housebreaking thefts
REPORTS Sapa Own Correspondent

PAC president, wife granted passports



PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and his wife, Urbana, have been granted passports and plan to travel overseas soon

Mothopeng said in Orlando West yesterday he was happy because he now had an opportunity to receive medical treatment overseas. The passports were valid for three months

● MOTHOPENG

Mothopeng, who was released from jail last November, said he would travel to Britain and the US at dates still to be decided on by the family

He said "I feel happy although it is a right for every South African to have a passport and not a privilege"

Mothopeng, who has been ill for a long time and underwent an operation, was nominated for the UN's Human Rights Award together with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela

He was expected to address a special session of the UN, which paid tribute to him as leader of the PAC in New York at the weekend — Sapa

R5,1m for AIDS centres

DIANNA GAMES

ABOUT R5,1m would be spent this financial year to set up AIDS advisory centres in four main cities, excluding Johannesburg, to provide information and training about the virus, and to launch another awareness campaign, the Department of National Health said yesterday

It said the R5,1m had been added to existing activities such as blood screening, epidemiological surveys, education campaigns and supply of condoms

This is an increase on the amount spent in the previous year of R2,5m

Department medical services director Beks Lombard said the centres would be located in Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein

He said although they would be financially subsidised by the department, they would fall under the jurisdiction of the relevant local authorities who would decide on what programmes they would run and what training they would offer

Johannesburg had an AIDS Training and Information Centre administered by the SA Institute of Medical Research

Lombard said government needed to promote the awareness that the transmission of AIDS was primarily a social and not a medical problem and was one which the state could not address by itself

Dispute over cricketer's luxury car

SUSAN RUSSELL

AN R84 000 second-hand Mercedes-Benz is at the centre of a Rand Supreme Court dispute between cricketer Ray Jennings and the House of Sports Cars

Jennings is suing the motor dealers for R5 000 repairs done on the 280SL Mercedes-Benz immediately after the sale in May 1987. He is also asking for interest and costs

He claims House of Sports Cars undertook to pay for the correction of any defects to the vehicle after it

had undergone an AA inspection

House of Sports Cars claim they undertook to pay the costs of removing two dents on the left-hand rear fenders, obtaining a road-worthy certificate, cleaning under the rear valence and a minor lubrication service

They deny they were under any obligation to pay for anything else

The case continues today

11A ~~11A~~

CONCERN ABOUT SA UNDER-CLASS

THE possible development of a black "under-class" in SA was a matter of great concern, John Kane-Berman said in Johannesburg yesterday

Testifying at the invitation of the social affairs committee of the President's Council, Kane-Berman, the South African Institute for Race Relations' (SAIRR) executive director, said this under-class would consist of "millions of people who were illiterate, unemployed, and with no real means of gaining access to the economy"

He said the SAIRR welcomed efforts government, the private sector, and organisations such as Eskom were making to reduce backlogs in facilities available to blacks. It deplored the fact that apartheid prevented blacks, whose facilities were overcrowded, from using under-uti-

lised white facilities

The SAIRR welcomed the view expressed increasingly in black circles that opportunities to deal with some of these problems should be sought now.

The SAIRR did not regard the homeland system as a constitutional solution for SA. It was concerned at allegations of waste and/or corruption in certain homelands. However, 15-million people were living in the homelands, and their claim on SA's resources was no less than that of blacks living outside them, or of whites

It was unfortunate that opposition parties and newspapers routinely attacked central government's homelands budgetary allocations, and in so doing ignored the fact that most of the homelands' budgets were spent on education, health, and welfare, Kane-Berman said — Sapa.

13/04/1989

Matie SRC in ferment over ANC meeting

114
ARGUS 13/4/89

By BRONWYN DAVIDS
Staff Reporter

TWO Stellenbosch Students Representative Council members have dissociated themselves from the National Party majority in the SRC, following an "exploratory" tour to Lusaka where they had talks with African leaders and the African National Congress.

Vice-chairman Mr Andre Olivier said the four other SRC members elected on the Blue Alliance ticket (National Party SRC election group) and who participated in the tour had become disillusioned with the way the NP student branch operated.

The NP youth league's way of handling political situations on campus was dogmatic and they were not prepared to question NP policy, Mr Olivier said.

"Reactionary"

"I made it quite clear a while back that I distanced myself from the NP youth league because they engage in reactionary politics and are not committed to work positively towards a future South Africa. At the SRC meeting this week, I made a statement cutting all ties.

"There is a serious leadership problem, as the NP youth league has no initiative — everything they do is in reaction to something else.

"The last straw came with the reaction to the Lusaka tour. They ran to the Press, without finding out what had really happened. For that reason I am not prepared to put my weight behind any decisions of the NP.

"I am committed to dialogue with any person or organisation to seek solutions to political problems," Mr Olivier said.

Cultural portfolio holder Miss Isa Burger, who was also elected on a Blue Alliance ticket said "Over the past six months I have been exposed to political alternatives from which I was isolated during the first 21 years of my life.

"I am no longer willing to support a party which governs through oppressing its opponents and not engaging in open debate.

"Progressive organisations like the ANC have a very important role to play in any future South Africa and the sooner the government speaks to these organisations the better for the country as a whole."

Miss Burger and Mr Olivier were part of a group of 11 SRC members who formed part of the Blue Alliance. The Blue Alliance has accused them of breaking a commitment not to speak to the ANC.

"When we were elected on a Blue Alliance ticket we did not make such a commitment in writing or verbally. When I was approached to stand for elections on a Blue Alliance ticket it was on the undertaking that it differed from NP policy. The Blue Alliance broke that commitment by making statements in the Press aligning itself with the NP," said Mr Olivier.

Miss Burger said her doubts arose some time ago when she began to question why Afrikaner student councils were alienated from the other student councils and why they would not speak to the Stellenbosch SRC.

Maties, De Klerk discuss ANC talks

Staff Reporter

THE recent talks between some members of the Matie Students' Representative Council and the ANC were discussed at a meeting between the SRC and National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk, SRC chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy said last night.

NP policy and detention without trial were among the issues discussed at the 40-minute closed meeting.

It was conducted in a "very good atmosphere", Mr Van der Spuy said.

"It was a very pleasant meeting and we found it insightful."

The meeting had been organised "a long time ago", he said.

Two SRC members, vice-chairman Mr Andre Olivier and Ms Isa Burger, announced their resignations from the NP Youth League at a council meeting on Tuesday night.

'Political talks'

Ms Burger said yesterday she had distanced herself from the league and from the NP.

"As an SRC member I experienced more contact with black people and for the first time in my life, I realised the position of blacks in South Africa," she said.

The NP is seen as eliminating all opposition and the party does not conduct "political talks" with people from the whole South African political spectrum.

"The NP tries to find short-term solutions but does not look into the future."

At the SRC meeting, Mr Van der Spuy repeated his promise that if anything happened to the three SRC members who took part in the Lusaka talks, the other five members who went on the tour (including himself) would resign from the SRC.

By Winnie Graham

No one wants the hundreds of thousands of poor, homeless people in South Africa.

Not only are white towns totally opposed to squatters in their open spaces but, it seems, even black local authorities are resisting the settlement of low-income residents because they are seen as a drain on their resources.

A study prepared by the Black Sash Transvaal Region Urban Removals and Homelessness Group and the Community Research and Information Network shows informal settlements are mushrooming on the Witwatersrand.

The study quotes government spokesmen as saying it is the intention to create "viable" urban communities. This is interpreted to mean that local authorities and their ratepayers will have to bear the costs of upgrading settlements

Thousands of squatters out in the cold

of low-income residents within their boundaries 8/21/3/4/89

The report believes the overriding implication of the "viable" local authority concept is the squeezing out of the poor.

Yet, in spite of their exclusion, it is unlikely the poor will leave the metropole which they perceive as the only place where they can make a living.

The study shows that nearly two-thirds of the people on the Witwatersrand have been there unlawfully for more than 15 years. Only 48 percent have regu-

lar employment while the rest find piece work, are unemployed or work in the informal sector.

Of the 100 people interviewed in October 1988, 40 percent earned R150 a month, or less, 34 percent earned between R151 and R300 and 25 percent earned R300 or more. The average household income was R247.

Matters are expected to be aggravated as rural and homeland economies deteriorate and existing townships "spill over".

"The political and socio-economic consequences of not facing up to the problem now are obvious," the report states.

"The orderly urbanisation policy which should at least be applying an alleviating mechanism to the crisis of homelessness may aggravate the stark realities of urbanisation."

Unknown motive for hit on Kgame

"Life stops when you are dead, irrespective of the category of your job"

These were the words of former chairman of the Dobsonville Management Committee and chairman of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa), Mr Steve Kgame, after his attempted assassination in 1987

At the time Mr Kgame was mystified as to why four masked gunmen would storm into his shop and at point blank range pump a volley of bullets into his body. They took nothing and hurt no one else.

He could not decide whether his moderate political profile or role as a businessman had sparked the attack. Or if he was the victim of a random attack "because everybody is being attacked these days, even hobos".

After all, he believed he had achieved much for black people

Mr Steve Kgame, former chairman of the Dobsonville Management Committee, is on the critical list after an assassination attempt. But the motive for the attack is baffling. **DAWN BARKHUIZEN** reports

— including helping to secure the abolition of influx control, actively supporting calls for squatters' rights and calling for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

He would not allow the shooting to deter him. He remained committed to moderate politics — on that he was quite clear.

Nevertheless, the shooting (and three previous petrol bomb attacks on his home) prompted the father of four to carry a pistol every day.

The pistol-packing politician is back in hospital fighting for his life — his body once again riddled with bullets, his whereabouts a secret for fear that would-be assassins might return to finish the job

The reason behind the attack has again baffled his family and the police

Certainly he had enemies, but things had been quiet for some time, his wife, Mrs Jenny Kgame, told *The Star* this week.

● As a black councillor, one-time mayor of Dobsonville and open supporter of participation he has frequently been charged with being a "sellout" and collaborator. In October last year, however, he was ousted from his municipal seat.

● He at one time faced charges of theft and corruption — but these were withdrawn.

● While his keen support for a National Council is likely to have drawn the strongest condemnation, the Government has

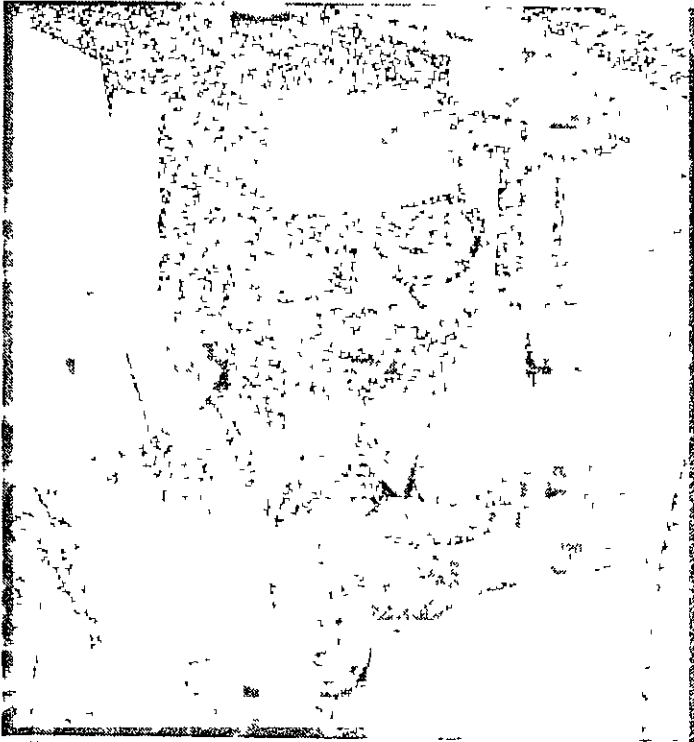
made no attempt to bring the council into being after writing it into the statute books

Speculation that Mr Kgame would be South Africa's first black cabinet minister is therefore premature as legislation providing for this has been blocked by the Labour Party

What sparked the assassination attempt on the former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist and man who referred to himself as a "thoroughbred urban African"?

The men who attacked him 14 months ago have not yet been caught. Did the Dobsonville Urban Council's first mayor get careless and fall victim to a repeat attack?

Was his attack politically motivated or was he the victim of a mysterious vendetta? Unless Mr Kgame is able to identify his assailants there is a strong possibility that no one will ever know



Mr Steve Kgame . . . gunned down for a second time.

In his own write — the Mandela letter

Nelson Mandela

AKGUS 13/4/89

(114) (16)

Victor Verster Prison,
Private Bag X 6003,
Paarl South.
7624.
10 April 1989.

Sir Robin Renwick,
British Ambassador,
Cape Town.

Dear Sir Renwick,
Press reports on 10 April 1989 indicate that I wrote
a letter to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to thank
her for the positive work she was doing on the South
African issue.

I must point out in this regard that I neither wrote
such a letter nor dictated it to any attorney as
alleged in the reports. If I had wanted to express
my views on Mrs Thatcher's work, or on the policy
of the British Government on any specific matter,
I would have preferred to do so in the course of a face
to-face discussion with you in person.

Meanwhile I am happy to request you to pass my
very best wishes to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Nelson Mandela.

WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

MAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has sent a letter in his own handwriting, left, to Britain's ambassador in South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, in which he denies that he sent a letter to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher

This followed suggestions since the weekend that Mr Mandela had written such a letter or that he had dictated one to his lawyer

At one stage a Whitehall spokesman in London was quoted as saying that the letter had been sent to Sir Robin by Mr Mandela's lawyer

The SA Prisons Service said they were not aware of such a letter and his lawyer did not know about it

In a statement today the Prisons Service said that, because of public interest arising from media reports that Mr Mandela had written to Mrs Thatcher, he had to put the record straight

CONTRADICTORY

In view of contradictory reports that Mandela had asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that the letter he had written on April 10 to the British ambassador should be released to the media

The letter is in firm handwriting

It refers to Press reports on April 10 which indicated he had written a letter to Mrs Thatcher to thank her for the positive work she was doing on the South African issue

I must point out in this regard that I neither wrote such a letter nor dictated it to any attorney as alleged in the reports

Mystery pamphlet follows murder of priest

1M 28
S.M.K.
13-19/4/89.

DURBAN. — Mystery surrounds the death of well-known priest Londa Shembe, leader of the Nazareth Baptist Church, known as the Shembe Church.

Shembe, a United Democratic Front supporter, was gunned down by two unknown assailants at his Inanda home last week.

Now an anonymous pamphlet in Zulu has been distributed which claims the UDF and the ANC were responsible for Shembe's murder.

The pamphlet, describing Shembe as "peace-loving and an opponent of violence", demanded that "Lungi Makhaye" (Shembe's wife's maiden name) and "comrades" must not attend the funeral of "our leader".

The pamphlet claims to be issued by the "Nazareth Baptist Church Committee", but members of the church have denied this.

They said they were not against anyone attending the funeral, to be held on April 16.

Bitter row

Shembe was one of two church leaders who emerged in the church in 1977 after the death of his father, the Rev JG Shembe.

The other leader is the ailing and ageing Amos Shembe. Both have in the past been involved in a bitter row over the leadership of the church.

The Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg refused to grant either of them the leadership because they were unable to meet certain requirements.

Shembe was close to many UDF activists in Inanda and was known to have been involved in confrontations with some tribal leaders in the area.

He officiated at the funeral of three anti-apartheid activists who were killed in a mysterious bomb explosion at the Phoenix railway station, near Inanda, early last year.

Members of the church and residents in the area are puzzled by the pamphlet.

Said a prominent member of the church, who did not want to be named. "One has to start reading between the lines of the pamphlet. Nobody believes the UDF or the ANC would be responsible for such a ghastly act" — *PTSA*

NELSON TO MEET ENVOY?

Govt holds the key

MOVES are afoot for jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to meet British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick at the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

South African Government to decide if they can meet. This has emerged following the publication of a letter from Mr Mandela to Sir Robin. Though in the letter Mr Mandela denies Press reports that he had written to Mrs Thatcher "to thank her for the positive work she was doing on the South African issue". Mr Mandela denied that he had either written the letter or dictated it to any attorney as the report said. However, he does say that "if I had wanted to express myself on Mrs Thatcher's work, or on the policy of the British Government, on any specific matter, I would have preferred to do so in a face-to-face discussion with you in person". Yesterday the British Embassy in Cape Town confirmed that Sir Robin had received a letter from Mr Mandela referring to Press reports.



Minister to hear request

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, has agreed to hear pleas for the release of imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela. This emerged in a statement issued in Durban yesterday by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, after a third round of talks between South Africa and KwaZulu. He said one of several obstacles impeding negotiations between Mr Mandela's black and white delegation and the KwaZulu delegation was the fact that the KwaZulu delegation viewed it as restricting them from fully taking part in formal negotiations. "Consequently arrangements were made for representatives of the KwaZulu delegation to place their views before Mr Coetsee, and he had agreed to receive them. No date for the meeting was given."



MR MURPHY Morobe speaking at the Num national congress.

THE important task facing the democratic movement was to build an anti-apartheid coalition involving all the forces supporting efforts for change, political activist, Mr. Murphy Morobe, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Big task facing blacks

Addressing the 6th congress of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Mr. Morobe speaking in his personal capacity, said reviving structures destroyed by the state of emergency was another task facing the "mass democratic movement."

He said the democratic movement had never opposed genuine negotiations but had always called for the creation of "necessary conditions" for such talks to be possible. The Government, he said, had shut its door to "our leaders" in 1960 when they were prepared to negotiate the future of this country.

"We must maximise our unity in action against apartheid and isolate the regime even

He said the democratic movement had never opposed genuine negotiations but had always called for the creation of "necessary conditions" for such talks to be possible. The Government, he said, had shut its door to "our leaders" in 1960 when they were prepared to negotiate the future of this country.

Your son is dead shock of family

A SOWETO family was this week shocked to learn in a telegram from the exiled African National Congress that their son was killed in an ambush in the Northern Transvaal during 1986.

The Moatshe family of Meadowlands last saw their son, Lesley, in 1976.

The telegram, sent from Lusaka by ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo, said that due to problems in the ANC's communications network, they (ANC) could not inform the family on time about their son's death.

The telegram does not give more information about Mr Moatshe's death and does not say where he was buried.

Advice

Now the family is anxious to know where he was buried. They are asking why the SAP did not inform them about their son's death.

A spokesman for the police in Pretoria yesterday advised the *Sowetan* to tell the family to write to the Commissioner of Police and ask about their son's grave.

Mr Moatshe was 21 years of age when he left the country in 1976. He was a matric pupil at the Meadowlands High School at the time.

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

BACHELOR
23 1235
131 Comm
CANDLES
S GRO

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JACHELO
23 1235
131 Corner
CANDS
BS GRO

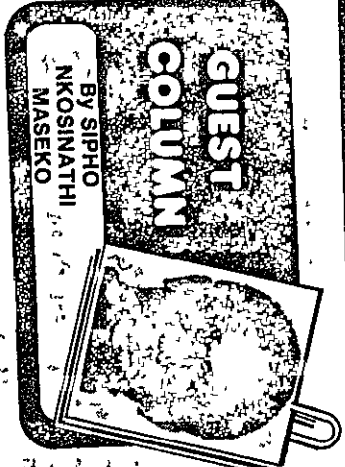
A Siam a keen reader of articles in the

Sowetan by Messrs Klaaste and Mabe on "nation building", I do hope my contribution to this concept will be welcomed. As it has been so much vaguely articulated and conceived, a pragmatic approach has to be established.

Firstly, it is proudly stated by proponents of the concept that "ubuntu" is an exclusive, humane gift to blacks. What is the origin of this quality?

Before the "invasion and subsequent setting in Azania by whites, one would have had no grounds to argue against possession of such a quality.

Indeed, prior to 1652, we harmoniously interacted with one another, and this hinged on the fact that there was virtually no kind of domination or gross exploitation. That is, our material conditions then did not militate against possession of "ubuntu".



They contemptuously disregarded our humane-battle lines were drawn in offering them a "ubuntu" was only a piece of land to use as a refreshment station on their way to India.

Since their system of values advocated private ownership of land, they immediately fenced the said land and put up "trespassers will be prosecuted" signs, in our own land.

Our value system, mindful of their previous misdeemeanours, the wrong-doer's livestock or other property could be confiscated by the hosts as a form of punishment, "go thopa".

The origin of 'ubuntu'

to undo the damage caused by their humanness towards whites by repossessing their land.

Hence, to all of a sudden tell them to forget their political ambitions and preoccupy themselves with black enrichment (under the guise of economic empowerment).

By portraying whites as "great achievers and blacks as lazy snails who don't do martial arts or gardening, we are putting unnecessary pressure on

our people. The same effect is achieved by sentiments of people like Mr Sandile Memela. He argues that we tend to blame apartheid for many of our shortcomings.

We beg to differ, for many of our shortcomings, Granted, we do have the odd malingering, but after all is said and done, only an insignificant number of blacks can attain positions of economic affluence (the so-called "clout") and academic standing.

What should be noted is that whites, through the "Bredetbond" and other bodies that Mr Mabe would like us to emulate, reached the top by climbing on black backs. There are obviously no backs but black backs on which the said few blacks capable of attaining economic and academic clout can clumb on.

To illustrate this point further, white America is not affluent today because of the base it had, Mairic re-write school slavery. White South Africa is so affluent today because of its base, racial capitalism.

business is "intensely eager to sign cheques" (Agrey Klaaste, in an interview with *Weekly Mail*), we should start re-evaluating our concept. Big business will always attempt to get a few hakeys from our ranks to bolster their system of beleaguered capitalism.

To that end, it would not mind sponsoring a nation building exercise and minds. Our envisaged nation building exercise will then be successfully reduced to black embourgeoisment.

RRRRR up a strip of Mike's magic marinated

With rice, chips or baked potato!

RRRRROOM! to Mike's for our

MIKE'S SKITCHIN'S

SPASH out with six of Mike's gally

SWISS SPRINGS

RRRRR up a strip of Mike's magic marinated

With rice, chips or baked potato!

RRRRROOM! to Mike's for our

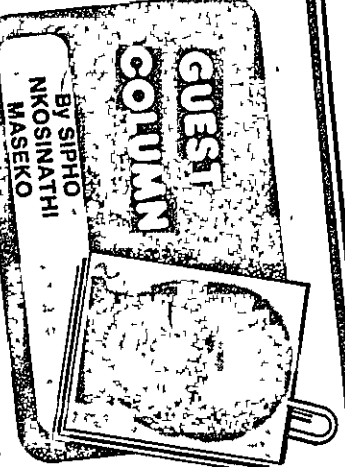
... to use... soldiers although armed... peace-keeping... operation... is not an... are authorised to use

peace and security

SOWETAN Friday April 14 1995

Page 5

The origin of 'ubuntu'



A Si am a keen reader of articles in the Sowetan by Messrs Klaaste and Mabe on "nation building". I do hope my contribution to this concept will be welcomed. As it has been so much vaguely articulated and conceived, a pragmatic approach has to be established. Firstly, it is proudly stated by proponents of the concept that "ubuntu" is an exclusive, humane gift to blacks. What is the origin of this quality?

Before the invasion and subsequent settling in Azania by whites, one would have had no grounds to argue against possession of such a quality. Indeed, prior to 1652, we harmoniously inter-acted with one another and this hinged on the fact that there was virtually no kind of domination or gross exploitation. That is, our material conditions then did not militate against possession of "ubuntu".

But things changed as soon as whites entrenched themselves as the privileged class and race. There and then, they devised a system geared towards eroding our humanity. They contemptuously disregarded our humanness in offering them a piece of land to use as a refreshment station on their way to India. Since their system of values advocated private ownership of land, they immediately fenced the said land and put up "trespassers will be prosecuted" signs in our own land!

Our value system provided for such acts of misdeemeanours: the wrong-doer's livestock or other property could be confiscated by the hosts as a form of punishment, "go thopa". The settlers mistook this for theft, and ended up drawing the "Voor-trekker Manifesto" in which they accused the indigenous people of such an act. From then on, the battle lines were drawn — "ubuntu" was only applicable in relationships between members of the native, oppressed race.

But sadly, it had already cost us our dignity, self-confidence, and, more importantly, our people are mindful of their previous blunder in assuming that the settlers could relate to their acts of "ubuntu". Hence, in our indigenous languages, "ubuntu" has come to mean a black person been fiercely struggling

to undo the damage caused by their humanness towards whites by repossessing their land. Hence, to all of a sudden tell them to forget their political ambitions and preoccupy themselves with black church and economic empowerment (under the guise of academic qualifications in the noble black struggle). By portraying whites as "great" achievers and blacks as lazy snails who don't do martial arts or gardening, we are putting unnecessary pressure on our people.

The same effect is achieved by sentiments of people like Mr Sandile Memela. He argues that we tend to blame our shortcomings for apartheid. We beg to differ, apartheid is responsible for many of our shortcomings. Granted, we do have the odd malingering, inept, and academically challenged individual, but we offer all is said and done, only an insignificant number of blacks will attain positions of economic significance (the so-called "clout") and academic standing. What should be noted is that whites, through their actions, have created a situation where blacks are not allowed to climb on the ladder of attainment. To illustrate this point further, white America is so affluent today because of the base it had laid for the White South African. Africa is so affluent today because of its base, racial capitalism. If, in our attempts to rebuild the nation, big capitalism is not mind sponsoring a Matric re-write school in order to win our hearts and minds. Our envisaged nation building exercise will then be successfully reduced to black capitalism. To that end, it would not be surprising if Aggrey-Klaaste, in an interview, with weekly re-evaluating our concept (business) will always attempt to get a few lackeys from our ranks to bolster their beleaguered system of capitalism.

WIKES' KITCHEN
 SPLASH out with six of Mike's garrick
SPICED POTATOS
 RRRIP up a strip of Mike's magic marinated
 With rice, chips or baked potato
SPICED POTATOS
 PLUNGE into Mike's special sauce.
 VRRROOOOM to Mike's for our

UDF spells out talks' conditions

SIPHO NGCOBO

11A

THE UDF, Cosatu and other organisations in the democratic movement would only consider peaceful negotiations with government if it lifted restrictions on all anti-apartheid groups.

This was said by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobé at the sixth NUM Congress in Johannesburg yesterday. 61 Day 19/12/89

"Suddenly the democratic movement is under pressure from imperialists to consider negotiating, but we have not heard any statement from Margaret Thatcher pressuring the South African government to withdraw SADF troops from the townships," he said.

In order for the democratic movement to negotiate, the ANC must be in a position to organise and mobilise freely.

Morobé also said the UDF was committed to the formation of a coalition of all organisations opposed to apartheid and whose political perspectives included the end of the state of emergency and the removal of troops from townships.

Their agendas should include one-person-one-vote in a unitary South Africa, and the unbanning of organisations.

Renwick may meet Mandela

Political Staff (11A)

CAPETOWN — Sir Robin Renwick could soon become the first British ambassador to SA to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The prospect of a meeting between the two followed indications from Mandela that he would welcome this — and Sir Robin was expected to reply in the affirmative last night.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said if a request was made for the visit to Mandela at Victor Verster prison, the matter would "receive appropriate attention".

Star 14/4/89 (11A)

Mandela puts record straight

'I didn't write a letter to Thatcher'

Political Staff

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has sent a letter in his own handwriting to Britain's ambassador in South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, in which he denies that he sent a letter to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

This followed suggestions since the weekend that Mr Mandela had written such a letter or that he had dictated one to his lawyer.

At one stage a Whitehall spokesman in London was quoted as saying that the letter had been sent to Sir Robert by Mr Mandela's lawyer.

Unaware of letter

The SA Prisons Service said they were not aware of such a letter and his lawyer did not know about it.

In a statement yesterday the Prisons Service said that, due to the public interest arising out of the recent media reports that Mr Mandela had written to Mrs Thatcher, he wished to put the

record straight

In view of the ensuing contradictory reports Mr Mandela had requested the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to release the letter he had written on April 10 to the British ambassador to the media.

It refers to press reports on April 10 which indicated that he had written a letter to the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, to thank her for the positive work she was doing on the South African issue.

The letter states

"I must point out that I neither wrote such a letter nor dictated it to any attorney, as alleged in the (press) reports.

"If I had wanted to express my views on Mrs Thatcher's work, or on the policy of the British government on any specific matter, I would have preferred to do so in the course of a face-to-face discussion with you in person.

"Meanwhile, I am happy to request you to pass my very best wishes on to the Prime Minister," the letter said.

Victor Verster Prison,
Private Bag X 6003,
Paarl - South.
7624.
10 April 1989.

Sir Robin Renwick,
British Ambassador,
Cape Town.

Dear Sir Renwick,
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Yours sincerely,
N Mandela.

ANC leader, British envoy may meet

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Moves are afoot for jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela to meet British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick at the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

It is understood that both men have indicated they would like to meet. It will be up to the South African Government to decide if they can meet.

This has emerged following the publication of a letter from Mr Mandela to Sir Robin. Although in the letter Mr Mandela denies press reports that he had writ-

ten to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, thanking her for her "positive" role in South Africa, it is understood that he has sent a message to Sir Robin.

In this he indicates that he would like to see him.

The South African Prisons Service has released the letter written by Mr Mandela to Sir Robin on April 10. A spokesman for the British embassy in Cape Town yesterday confirmed that Sir Robin had received a letter from Mr Mandela last night.

"It explains that he had written a letter to the Prime Minister."

It is understood Sir Robin will reply to Mr Mandela, saying it is well known that the British government believes he should be freed to express his own opinions outside prison.

"We never said he did. The letter also indicates that he would like the chance for a discussion with the ambassador and asks for his very best wishes to be passed on to the Prime Minister."

Renwick might ^{April 1989} meet ^{trial} Mandela ^{release}

SIR Robin Renwick could soon become the first British Ambassador in South Africa to meet ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The prospect of a meeting between the two follows indications from Mr Mandela that he would welcome this — and Sir Robin was expected to reply in the affirmative last night.

A decision on whether the meeting at Victor Verster Prison will take place rests with the government. Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said last night that the government had not yet received a request from Sir Robin to see Mr Mandela.

Government sources said last night that a key factor in whether visits are permitted was whether prisoners actually wanted them.

FW fires first shot in election campaign

Political Staff

MARITZBURG — The leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, last night fired the opening shot in the general election campaign.

Wasting no time after President Botha's announcement last Thursday of an election, possibly on September 13, Mr de Klerk said white domination had to be ended but dared not be replaced with domination of

white people by others

He was addressing an NP dinner in Maritzburg

"We stand on the eve of a general election," he said. "In Parliament this fact has had an electrifying effect. The fight has started. Quite soon the public will start feeling the effect"

Pitching the NP promotion at English-speaking voters, he predicted that the Democratic Party would subtly try to reintroduce language division as a major factor in party politics

He said the Conservative Party's "partition policy" was impracticable because it "screamed against the realities"

DP policy was one-man, one-vote in a typical federation. Voters would reject this because it did not provide sufficient security for minority groups

The DP was "naive in its search for a Utopia where everybody will be nice".

The NP stood for "power sharing without domination by one group over another", Mr de Klerk said.

He said the NP was absolutely committed to reform and his Cabinet colleagues were battling in difficult financial times to press on with it.

Progress was quietly being made on the black-white negotiation front. "Obviously there are obstacles. One of these is the game which is sometimes played in Parliament — the game of opposing important reform measures for reasons which have nothing to do with the contents of these measures."

"Our country demands of us an about-turn from the present climate of tension and obduracy," he said

Govt clamps must go NUM told

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

The "Mass Democratic Movement", comprising organisations formerly in the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, would consider negotiations with the Government only if it removed restrictions on anti-apartheid opposition.

Anti-apartheid activist Mr Murphy Morobe said this yesterday when addressing the national congress of the National Union of Mineworkers, in Johannesburg.

Although some anti-apartheid organisations had been seriously affected by the emergency, opposition to apartheid had not been crushed, he said.

After the independence of Namibia, international attention would focus on the struggle to dismantle apartheid in South Africa itself. Although this was welcome, the interest of "imperialist powers" such as Britain and the United States stemmed from their desire to preserve their economic and political interests.

The decision of these countries to "take the side of South Africa against Swapo" in the recent fighting in Namibia had shown that they could not be totally trusted, said Mr Morobe.

It was in this context that the "clamour" for negotiations, with pressure being put only on the African National Congress to renounce violence, was to be seen.

PAC 'fanning revolution' (118) in S Africa

Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — There had been a renewed effort by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) since 1980 to fan revolution in South Africa, a senior security police officer told the Regional Court here yesterday.

Major J D Potgieter said it was his task to monitor politically motivated acts of violence and border insurgency while also studying the publications of so-called liberation movements.

It was clear the organisation had stepped up its attempt to overthrow the Government.

Major Potgieter quoted freely from the PAC publication, *Azanian Combat*, and the statements of PAC leaders to support his claims.

He was testifying at the trial of Mr Abram Magagula (31) of Evaton, Vereeniging, who has pleaded not guilty to 10 charges, including terrorism and being a member of the banned PAC.

The hearing continues.

Mandela's writing shows him to be 'sensitive'

NELSON Mandela is a sensitive man with a great love of vivid colours. His writing has a brushlike quality as though painted on to the paper with an artist's brush.

So says a leading Johannesburg graphologist, Harriet Isserow, who was approached by Saturday Star to analyse Mr Mandela's handwriting, after the publication of a facsimile of a letter written to the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick.

Mrs Isserow says his handwriting also reveals he has a very definite love of food. It is ironic for a man who has spent 26 years of his life in captivity, but the graphologist says "he likes the good things life has to offer".

For a man of 70, Mandela has "amazing writing", she says. "He has a steady hand with a dominance of control in his handwriting make-up." His handwriting has incredible regularity.

"He possesses great qualities of firmness, resistance, resolution, decisiveness and endurance." Says the report. "He possesses a certain inner security, and this quality is borne out in his strange looking capital 'T' which signifies his large ego. In fact, this letter 'T' also shows that in order to feel self-worth he must be in command."

Yet, says Mrs Isserow, Mr Mandela is capable of highly impetuous action. This is particularly evident from the ink-filled loops in his script, for example in the "p's, the 'r's, even the 's' in Mrs. There are blots, too, at the end of the horizontal bars of the 'r's.

Our expert goes on to say "The fact that the personal pronoun, the capital 'I' is such an odd shape, with a bulb at the bottom of the stem, also bears out that he is a man not to be toyed with."

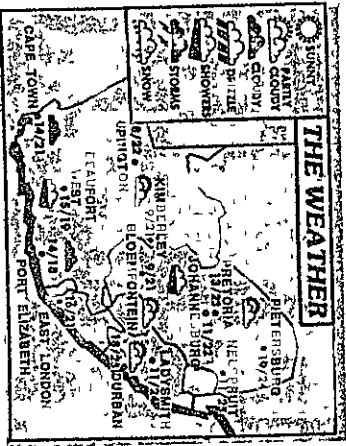
"This man is marvelously accurate, this is especially evident from the precise way he dots his 'i's. The many pointed letters in his script such as the 'm' in 'Primo' is an indication of his cleverness. And from the cuplike connections of his letters, it would seem he can be very understanding and kind. He also appears to be good-natured."

Expect a little heat and thunder

The Weather Bureau's forecast summary for today is TRANSVAAL. Partly cloudy and hot but warm on the highveld with isolated thunder-showers over the southern and southwestern parts.

FREE STATE. Partly cloudy and hot with isolated thunder-showers becoming colder over the southern parts.

NATAL. Partly cloudy and warm with scattered thunder-showers and some moderate to heavy falls in places.



But, says Mrs Isserow, this could be merely show the erratic right-hand margin and the closeness of his lines indicate that he has "rather an ambivalent attitude towards people".

IN HIS OWN WRITE. Nelson Mandela's letter. He has an obsessive nature and his emotional problems could stem from a hate relationship he had with his mother.

Sir Robin Renwick,
British Ambassador,
Cape Town.

Dear Sir Renwick,
I have the pleasure to inform you that I have received your letter of the 10th April 1989 regarding the matter of the release of the prisoners of the African National Congress. I am sorry to hear that you are still in the process of the release of the prisoners of the African National Congress. I am sorry to hear that you are still in the process of the release of the prisoners of the African National Congress. I am sorry to hear that you are still in the process of the release of the prisoners of the African National Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Nelson Mandela.

(11A) (33)

Fm/11/14/89

Heads may roll

The Matie students who had talks with the ANC in Lusaka may yet pay for their audacity SRC president Pierre van der Spuy says he has reliable information that certain National Party (NP) supporting students will soon ask that a referendum be held on a proposal that three SRC members — Mark Behr, Isa Burger and Riaan van Greunen — be asked to resign. These three are the students who held the talks. Others in the party

(11A) (33)

(11A) (33)

of 18 met informally with ANC officials in the course of various informal functions.

Such a referendum holds out intriguing prospects.

Though the tour party was enthusiastically received at their report-back meeting on campus last week, a referendum would be a different matter. Van der Spuy says he is not optimistic that the three would get sufficient support to stay on the SRC. He believes the NP students will get the "silent majority" out to vote and it is not thought they will support the three.

As tour leader Mark Behr ("Red Behr" in the eyes of anonymous pamphleteers) points out, the ramifications of such a motion being successful would be widespread. Van der Spuy says he would definitely resign in sympathy and is sure the other four SRC members who were on the trip, but did not participate in the formal talks, would do likewise. This would mean that eight out of the 15 SRC members would resign in support of their belief that individuals be allowed to talk with the ANC.

Such a happening, says Behr, "would be a major trauma for the establishment." He also says they have received widespread international support for their trip and that any attempt to punish them would be sure to harm the country's image internationally. As a corollary, it would almost certainly enhance the reputation of the ANC — something government and its supporters would

be loath to see happen.

Behr discounts the argument that the university will lose donors as a result of such trips.

He points out that the university received R2m — its biggest donation ever — from Sasol at the height of the current controversy. Any losses, he believes, would be more than supplemented by overseas donors willing to support a more liberal line taken by the university.

Referendum or not, there is no doubt that the trip has precipitated some widespread debate on a campus whose political complexion appears to be changing fairly rapidly. Support for the NP is down from a level of 74% two years ago to approximately 54%. Van der Spuy himself is probably a fairly accurate barometer of the way things are going. He was elected on an NP ticket last year and has a picture of the State President on his office wall. Unlike the State President, though, he strongly supports the individual's right to talk to the ANC and freely admits to his own thinking having changed a lot. ■

Nelson Mandela.

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10 April 1989.

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Meanwhile I am happy to request you to pass my very best wishes to the Prime Minister.
Yours sincerely,
N Mandela.

In his own hand ... Mandela's letter to the British ambassador. It was released yesterday by the South African Prisons Service

Polite but firm putdown

And Dullah Omar, the Cape Town lawyer who has been consulting with Mandela, echoed this. "I have no knowledge of the letter. I cannot help to clarify this issue."

A third lawyer who has visited Mandela, Essa Moosa, was not available for comment yesterday.

Mandela's note, on a hand-written letterhead, does not deny sending any message or expressing any view on Thatcher.

The full text is as follows: "Dear Sir Renwick,

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●From PAGE 1

you to pass my very best wishes to the Prime Minister

"Yours sincerely, NR Mandela"

The SA Prisons Service said Mandela had asked Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee to release the letter to the media.

This is the first time that Mandela has made such a public intervention from his prison house in Paarl on an issue as sensitive as Thatcher's role in South Africa. It comes at a crucial time, when Thatcher is playing an increasingly important — and controversial — role in Southern Africa.

Praise from Mandela would have come as some surprise because of the difficult relations between the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front on the one hand, and Thatcher on the other. Although contact and relations between them have increased in recent years, the ANC and UDF remain highly critical of Thatcher's South Africa policy.

The key question raised by the letter is whether Mandela is beginning to play a political role as a statesman from his prison quarters.

11A w/mail 14-20/4/89

Miners debate ANC blueprint for SA

The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines shape debates at the National Union of Mineworkers annual congress.

By EDDIE KOCH

THE need for a coalition of anti-government groups was high on the agenda when hundreds of workers from the National Union of Mineworkers (Num), met in Johannesburg this week for the union's annual congress

The rally, attended by some 600 worker representatives, will also devise a set of demands to be tabled at wage talks with the Chamber of Mines planned for the middle of the year. Indications are that delegates will call for far-reaching measures to revamp existing wage structures on the mines

Num assistant general secretary Marcel Golding told *Weekly Mail* that the banning of the Anti-Apartheid Conference in Cape Town last year had created an urgent need for organisations fighting Nationalist Party rule to synchronise their activities

A draft resolution tabled at the congress urges mineworkers to examine the Constitutional Guidelines drawn up last year by the African National Congress. Another calls on the Congress of South African Trade Unions to organise a rally of anti-apartheid groups this year

On wages, a draft resolution, submitted by six of the union's most powerful branches, suggests that instead of demanding a single percentage increase in wages this year, the union should push the industry to pay a living wage to all mineworkers within three years

"All workers must receive a good wage increase," says the draft resolution. "The gaps between the job grades must be narrowed by raising up the wages of the lower grades. Wage demands must be set in money terms and not in percentages"

Decisions taken at the congress will be an indication of whether the union plans to shy away from confrontation, as it did in last year's talks, or whether it will go for the kind of tough bargaining that resulted in the marathon miners' strike of 1987

The key to Num's bargaining strategy will be its assessment of how well the union has recovered from the mass dismissal of members and shop stewards after the big strike

Another novel resolution calls for the union to draw up a blueprint, within the year, that will outline a method of running the mining industry in line with the Freedom Charter principle that the wealth of South Africa should be shared by all



National Union of Mineworkers' President, James Mollatsi, at the union's annual congress

Picture. ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Num's rally takes place in a climate of tension around allegations that the management of Anglo American has initiated a paramilitary operation on their mines to restrict union activities. Anglo rejects the claims, saying the inordinate security measures are necessary to contain violence perpetrated by Num members

"We will be discussing plans to mount a massive membership drive in the face of management's co-ordinated campaign of repression," said Golding

Another draft resolution deals with attacks made on union offices. "The union should always hire offices where South Africa's top business offices are housed"

Other items for discussion include

● The abolition of migrant labour and short, medium and long-term measures to ensure that

mines provide family housing for all workers
● An end to capital punishment and ways of strengthening the campaign to save the lives of those on death row

● A health and safety campaign to limit the number of serious accidents on the mines and the "increasing number of paraplegics"

● Training schemes for retrenched and dismissed workers. The role of management in creating these will be debated. So will the need for the union to support co-operatives for unemployed members

The rally is also expected to support demands made at a workers' summit in Johannesburg last month that contentious clauses in the Labour Relations Amendment Act be scrapped and to activate plans to draft an alternative labour law for South Africa.

(11A) w/mail 14-20/4/89

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71A 14-20/4/89.

2 WEEKLY MAIL, April 14 to April 20, 1989

Zeph's trip abroad could include PAC

PAN Africanist Congress president Zeph Mothopeng's trip abroad is mainly for medical treatment, but the possibility of his meeting the outlawed organisation's executive cannot be ruled out

Mothopeng and his wife, Urbania, have been granted three-month passports to enable him to receive treatment for cancer of the throat

Urbania said yesterday the couple would probably leave next week for Britain, where Mothopeng would receive treatment. She added that they planned to travel to several other countries, including the United States.

There is speculation that the PAC may take advantage of Mothopeng's trip by enabling him to take his seat at the organisation's executive meetings

NP relief as an opstoker is shipped out

14-20/4/89

THE appointment of rebel National Party MP Albert Nothnagel as South Africa's next ambassador to Holland has saved him from a possible defeat in this year's election.

His outspoken statements in support of talking to the African National Congress and criticism of the banning of anti-apartheid organisations may spare the government embarrassing moments in parliament but his touch of reality will be missed in debates.

The former leader of the Opposition, Colin Eglin, and the Labour Party's Peter Mopp expressed the general feeling in parliamentary circles that Nothnagel would be missed because he was prepared to nudge the Nationalist leadership into contentious areas.

It was a slightly odd role for Nothnagel. He was very much a product of the Nationalist system: he attended Afrikaanse Hoer Seunskool, Pretoria, and then attained a BA from Pretoria University before joining the civil service and becoming a private secretary to the deputy minister of bantustan administration.

After leaving the civil service, he

Noisy Nat MP Albert Nothnagel could have lost his seat in the next election. But his timely appointment to The Hague has prevented this.

Weekly Mail Reporter

became the Nationalist MPC for Innesdal in 1970 and then its MP in 1974. It seemed he was set on a traditional political career in the NP.

But as long ago as 1977 he began developing a reputation for being an outspoken representative of the *verligte* cause. By the mid-1980s there was press speculation that he could be expelled from the NP.

In 1984 he said "We want to say to black people that we want to be part of their total liberation" and whites had to recognise the position of blacks by getting away from paternalistic perceptions.

When the abolition of the pass laws was debated in parliament, Nothnagel caused another stir when he publically praised the PFP's Heien Suzman for her fight against influx control.

At the beginning of 1987, he was in trouble with the Nationalist hierarchy for saying that a lasting solution for peace in South Africa could not be found without involving the ANC.

He also said most Nationalists accepted that a solution was not possible without the release of ANC Nelson Mandela and that the ban on political organisations could not go on.

Later that year, he took on the white "own affairs" education department when he criticised the right-wing for infiltrating whites schools.

In April last year, he caused more problems for the NP leadership by saying that the ban on the ANC and the 18 organisations restricted in terms of the State of Emergency should not last and that these bodies were politically important.

A month later, he was saying a national identity could not be achieved if one said South Africa was a nation of minorities and one group was then elevated to a position of privilege.

In September last year, he called for a rethink on the Group Areas Act and said if he had been a "coloured" or Indian, he would have hated the law "with his heart and soul".

It is little wonder that he was in trouble in his conservative Pretoria constituency. Many observers believed he would probably lose Innesdal and this would be an embarrassment to the NP, particularly in an election. His appointment to The Hague will avoid these problems.

His future has been secured but a major question remains: why has he remained within the NP?

The answer, in part, is a question of loyalty to the party and a belief that it was only through the NP that change could be achieved.

"I remain loyal to the NP," he said last year, "because I believe it is the only party able to bring about the changes that are necessary to secure the future."

For him, working with the NP was the only way to prevent a right-wing takeover — and he was sceptical that the opposition groupings could achieve this.



14-20/4/89

WEEKLY MAIL, April 14 to April 20, 1989



ANC leader Mkwayi shifted to Pollsmoor

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

ANOTHER of the African National Congress leaders jailed in the 1960s has been transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison — amid rumours that he may soon be released

According to family lawyers, Wilton Zimasile Mkwayi, 66, was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison a month ago, after serving 25 years of his life sentence on the island. His daughter-in-law has paid him a visit in the Cape Town prison.

His transfer means that only one of the Rivonia-era ANC leaders now remains in the island's maximum prison — Elias Motsoaledi.

Unlike ANC leader Harry Gwala and the Pan Africanist Congress president Zeph Mothopeng, who were released last November after it became widely known they were terminally ill, Mkwayi has not been known to be in poor health.

However, his transfer coincided with British premier Margaret Thatcher's recent visit to Southern Africa. Thatcher has reportedly said that she may visit South Africa if the government releases Nelson Mandela, and there is speculation that the release of Mkwayi could be a compromise.

Asked for comment, the Prisons Service said "It is the prerogative of the commissioner of prisons to decide where a prisoner will be incarcerated."

"Furthermore it is the policy of the South African Prisons Service not to comment on the incarceration, or speculation about the possible release of individual prisoners."

Fate in hands of the police

By STAN MHLONGO

TODAY is D-Day for missing activist Stanza Bopape's girlfriend, Lorraine Mokgotsi - unless the police review her restriction order.

She will no longer have a home for herself and her three-month-old baby.

Mokgotsi's lawyer, Krish Naidoo, confirmed that an application had been made with the security police to change her residential address.

This is the second application she has made to the police.

She has not received any response to an application she made three months ago to be allowed to work so that she could support herself and her child.

A relative said matters came to a head this week when Mokgotsi was told to leave her temporary Sebokeng Zone 7 home, "because the people could no longer stomach the many visits at their home by the police".

Her ejection comes at a time when she is still facing prosecution for breaking her restriction orders three weeks ago by taking sick baby, Amandla, to a traditional healer.

She has been restricted to the Vanderbijlpark magisterial district between 6am and 6pm since her release in November 1988 after spending 205 days in detention.

The prospect of being homeless has compounded the former SA Youth Congress treasurer's troubles - especially in the light of her in-laws' recent fruitless search in Lusaka for Stanza, the father of her child.

Bopape disappeared in June 1988 soon after he was detained.

Missing activist Stanza Bopape's girlfriend, Lorraine Mokgotsi, with their baby Amandla, has asked the police to review her restriction order to enable her to work. A reply is expected today.



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14/4/89



SWINDLE

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's foreign exchange reserves have taken a R650m hammering through fraud.

Reserve Bank deputy governor Mr Japie Jacobs said yesterday that the value of forex fraud cases — discovered by the bank but not yet solved — totalled R850m.

He said "Those outstanding cases which would have affected forex reserves total R650m"

Forex reserves are only affected by transactions involving financial rands

Forex reserves declined from R6,14bn in December 1987 to R4,93bn in December 1988, a drop of R1,2bn. This excluded the R100m Afbank case, which alone accounted for a 4,9% loss in reserves in 1985/1986.

Mr Jacobs said the bank was investigat-

ing more cases — but those involving the R850m had been handed over to the police.

The largest case being investigated was the case involving former Trust Bank corporate division assistant manager Mr Simon Samuels, 32.

Police deputy CID chief Major-General Japie Joubert said in earlier reports that the alleged swindle involving Mr Samuels totalled R157m.

Mr Jacobs said most of the cases being investigated by the bank dated from last year. Other cases were the Eskom stocks fraud case said to involve "tens of millions of rands" and the alleged R47m Trust Bank fraud involving businessman Mr Stuart Pegg and four others.

Trust Bank managing director Mr Kobus Roetz said he could not confirm a report that Mr Pegg and Mr Samuels were personal friends.

When asked how the investigation into the Samuels case was going, he said

"From what I know it is not going well" and declined to comment further.

Police are keeping a tight clamp on information relating to the Trust Bank case.

It was learnt from sources yesterday that R3m in Krugerrands, allegedly purchased with falsified clearance vouchers (CV) had been found. More than R19m in Krugerrands and R1m in uncut emeralds were bought with false CVs.

Another R25m, which had been provided by the bank for the purchase of a Falcon 50 executive jet, has been located overseas and frozen by bank investigators.

Mr Jacobs said forex investigations have been hampered because the police have limited resources. "The bank does not have the power to prosecute and convict people. Such cases must be handed over to the police. It is time-consuming following these contraventions because they often take place overseas and are therefore so easy to trace."

SS
7650
7735



And now I lay me down to sleep ... Oliphant and Margaret Duma preparing for another night beneath the stars

The sky's their roof

South
5-12/4/89

By DOCTORSON TSHABALALA

A FORMER primary school teacher is part of a group of homeless people who sleep in the open in Langa

Mrs Jane Waga, 60 who taught at a primary school in Retreat, has been with the group for more than four years

The three families survive through daily handouts and by begging. They sleep on cardboard and empty sacks. Every night they curl their bodies underneath "what used to be blankets"

Like the others, Waga feels rejected by the world, even by her own children whom she said were "living in luxury" somewhere in Peli, Ciskei

Social workers and other government officials visited them in the past, promising proper accommodation, but so far nothing has been done, she said

Once they were removed and taken to the old age home in Langa. But they were rejected by its folks, who accused them of being "dirty" and carrying diseases

Officials, they said, could do nothing to persuade the dwellers to accept them, and

Every night three families curl up for the night on cardboards and empty sacks and cover themselves with what "used to be blankets". They are Langa's homeless.

soon they were back in the open.

Waga, who speaks fluent English, said she taught for many years at a primary school in Retreat. She had passed a Lower Primary Teachers course (LP3) at a Transkei college.

She was born in Cape Town in 1929. The only relatives she claims to have are those from her husband's side in Guguletu. But they have also turned their backs on her.

Her misery began years ago when her husband divorced her and went to the Ciskei with their five children, two boys and three girls.

Waga has already "celebrated" four birthdays in the open.

"I first saw her in early 1984 when she came to sleep here," said Mrs Evelyn Maqasho, whose yard they use as their refuge.

She has reported their presence to the authorities in the past, but they have not responded, she said.

She claimed that in December Waga was assaulted by a group of young "skolhes" in the middle of the night.

Waga has never been able to apply for her monthly pension grant from the government because she did not have an identity document.

Oliphant, 41, and Margaret Duma have been without a home for three years. The couple was thrown out by their landlord when they could no longer afford to pay their monthly rent after he had lost his part time bricklayer's job.

They did not apply for a house because they would not be able to pay the rent.

Mr Hlubi Radobe, who appears to be in his early fifties, refused to talk about his age or answer questions about himself.

"People come here and ask all these funny questions, a lot of nonsense and promises, promises. Then they go away forever," he said.

Inhumanity

Mr Roland Njoli, the mayor of Langa, was not willing to comment. He referred SOUTH to Ikapa Town Council officials.

Langa Town Council's Control Superintendent Mr G Potgieter said "We know about those people and we are looking into their plight." He refused to comment further.

Cape Provincial Administration social workers declined to comment, but indicated they knew of the homeless families. They referred us to senior CPA social worker, Miss Rika Visser. Repeated attempts to contact her were unsuccessful.

A Langa resident accused the council of turning a blind eye on the situation.

"Not that they are not aware of this. Officials drive past here regularly and pretend this does not exist."

"This kind of thing is grossly inhuman and needs to be addressed urgently. We cannot afford to witness indefinitely this kind of inhumanity."

"I have personally phoned the council on many occasions about this, but they have done nothing. It is shocking how other people seem not to care about the lives of others," he said.



FORMER teacher Mrs Jane Waga has been sleeping rough for four years

5 000 attend shot chief's funeral

UMTATA. — More than 5 000 mourners from as far as the Reef and Natal braved wet weather at Mqanduli near here yesterday to pay their last respects at the funeral of a 75-year-old Transkei chief shot dead when SA security forces raided a house at Zondi, Soweto, a week ago

Also present at funeral of Chief Jackson Balisile Nksiyane were Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi

Chief Nksiyane died in a hail of bullets after SA security forces raided the home of his son, Geoffrey, a week ago

A police unrest report at the time said security forces had shot and killed "two trained ter-

rorists",
Mourners were told that, at the time of his death, the chief was visiting his son to be nearer to a medical specialist attending him in Johannesburg — Sapa

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Cape Times 17/4/89

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(CJA29557)

Mandela ^(11A)
Star 17/4/89
gets freedom
of KweKwe

KWEKWE — President Robert Mugabe and jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela were given the freedom of the town of Kwekwe at the weekend, Ziana National news agency reports.

The ceremony, attended by Deputy-President Simon Muzenda, several government Ministers as well as civic leaders from all over the country, was the first at which Mr Mugabe has got the freedom of a city or town since becoming executive president.

'GREATLY HONOURED'

Gweru was the first city to confer a similar honour on Mr Mugabe, when the city council conferred the freedom of the city on him in 1981.

In a speech during the ceremony, Mr Mugabe said "I will keep this day as the day when I was greatly honoured and respected I will also take this day as the day on which I have been united with Mr Mandela." — Sapa.

Ex-detainee killed

Sowetan 18/4/89

A FORMER detainee and youth leader from the Natal township of Ntuzuma has been murdered just 10 days after his release from the cells, his Durban attorney has announced

Mr Chris Thandazani Ntuli (30), an organiser for the Natal Youth Congress, was killed on

Friday

He was returning to his home from the Inanda police station where he was compelled to report twice a day in terms of the restriction order imposed on his release from detention.

Mr Ntuli's brother was with him at the time, lawyers say It appears

that Mr Ntuli was chased and cornered in the house of a Mr Khumalo where he was stabbed to death

His killers have not been identified, lawyers say

Human rights groups have warned that restriction orders make activists sitting targets for their enemies

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Detainees Aid Centre pointed out recently that many detainees had been in hiding before their detention — not only because they feared being jailed but because of the right-wing vigilante threat

Their release from detention subject to stringent restrictions could actually endanger their lives, it was said

Certain of Mr Ntuli's daily actions were predictable since his release from detention. He was compelled to call at the Inanda police station between 7am and 9am and again between 3pm and 5pm.

Mr Ntuli was in detention for six months before being released on April 4.

PAC leader Madzunya dies

Sowetan 18/4/89

110

LEGENDARY fiery Pan Africanist Congress founder member, Mr Josias Madzunya, is no more. He died at the Siloam Hospital in Venda on Saturday after a long illness.

A family source said the funeral has been tentatively set for Saturday April 22 but this still has to be confirmed. He is to be buried at his home at Tshidzini, about thirty kilometres north-east of Sibasa. He was 80.

A fifth child and only survivor in a family of eight children, Mr Madzunya was born at Muledane, Village near Sibasa in April 1909. He joined the ANC in Johannesburg in 1937 and came to be known for his fiery speeches in the streets of Johannesburg.

organiser for the ANC — a responsibility which entailed long distance travel and sleeping in awkward places.

The legendary Madzunya overcoats came about as a result of this responsibility. The overcoats became a trademark of Mr Madzunya and he has not been seen in public without an overcoat since 1939.

Coat

The coat was my blanket at night and my jacket in the day. It became my uniform of the struggle and I have always worn a coat since 1939. There is no reason why I should stop now as the struggle is still on. A soldier only puts his uniform away when the war is over," Mr Madzunya once told me in an interview. When ideological differences within the

By MATHATHA TSEDU

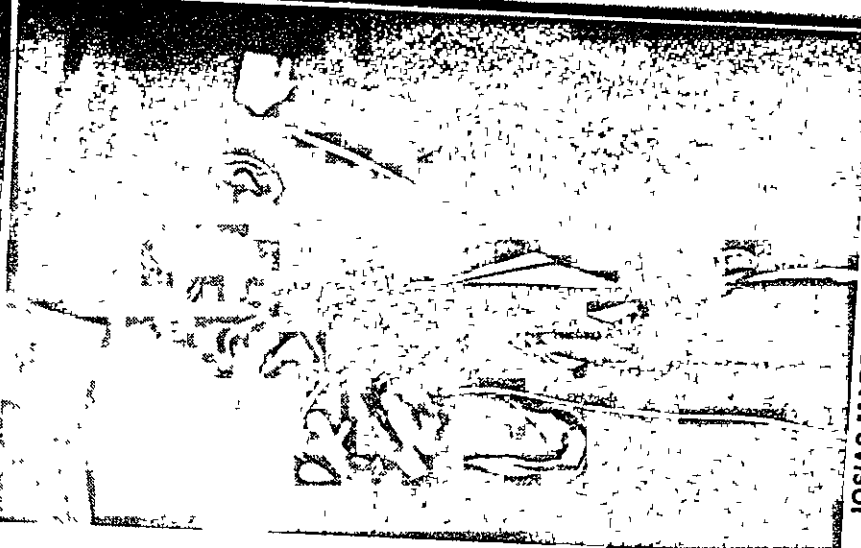
ANC came to a head, Mr Madzunya, a staunch nationalist, sided with the Africanists and was a founder member of the PAC.

When the PAC was banned in 1960, following the Sharpeville shooting, Mr Madzunya was detained with other PAC leaders and released in 1962. He was immediately banished to Venda where he stayed until his death.

The president of PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, yesterday said Mr Madzunya was "a great leader and organiser of the Africanist ideology."

"He had a great vision on the African membership. He was among the moving spirit and dedicated workers in the Africanist movement."

"We mourn his death as a great son of the African soil," Mr Mothopeng said before he jetted out of the country for Britain.



JOSIAS MADZUNYA in that overcoat.

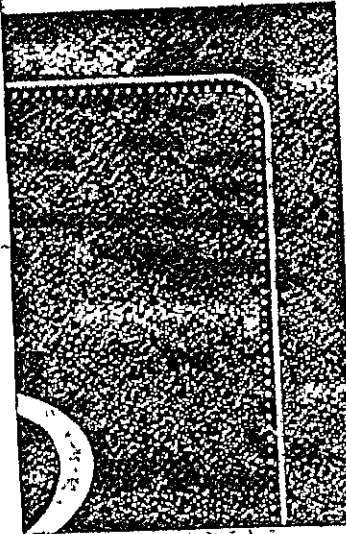
Madzunya

Zeph (118)
Mothopeng
Sowetan
flies 18/4/89
out

THE ailing president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng and his wife, Mrs Urbana Mothopeng, last night flew out of the country for Britain where they will receive special medical treatment.

The sick couple will receive medical treatment at a private clinic in London where they will also talk to representatives of various political, social and economic groups.

After treatment in London they will proceed to the United States where they will visit the United Nations in New York.



Mandela is debated

sowetan 18/11/87

119

THE Government was still giving the position of Mr Nelson Mandela's imprisonment its attention, but at this stage it would be futile if his release led to his re-arrest and even to heighten conflict in the country, the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his vote, he said that no responsible government could be party to processes which were aimed at the promotion of group domination, the rejection of democratic principles and the destruction of private initiative and free enterprise.

"For these reasons the case of Mr Mandela is being treated with circumspection."

Mr Mandela himself had a role to play and if he was prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future, he (Mr Botha) would personally welcome it.

South Africa's problems could be solved if all South Africans had the will to tackle them jointly. He wished to warn that interference from abroad could lead to misunderstanding and confusion.

"From Mr Mandela's reaction to a letter which he is alleged to have received from Mrs Thatcher, I come to the conclusion that he is not in favour of manipulation from abroad."
— Sapa

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Protest over Pretoria apartheid

PRETORIA - Black community leaders are to meet in Pretoria later this week to protest against the "unabated" application of petty apartheid by the Pretoria City Council

Transvaal MEC and Labour Party deputy chairman Willie Hoods said the meeting would discuss possible action to demonstrate the anger of the black community over the council's refusal to end discrimination

He said there was no basic difference between the discriminatory practices of the Carletonville and Boksburg town councils and that being practised in Pretoria. The CP's racist actions all fell within the

ambit of NP policies, and Nat shock at the actions of the two town councils was hypocritical and dishonest, Hoods said

It had become necessary to show that the black community was affronted by the lack of commitment to the elimination of discrimination

Hoods said more and more blacks were becoming aware that monies they paid for municipal services were being used to provide facilities from which they were barred or did not benefit

Laudium MP Boetie Abramjee will be among those attending the meeting

GERALD REILLY

11A

Union plans top-level tour



● RAMAPHOSA

13/04/1987
A THREE-person NUM delegation plans to visit the US, UK and West Germany in the next few weeks and hopes to meet the heads of state

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the union's congress had decided last week that George Bush, Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl should be presented with a complete set of apartheid statutes so as to expose them as supporting a regime whose laws subjugate the ma-

ALAN FINE

majority of South Africans

Other congress resolutions included expressions of support for the creation of an anti-apartheid political coalition led by Cosatu and the UDF, for Swapo, and for intensive discussions by the NUM and other parts of the "mass democratic movement" on a new constitutional dispensation for SA based on the ANC's constitutional guidelines

PW takes conciliatory stance

Mandela 'has role to play in his release'

B/Day 18/4/89

11A
11A

CAPE TOWN — If Nelson Mandela was prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of SA's future, government would respond in an open-hearted manner, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Botha, speaking in the vote on his budget, devoted 12 pages to the subject of Mandela, and said it was clear it would be futile to release Mandela if it led to his re-arrest and increased conflict.

He said "I hope he realises this

"No head of government who is responsible for the promotion of good order can lend himself to processes which result in group domination, the defeat of democratic principles and the destruction of private initiative and free enterprise"

For those reasons Mandela's release had to be handled carefully

Botha said he had said this to world and African leaders whom he had met.

Mandela had a role to play in his own release "If he is prepared to contribute to a peaceful settlement of SA's future I will personally welcome it. In such a case, government would react open-heartedly"

SA's problems could be solved only if all South Africans were prepared to tackle them together. Interference from outside could lead to misunderstanding and trouble

Botha said from Mandela's reaction to



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MIKE ROBERTSON

the incident involving the letter he allegedly wrote to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher it appeared he too was not in favour of manipulation from outside the country

"I find these actions of his encouraging and I leave it there"

Earlier, Botha said that since Mandela's release from hospital the circumstances of his imprisonment had been alleviated considerably

"Although the circumstances of Mandela's imprisonment have changed, the existing criteria for his release still apply"

However, the reaction to Botha's speech from within the NP and opposition parties was one of confusion

While some believed Botha had again shifted the requirement for Mandela's release, others said he had merely reiterated the existing position that Mandela would be detained until he denounced violence

Contribution

Typical of the responses was that of DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer, who said "If the President's address indicates a greater willingness than hitherto to consider the release of Nelson Mandela so that he can take part in discussions or negotiations, then the DP will be delighted."

"It's not just a question of Mandela's personal contribution, important as that may be, it's the fact that Mandela's release is critical in getting the participation of other important black leaders"

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PW shifts
position on
the release
of Mandela

star 18/4/81

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President Botha has slightly shifted the conditions for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, senior Government sources have said.

They were reacting to Mr Botha's statement on Mandela in Parliament yesterday that if Mr Mandela "made a contribution to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future", he would welcome it.

Senior Government sources said the slight shift in emphasis was that it was no longer just a question of Mandela going free, but of giving some indication that he was prepared to play a constructive role once freed.

They said the speech was a continuation of the progress towards releasing Mandela.

However, it was unlikely he would be released soon.

It is understood Mr Botha's speech was given to Mandela before it was broadcast on the news.

Mr Botha's speech has drawn contradictory reactions, with some observers seeing it as merely a restatement of the existing conditions for Mandela's release.

Elsewhere in the speech Mr Botha himself said that although the circumstances of Mandela's imprisonment had changed, "the existing criteria for his release still apply".

Mrs Helen Suzman, Houghton DP MP who last week appealed to Mr Botha to "go down in history as the man who released Mandela" said yesterday's statement had "dampened the enthusiasm of those who hoped Mandela would be released soon".

● See Page 3.

W. April 18, 1989

Politics

Botha speaks on Mandela release

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday urged Mr Nelson Mandela to play a role in creating an environment which could help facilitate his release

However Mr Botha noted that Mr Mandela's case was being treated with circumspection by the government adding "it ought to be clear to everyone that it would be futile if his release led to his rearrest and even to heightened conflict.

Mr Botha said he hoped Mr Mandela understood this and he had reason to believe that this issue was clear to the ANC leader

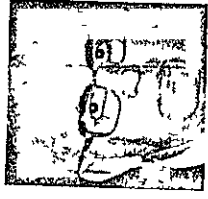
Mr Botha's remarks were interpreted in parliamentary circles as limiting prospects for Mr Mandela's release — unless the ANC leader unambiguously re-

MR Nelson Mandela's reaction in a letter, which he appeared to reject manipulation from abroad was encouraging, the State President Mr P W Botha, said yesterday. Replying to a debate on his vote he said Mr Mandela's case was being handled with circumspection and if he showed he was willing to play a role in the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future, it would be welcomed.

"In such a case the government will act with magnanimity," he said — Sapa

nounced violence as a political instrument. There were mixed interpretations of Mr Botha's speech, ranging from "a coming closer", to "nothing new", and "a backwards step because we have not gone forward".

The president's comments were also seen as an invitation to Mr Mandela to



Mr P W Botha

take the initiative in creating a climate in which the government could feel safe to release him.

Replying to the debate on his vote Mr Botha said: "Due to various considerations the government is treating the question of his release with the utmost care."

Among these considerations are Mr Mandela's age and his long term of imprisonment, the emotional and international dimensions of the matter the interests of the community and the security of the country.

While reiterating his earlier statements that he was not insensitive to the situation of Mr Mandela and other long term security prisoners, Mr Botha emphasized that the government could not order their release if they remained committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism.

He said that although the circumstances of Mr Mandela's imprisonment had changed, the existing criteria for his release still applied.

PW shares 'lesson' on federal complexity

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha said yesterday that he had ordered an investigation last year into the constitutional positions in Switzerland and Belgium to see whether there were lessons for SA in their experience.

After studying the report which he called the Rautenbach report he concluded it was an oversimplification to say that a federation was the key to the solution of SA's constitutional problems.

Mr Botha said the investigators had reported that the fact that Switzerland had grown out of centuries of regional or less sovereign units which coalesced together according to confederal principles has asserted itself in particular elements of the system. These were:

- A strong ideological stand against centralisation
- A desire to solve social and economic problems without the involvement of the state
- A total resistance to the slightest

possibility that one canton, political party, population group or leader should dominate the system

• The unique Swiss phenomenon that on federal, cantonal and local levels there are no executive heads of government.

• Drawn out decision making processes in which not only had all people to be consulted but no action was taken unless everyone's wishes were more or less fulfilled

Mr Botha said the report added further that Switzerland had a stable democratic system whose legitimacy was not questioned by anyone.

Mr Botha said the reasons for his contention were:

- There were more undemocratic than democratic federations
- A federal system did not supply an answer on how components in a heterogeneous state should be compelled to eliminate group domination
- A federal system did not supply an answer on how components in constituent states with heterogeneous populations should be brought together to eliminate group domination

DWA critic 'totarians' in D... ..

Rousing sendoff for Mothopeng

18/6/89
PRETORIA — A crowd of well-wishers who saw off PAC president Zephania Mothopeng at Jan Smuts airport last night laughed good-naturedly when police admonished them for singing songs.

Mr Mothopeng left for Britain for treatment for "malignant thymoma".

Mr Mothopeng sat in a chair in the international departure lounge, but, clutching his familiar walking stick, rose to acknowledge the arrival of singing supporters.

Botha: Reiterating Mandela's position?

18/6/89
Political Staff
PRESIDENT P W Botha said yesterday that if Mr Nelson Mandela was prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of SA's future he would personally welcome it and the government would respond in an open-hearted manner.

Mr Botha, speaking in the vote on his budget, devoted 12 pages to the subject of Mandela, but the reaction both from within the NP and opposition parties was one of confusion.

While some believed Mr Botha had again shifted the requirement for Mr Mandela's release, others said he had reiterated the existing position.

● Full story — Page 4

THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PRESS

PAC leader flies to UK for treatment

Star 18/4/89 By Lloyd Coultts (11A)

Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng left for England last night for medical treatment

Mr Mothopeng (75), who suffers from thyroid cancer, accepted an invitation to London for specialist treatment by a group of British medical practitioners

Released unconditionally from jail last year after serving 12 years of a 15-year sentence, he has been issued a travel document valid for three months

At Jan Smuts Airport, Mr Mothopeng said he had still not recovered and had lost a lot of weight since his release. He had difficulty in speaking.

He would meet anyone interested in speaking to him. "I don't see them as exiles. Many of them were my friends and I am looking forward to seeing them again."

Mr Mothopeng was accompanied by his wife, Urbama.

A large crowd caused a stir at the international departure lounge of the airport when supporters sang freedom songs and wished "Uncle Zeph" good luck and good health.

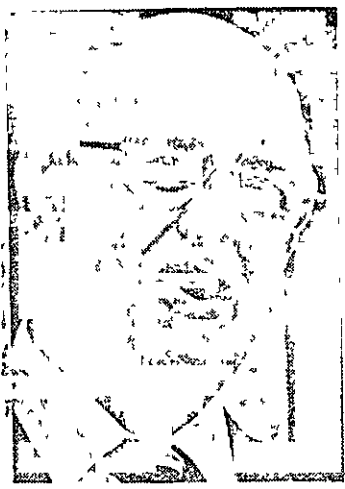
PW's 'message' to Mandela

114
~~10/4/89~~

10/4/89

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

NELSON Mandela has been given a copy of President Botha's speech in Parliament yesterday in which he referred to the contribution that the jailed ANC leader could make towards a peaceful settlement in South Africa.



President Botha

According to a Prisons Service source, Mr Mandela was given a copy of the speech in his house in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl soon after Mr Botha had spoken in Parliament and before the first radio report of the speech was broadcast.

The speech was largely a re-statement of the government's attitude that Mr Mandela must commit himself to non-violence.

But according to top government sources there were significant nuances in the speech

They said the key part of the speech was Mr Botha's reference to Mr Mandela having a role to play

While in the past Mr Botha had referred to conditions under which Mr Mandela could be freed, he had now invited him to become constructively involved

Tackle together

The Argus Parliamentary Staff reports that Mr Botha said South Africa's problems could be solved if all South Africans had the will to tackle them together

But it would be "futile" if Mr Mandela's release led to re-arrest and a rise of conflict, and no responsible head of state could subject South Africa to conditions in which the principles of democracy, private initiative and free enterprise were threatened

Mr Botha's comments on Mr Mandela's imprisonment and the calls for his release came during his speech in a debate on the President's budget

Several MPs, he noted, had mentioned Mr Mandela's imprisonment during the debate African and European heads of state had also raised the matter with him

"Due to various considerations," Mr Botha said, "the government is treating the question of his release with the utmost care"

Comfortable

Mr Mandela now lived "in suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation where he is able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis"

"Although the circumstances of Mr Mandela's imprisonment have changed, the existing criteria for his release still apply"

Mr Botha added "He himself has a role to play. If he is prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's problem, I would welcome it personally"

© More reports, page 8.

Police hunt four after killing

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Police are looking for four men who attacked and stabbed to death a former hunger striker and United Democratic Front supporter, Mr Christy Ntuli, 30, on Friday while he was returning from the Inanda Police Station after complying with his restriction order

According Ms Dhaya Pillay, who was Mr Ntuli's attorney, from reports received it appeared he had been chased by a group travelling in a minibus who had shouted his name

Mr Ntuli sought refuge in the home of a Mr Khumalo The

group, some armed with weapons, arrived and fatally stabbed him

Mr Ntuli was arrested under emergency regulations and was one of the many detainees who had gone on hunger strike

He started his hunger strike on February 18 and ended the protest fast shortly before his release on April 4.

A police spokesman said that Mr Ntuli had been stabbed by four men who had been seen travelling in a blue minibus. The motive for the killing was unknown

Police have opened a murder docket

Grade	Current	Hourly Change	Real Weekly Wage
Grade IV	15.48	15.48	12.02
Grade III	16.72	16.72	12.65
Grade II	18.11	18.11	13.69
Grade I	19.70	19.70	15.26
Factory Driver	21.80	21.80	17.45
Factory Worker	24.20	24.20	19.92
...

SA churchmen bring letter to Downing St

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Two black South African churchmen called at 10 Downing Street yesterday and delivered a private letter for Mrs Thatcher supporting the British government's position on South Africa

Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya, head of the United Apostolic Council, and Bishop Isaac Moekoena, who leads the Reformed Independent Churches Association of South Africa, also gave their views on sanctions and disinvestment, which they strongly oppose

The two churchmen, who claim to represent between them about six million black South African Christians, are spending two weeks in Britain as the guests of the conservative Freedom Association

Court Reporter

A KHAYELITSHA community councillor and ordained minister was yesterday jailed for seven years by a Cape Town Regional Court magistrate on 18 counts of fraud and theft involving R52 341.

Jeremy Moshoeshoe, 35, pleaded guilty to 17 counts of fraud and one count of theft

The magistrate, Mr C P J Prinsloo, ordered that three years of the sentence run concurrently with a six-year suspended term which may become effective. He said Moshoeshoe had "the audacity to enrich yourself

Fraud: 7 years for Khayelitsha councillor

at the expense of a poor community".

Moshoeshoe admitted handing in fraudulent insurance policies involving R49 609 in his capacity as an insurance company representative. He also admitted committing cheque fraud, unlawfully pretending he was entitled to have his car serviced and repaired on credit and stealing a R500 cheque from the town council while employed as a councillor.

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Cape 7/19/89

GROSSKOPF — LEGAL EXPERTS CRITICISE VLOK

GOV
BYC

by DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

LEGAL experts this week criticised Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, for his handling of the Grosskopf affair.

This follows the polemic, including an exchange of letters, between the family of alleged African National Congress bomber Mr Hein Grosskopf, and Mr Vlok who raised the matter in Parliament this week.

Mr Vlok has been accused of "prosecuting, trying and convicting" Mr Grosskopf, who is believed to be out of the country, without trial. In reply, Mr Vlok has said it was his duty to alert the public in order to save lives.

A spokesman for the Centre of Applied Legal Studies at Wits University said the police always ran the risk that they may unjustifiably accuse somebody of being implicated in an offence.

"That is why they usually exercise great caution in stating that people are either wanted for questioning or that they may be able to assist in the investigation of an offence."

Trial by newspaper

"Mr Vlok however prosecuted, tried and convicted Mr Grosskopf without affording him a fair trial. This is nothing more than trial by newspaper on the basis of untested evidence."

A spokesman for Lawyers for Human Rights said "Our view is that the utterances of the Minister were clearly accusatory. We believe this function should be left to the courts."

He added that the correct procedure when the police were looking for a suspect would be to publicise the fact that he was wanted. "The present approach by the Minister amounts to a situation in which he would have to retract if the person is tried and acquitted. He has opened himself to a civil claim," the spokesman said.

When Mr Vlok first raised the issue last year, he said the police had information that Mr Grosskopf was possibly responsible for the Krugersdorp bomb blast and that SAP information was that he was also responsible for the bomb outside the Witwatersrand Command in Johannesburg in 1987.

Mr Vlok also stated that Mr Grosskopf "is a member of the African National Congress, a trained terrorist, and I have no doubt in my mind that these cold blooded and cowardly deeds were carried out at the command of the ANC."

This week in Parliament Mr Vlok repeated that the SAP had highly reliable information that Mr Grosskopf was involved in the Johannesburg bomb blast and that there were indications he could have been involved in the Krugersdorp bomb.

"Trained terrorist"

Mr Vlok also said the police had recently arrested a white man who was a trained "ANC terrorist."

"This person is being questioned and has indicated that he recently moved in Grosskopf's company. Grosskopf must therefore know of his parents' anxiety and suffering. If he is innocent, why does he do nothing about it?"

Mr Grosskopf's mother, Mrs Santie Grosskopf, who released her correspondence with Mr Vlok recently, told the Sunday Star that Mr Vlok's defence in Parliament was "irrelevant."

"He seems to be unable to grasp the central point of my whole argument

that it is not the Minister's task to convict members of the public.

"He used the technique of guilt by alleged association when he told Parliament that a man had been arrested last week who had allegedly been seen in my son's company abroad."

"This is then supposed to justify the fact that last year he accused my son of committing serious crimes inside the country."

"He also used old-fashioned mudslinging by accusing me of publishing confidential information. This is total fiction. I never had any confidential information to divulge. And anybody reading my letters will know that I did not divulge anything."

Canadian report

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld reported today an interview given by Heinrich Grosskopf to a reporter from The Toronto Star, a Canadian newspaper.

According to the Canadian report, Mr Grosskopf said "Politics and militarism, as a matter of tactics, is no big problem to me. If citizens die in attacks on the enemy it is always a pity, but it's there. The war is forced upon us."

The interview had been conducted in the headquarters of the ANC in Lusaka in October last year.

In the article he had been accused of being involved in the most powerful bomb explosion in South Africa on July 31 last year in central Johannesburg.

But Mr Grosskopf, 24, just shrugged his shoulders about the allegations of bloodshed and murder and said "It provides me no problems."

Although he has got objections about violence "I'm not glad about any individual that dies. But if President P W Botha would be shot tomorrow, I would be in ecstasy on the one side, but on the other hand sorry, because a person is dead."

The article further says that the death toll, that was allegedly caused by Mr Grosskopf, apparently doesn't haunt him.

Mr Grosskopf refused to say if he was involved in the bomb explosions or not. Although he acknowledged that he was a member of Umkhonto we Siswe, the military wing of the ANC.

"I'm a soldier. Partly my own choice and partly because I was forced to practise this choice. Now I fight for my land. I didn't get involved with the ANC because it is the right thing. It was the only thing."

"I come from a fairly liberated background. I was educated to believe that the government's intentions were good, that it did the wrong things for the right reasons, that it has been misled, but its intentions are good. All that sort of stuff."

"If you differed from them (the government) on academic or intellectual level, or whatever, they just didn't care. And basically this meant that the only thing you can do is to destroy it (the government)."

According to the Toronto Star he did military training, supposedly at an ANC-camp in Angola and even in Russia. Mr Grosskopf didn't want to discuss this aspect of his life, except to say that he sees himself as a soldier.

He doesn't regard himself as a betrayer of his people.



Perms the thing in hair salon on wheels

by MICHAEL DOMAN
False Bay Bureau

ITS gaily-coloured exterior is reminiscent of a barber's candy stripe.

However, unless you ventured near, you wouldn't guess that inside the simple two-berth caravan opposite Mitchell's Plain Town Centre is a full fledged hairdressing salon.

All the trimmings are there: magazines, mirrors, curlers, perm rods and those seductive pictures of hairdos which say "You too can look like this."

The caravan even has two bright yellow hair-wash basins at one end.

Resident hairdresser is Carol Abels, whose move into her unusual premises was forced when the cut-and-blow business became too big for her two-bedroomed house in Morgenster.

Since moving to the site opposite the medical centre in the Town Centre in November last year the salon has averaged about eight customers a day.

As with any other salon, peak times are Fridays and Saturdays, when the daily average is closer to 25 customers.

This means a queue outside, since the caravan seats only eight.

"Nobody's complained yet," laughs Carol, who

Fistful of dollar million

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK — They came from as far away as California to the nearest Pennsylvania lottery ticket counter — all with dreams of winning what is thought to be a world record jackpot of more than R280-million.

And when the numbers finally came up in Pennsylvania's Super 7 lottery, there were 14 winning tickets — each of the winners assured (after tax) of R774 450 a year, or more than R20-million paid out over 26 years.

The most exuberant claimants by far to the rich prize were 14 factory workers from Windham, Ohio, who shared a winning ticket.

and announced to be a complete failure

ANALYSIS

179
19/4/87

Anita^{Ch. 16} Worrall^{TMS} set for ANC talks

Political Staff

DR Anita Worrall, wife of one of the co-leaders of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, heads for Harare today as one of a party of 55 South African women who will hold talks with the ANC and other groups.

The group will hold three days of talks on "Women in the Challenge for Peace" with members of the Zimbabwe government, the ANC and others in exile.

The trip is being sponsored by Idasa.

Others in the party being led by Mrs Jenny Boraine include Dr Selma Browde; Jennifer Fergusson, singer; Irna van Zyl, the editor of De Kat; Ms Joyce Kgoali of Actwusa; Mrs Elsa Schreiner, mother of treason trialist Jenny Schreiner, and Durban city councillor Mrs Margaret Winter.



MADZUNYA . . . PAC founder-member.

Azanyu services

THE Azanian National Youth Unity is to hold memorial services to honour founder-member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Josias Madzunya, who died last Saturday after a long illness

Azanyu' said in a statement yesterday that

to be held in major townships and that preparations were underway

the services would be held in major townships and that preparations were underway. It said messages of sympathy had arrived at Azanyu offices from the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations

ya, said the funeral will definitely be held on Saturday but other details will be announced later this week

Evening prayers will be held in Tshidzini beginning at 6 30pm today, he said

Struggle

Describing the fiery "lion of the north" as a dedicated servant of the African struggle, Azanyu said his loss was deeply felt by all the oppressed and exploited "people of Azania"

Mr Madzunya died aged 80 at the Siloam Hospital in Venda. He will be buried at his home, Tshidzini, in Venda

Mr Madzunya's son, Mr Ntsundeni Madzuni-

Meeting

THE Katlehong Society for the Blind will hold a general meeting on April 30 at 2pm at the School for the Blind and Deaf (opposite Isiso Technical School), Mofokeng Section, Katlehong

PAC condemns Soviet stand

Star
20/4/84

The Star's Africa News Service

11/13

The Pan Africanist Congress has criticised the Soviet Union for supporting negotiations as a means of solving conflict in South Africa

In a statement issued in Dar es Salaam, the banned PAC also accused some elements in the liberation struggle who were now ready to initiate talks on the advice of the superpowers

The statement said the Soviet Union's "perestroika and glasnost have been and still are on the offensive to convince those who are fighting for freedom and self-determination to arrive at a negotiated settlement through ill-defined means".

No oppressed nation could be dictated to by outside elements

CAPL - Twp 13 20/4/89
11A

Buthelezi praised over govt lures

BIRMINGHAM, England — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday said that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had to be given credit for rejecting government attempts to lure him into participating in its constitutional structures.

He said in a BBC interview that although he and the KwaZulu leader had "serious differences" on strategies to end apartheid, they shared the same goal and "maybe we need to look at (our differences) more seriously".

According to an Anglican Church

statement, Archbishop Tutu is in Britain to lead a six-day evangelistic mission to Birmingham in the English Midlands, organised as part of the city's centenary celebrations.

Asked for his views on Chief Buthelezi, Archbishop Tutu said that the Chief Minister was "a person with very considerable leadership gifts".

"He is somebody who cannot be ignored. In any resolution of our crisis he and his group will have to be taken very seriously into account." — Sapa

9226 - 7/11/89 20/4/89
Buthlezi praised over govt lures

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"He is somebody who cannot be ignored. In any resolution of our crisis he and his group will have to be taken very seriously into account" — Sapa

976 Times
20/4/89
11A

Union a 'threat to SA'

Crime Reporter

REVOLUTIONARY forces are aiming to overthrow South Africa's present "democratic, free market system" through their involvement in legitimate political organisations, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order said

Speaking at yesterday's opening of the new R2,2-million Bellville South police station, Mr Leon Wessels made veiled references to the United Democratic Front and Cosatu as being "terrorist organisations"

"Let us not forget that the ANC has declared 'mass action for people's power' as its theme for 1989 and in doing so they keep the revolutionary climate at an unhealthy high level," he said

Cosatu said of Mr Wessels's statement that it was "ridiculous and that it will be seen as such by people" throughout the country

"Cosatu has always been run on democratic lines and has always been willing to discuss the democratic nature of its policies in any forum," a spokesman for the trade union said last night

Mr Wessels also said there was a campaign to portray the police as people "who had become power-drunk" to prevent their fulfilling their task of securing internal security in the country

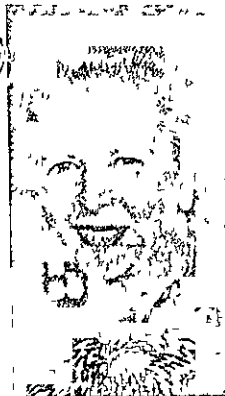
He said that such accusations showed a lack of understanding of the concept of national security

ANC tells

Europe that

it wants to

negotiate



MARGARET THATCHER Knows that the SA economy cannot be 'arrested'

From DAVID WILLERS

LONDON — Margaret Thatcher has enjoyed a triumphant if exhausting month. A remarkable visit to Africa was capped by an equally productive meeting with Mr Gorbachev in London.

If her charm has seemed a little overworked at times, her energy remains unflagging. Mr Gorbachev has since returned to contemplate the ruined landscape of Stalinism-Leninism after Russia's first 'free' elections since 1917, as well as the crisis in Georgia. And Mrs Thatcher, distracted by setbacks at home, has assigned her concerns about southern Africa to others.

But the fallout from her visit and the views on southern Africa she now shares with Mr Gorbachev are already being reflected in the altered opinions of individuals and groupings.

At the European Parliament in Strasbourg last week, I listened to a presentation by a delegation of the ANC.

Significant

The content and spirit of what they had to say reflected the new thinking in the Soviet Union that negotiation and a 'non wasteland' approach are the only way forward.

Significantly, the ANC claimed it now did not wish to see the South African economy destroyed, but merely 'arrested' at its present levels of activity.

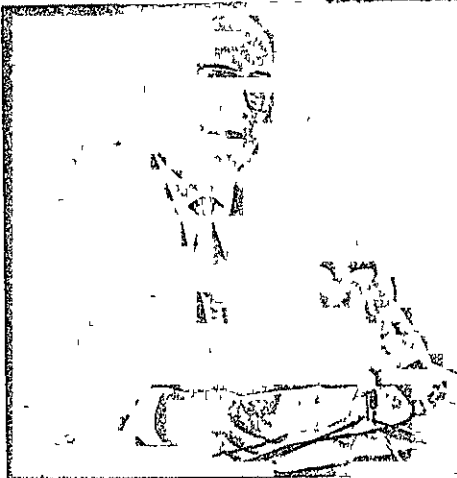
This appeared to Euro-PMs to be a clear signal that at least one of the Congress movements has backed off from its campaign for a total trade and investment boycott of South Africa. A rather unconvincing plea was addressed instead to the EC for non-recognition of South African passports and closure of South African embassies.

Of more immediate interest to the new leadership of the National Party though, was the ANC's forceful statement that they were in favour of negotiation. Although they reeled off a list of 'conditions' which should preface any talks, it was agreed that these were intended for consumption by the cadres in Lusaka, and that not too much dotting of i's and crossing of t's would be insisted upon when push came to shove.

An unconditional suspension of violence no longer appears to be a major obstacle to talks now that Mrs Thatcher is not insisting on it. Instead the ANC appeared to be lobbying for a commitment to ending apartheid by the NP. Indeed, some of the ANC's conditions have already been met by Mr De Klerk.

Quandary

The new ANC line is seemingly quite sophisticated and reasonable and there was little of the inflexible rhetoric of the past, some



FW DE KLERK Has already met some of the ANC's conditions on apartheid

thing remarked upon in private by one well informed British Conservative Euro MP.

There was some not unsympathetic analysis of the quandary Mr De Klerk would find himself in if he took over as president, when he would have to grapple with the contradictions of fighting South Africa's pariah status with ever further reaching reforms while simultaneously re-consolidating the NP's Afrikaner support base.

The ANC says of the AWP and the CP that they are 'nothing more than fascist parties which derived their raison d'être from apartheid' and express support of the new Democratic Party in a manner which suggests that the whole edifice of white politics could no longer be dismissed as in the past.

When Mrs Thatcher's mind returns to dwell anew on the intractabilities of the South African situation, these freshly nuanced sentiments of the ANC will have been reported to her.

She will seize on them as perfect evidence of the rightness of her non sanctions approach and see in the ANC's European presentation welcome early signs of reasonableness.

Loans

The obvious contradiction that Mrs Thatcher will home in on, however, is the ANC assertion that the South African economy can be 'arrested'. Mrs Thatcher knows this is nonsense. You cannot arrest an economy in the sense that you can stop it in its tracks without ultimately weakening it to the point of destruction.

Without fresh loans, and struggling to repay existing ones, the Government must keep the current account in surplus while allowing the Rand to drift down in sympathy with inflation. This is a recipe calculated to cripple

any economy. Rumania provides a perfect example.

The only way out for the South African Government, and the route Mrs Thatcher keeps hammering at is fundamental reform beginning with the dismantling of the centralised bureaucratic system and the release of Nelson Mandela as a prelude to negotiations.

Meeting

This last is important if not essential to the credibility of Mrs Thatcher's non sanctions approach.

Observers in London are beginning to place a time frame on her efforts pointing out that it is a major gamble for her to be lifting the pressure on Pretoria through willingness to meet South African ministers so soon before the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October.

They say the next six months will show whether she is correctly reading the South African situation.

The test will be in what happens to Mandela. Sadly, one cannot be too optimistic that he will be released in time to save Mrs Thatcher's reputation with her critics.

Beeld's informed diarist 'Lood' predicts he will not be released before the general election in September. But if he is released (unconditionally) it will be a major coup for Mrs Thatcher who now sees universal suffrage in the Republic as inevitable and desirable.

Then at least she would be able to rebut the stinging criticism of Labour's Mr Paul Boateng that the Prime Minister cannot hope to be perceived as the midwife of Namibian independence while continuing to act as though she were the wet-nurse of apartheid.

David Willers, a London-based political analyst, is a former Cape Times staff member.

Mandela stays silent on PW's call for non-violence

Accu's
20/4/89

Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela has remained silent on President Botha's statement that he should consider making a contribution to a peaceful settlement in South Africa by "committing himself to non-violence".

The ANC leader did not discuss the statement with his lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, during a "routine visit" at Victor Verster Prison yesterday

"During our discussions, the statement was not even raised," said Mr Ayob

President Botha sent a copy of the speech he made in Parliament to Mr Mandela on Tuesday

In the speech he repeated the government's stand that the jailed ANC leader could make a contribution towards a peaceful settlement in South Africa if Mr Mandela committed himself to non-violence

Improve opinion

In Durban, a Kwazulu delegation and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will discuss the possibility of the release of Mr Mandela, on a date in the second week of May

● The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg that British political analyst Mr Eric Morris believes the release Mr Mandela would help enormously in improving international opinion of South Africa

But the government's condition that he should renounce violence is unlikely to be fulfilled, he said.

Mr Morris, the author of the book *International Terrorism. Threat and Response*, was speaking at a seminar with the theme "countering terrorism" at the Institute for American Studies at Rand Afrikaans University

Pursuing tactic

"No political leader will renounce violence as a strategy. At the same time, one can sympathise with the South African government in not allowing someone who supports violence his freedom," said Mr Morris.

He said the ANC had shown a willingness to negotiate with the government, and although the organisation was pursuing a tactic, it was doing so for good reasons — to enhance its legitimacy

Although the "acts of terrorism" employed by the ANC should be deplored, the organisation should be accepted, he said

Mr Morris said the Marxist element in the ANC should "not be taken too seriously" Marxism was not natural in Africa Nationalism was more fitting

He added that it would be an "almost impossible task" for South Africa to counter the flow of world opinion against it

SA women for Zimbabwe-ANC peace congress

MKGUS 20/4/87 (11/1) 802

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 50 South African women have left for Harare to meet Zimbabwean women in a four-day congress entitled "Women in the Struggle for Peace"

They are scheduled to meet Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of Zimbabwean president Mr Robert Mugabe, top members of the African National Congress, women in the Zimbabwe government and South African women in exile.

The South African delegation, which left yesterday, is led by Mrs Jenny Boraine, part-time consultant for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa). It is being sponsored by Idasa and hosted by the Zimbabwean government.

Included in the South African delegation are Dr Anita Worrall, wife of a Democratic Party leader Dr Denis Worrall and the editors of De Kat and

Tribute, Ms Irna van Zyl and Ms Maud Motanyane. Women trade unionists, academics, professionals and members of the church and rural community will be represented.

The congress comes after 18 months of negotiations with the Zimbabwe government and will focus on the role of Zimbabwean women during the bush war and in its aftermath, their move towards reconciliation and their role today.

Workshops and addresses on a wide range of issues will be pitched at women on both an academic and a personal level.

The congress, likely to be the first of several, aims to broaden dialogue between southern African women.

Mrs Boraine initiated the congress after continually hearing Zimbabwean women saying "if only we had known more about what was happening we could have dealt with the war so much better — but we were fed so much propaganda".

'No rift on armed struggle'

Star 20/4/89

Soviet Union urging ANC to negotiate

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union has started pressing the African National Congress to opt for a negotiated political settlement, the ANC's chief representative at the United Nations has revealed.

Mr Tebogo Mafole told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington yesterday reports were correct that the Soviet Union placed a lot more emphasis on negotiation as opposed to the armed struggle.

"We (the ANC) have always said the ANC is in favour of negotiations. We wanted them for 48 years and it was only in the 1960s, when we were outlawed, that we took up the armed struggle," he said. "We haven't

turned away from negotiations, so there is no dichotomy between us and the Soviet Union.

"One cannot say the Soviet Union has become less supportive of the ANC. I think the determinant (of that) will be to what extent the Soviet Union will be seen to be allowing the ANC to determine its own policies. Has the Soviet Union displayed a tendency to restrict or circumscribe the manner in which the ANC should fight its struggle? I don't see any sign of that."

Mr Mafole said that during a recent trip to Moscow by Mr Oliver Tambo and an ANC delegation, the Soviet Union "expressed its position about favouring political settlements of disputes and conflicts and the ANC agreed this is how things should be."

"In the circumstances, however, the ANC does not find its way clear to abandoning the armed struggle because the conditions which led to our taking up the armed struggle have not disappeared. Conditions have made the armed struggle more necessary. The Soviet Union has not insisted that we do this."

Mr Mafole said the ANC was unlikely to give in to pressure from any direction as to how it must conduct its struggle.

"We will select the instruments for our liberation."

Bensusan gets masters degree

A former mayor of Johannesburg, the Reverend Dr A D Bensusan, was awarded a degree of master of arts in religious studies at the University of Natal, Durban, last week.

Dr Bensusan has spent seven years researching the Book of Esther. His thesis dealt with its historical reliability.

Setback for peace

Natal's killing spiral continues
See page 2

SOUTH

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Birthday drama for 'Mr X'

Handwritten: 26/4/89

By **AYESHA ALLIE** and **HENRY LUDSKI**

AN ANC commander, considered by the State to be its star witness, made a dramatic turnabout in a major political trial in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, this week.

In two days of drama the witness, referred to by the court as Mr X to protect his identity, entered the court as a "traitor", only to emerge as a "hero" in the eyes of the 14 "Yengeni trialists" charged with terrorism

Mr X celebrated his 30th birthday on Tuesday giving evidence for the state and branded a "traitor" by jeering former comrades.

The next day the commander of the "Basil February" unit of the ANC's Umkonto We Sizwe refused to testify further — and left the court a hero

• **TURN TO PAGE 3**



CAKE FOR COMRADES. Two of the "Yengeni trialists", Zuraya Abass, left, and Colleen Lombard, celebrate the birthdays this week of their co-accused Alpheus Ndude and Lumka Nyamza

PIC YUNUS MOHAMED



Excitement at the Gawu special congress held last weekend. See special supplement

Gawu heads for Mayday showdown

THE Garment and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu) is heading for a showdown with employers over the issue of workers taking off Mayday.

Gawu is seeking an undertaking from employers that they refrain from taking action against the union should agreement over Mayday not be reached at clothing factories in the Western Cape

In terms of the industrial council agreement, workers do not have May 1 as a paid holiday but the matter is open to negotiation at plant level

Employers warned Gawu that they reserved the right to take action should they consider the union to have breached the industrial council agreement

Such action could include suing the union for loss of production.

But Gawu regional secretary Lionel October said the union had no intention of breaking the agreement.

Pupils protest over 'victimised' teachers

Handwritten: 20-26/4/89. Smith

DISRUPTIONS at Senior Secondary in schools in the Peninsula over the "victimisation" of progressive teachers continued this week with pupils demanding that sacked teachers be reinstated

At a school in the Bonteheuwel area, the tyres of a principal's car were slashed after he was involved in an altercation with pupils

As tensions grew at schools around the Peninsula, pupils at Spes Bona

Athlone this week protested at the dismissal by the Department of Education and Culture of Bonteheuwel teacher Mr Salm Mowzer.

Mowzer taught at Arcadia Senior Secondary for about two years but after being released from detention last year, he was informed by the department that his appointment would not be renewed

Spes Bona pupils have also condemned the de-



Salm Mowzer

tection of community leaders, students and activists.

A spokesperson for the Department said on Wednesday he was unaware of any disturbances at schools

Two killed on ANC farm

TWO members of the African National Congress have been murdered on a farm run by the organisation in Zambia.

Farm manager Seddhan Naidoo and chief mechanic Mtunzi Thole were gunned down in the farmhouse on Saturday evening, as they were watching television

A spokesperson for the ANC said both men were very important for the running of the farm

The farm, situated 44 km outside Lusaka, is run on a commercial basis with maize being the major crop

Police have not yet made any arrests, but the ANC said progress was being made towards apprehending the culprits

Both men were in their early thirties. Thole is from Uitenhage, while Naidoo — the son of prominent ANC member Phylis Naidoo — comes from Durban

NEWS

Grapes of wrath

Raw deal for casual workers
— Page 3

SOUTHSIDE

Dezi's sax appeal

Horizons open up for star performer
— Page 11

SPORT

Top coach axed

EP dumps key rugby man
— Page 24

Be neutral, stay peaceful, says chief

By WILLIAM HARPER

NEUTRALITY is the key to peace, says Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, who has banned all recruitment drives by political organisations in his seat of Maqongo.

The 39-year-old chief, who claims a massive following among the 30 000 people in his region, is known in the Natal midlands for his refusal to allow his area to become a killing ground.

"I told my people that if you are UDF or Azapo, or Inkatha or ANC or PAC, don't go out and force other people to join," he said.

"Nobody is allowed to go out at night and knock at other people's houses and tell them to join — this is the very thing that started the violence."

Neutrality was essential to restore peace, said Maphumulo.

"If a leader is taking sides, he is unlikely to control the situation because he is siding with one and when you side with one you can't give the other a fair hearing."

The homeland governments, he said, intimidated chiefs into a position where they could no longer be neutral.

He complained that Inkatha, despite the ban on recruitment, had attempted to recruit in his area recently, but a meeting of 10 000 of his constituents had voted to keep the recruiters out.

"While things remain like this there will be no recruitment, when things have cooled down we will allow Azapo, Inkatha, the UDF or whoever to recruit."

Maphumulo's views and his adherence to them have brought him in conflict with Inkatha leadership since the 1970s.

In 1978 the KwaZulu government suspended his chieftainship, but he took the matter to the Supreme Court and was reinstated.

Dove of peace at Shembe funeral

DURBAN. — The dove of peace was not far away when UDF leader Archie Gumede and KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi shook hands and embraced at Sunday's funeral of church leader, the Rev Londe Shembe.

A picture of the two leaders embracing was given front-page prominence in the Inkatha mouthpiece, *Ilanga*, on Monday.

UDF has no leaders — Inkatha warlord

By S'KHUMBUZO MIYA

PEACE would come to strife-torn Pietermaritzburg once the United Democratic Front acquired "important leaders".

This is the opinion of Inkatha "warlord" David Ntombela, recently elected as a member of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

Ntombela pointed out that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was "known" as a leader, but that he (Ntombela) did not know of any UDF "leaders".

"All organisations must have leaders," he said "If the UDF can have important leaders to negotiate with us, peace will come, because I believe what the Zulus say: mhlambi yezinkomo engenabelusi iyotheleka eweni (herds of cattle without shepherds will fall over the cliff)."

"Last year we tried our best to commit ourselves to the Inkatha/Cosatu peace accord and we held meetings explaining it to our members, but Cosatu did not hold one."

Ntombela blamed the bloodshed in Pietermaritzburg on youths whom he said were "inspired by a minority to perpetuate violence".

"But they later find themselves dying alone," he added.

Ntombela also criticised the media



PEACE REIGNS. Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo has refused to allow his chiefdom to become a killing ground

By WILLIAM HARPER

ATTEMPTS to end the bloody conflict in the Pietermaritzburg region have been set back by at least another three months after Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi stalled the latest peace talks.

More than 150 people have been killed in the Pietermaritzburg region since the beginning of this year, as killings and revenge killings continue unabated in Natal's war-torn townships.

But the latest attempt to get the warring sides together has been put on ice after Buthelezi last week questioned the need for a high-level peace conference.

The conference proposal was initiated by Archbishop Denis Hurley, who has agreed along with Bishop Michael Nuttall, Prof Pieter Booysen, Bishop Stanley Magoba and Tongaat-Hulett chairperson Chris Saunders, to serve on a committee of convenors for the conference.

for portraying him as a "killer".

Community members in Pietermaritzburg have accused Ntombela of being involved in the killing of several "amaqabane" (youths supporting the UDF).

Ntombela has been twice court-interdicted, and was charged with the murder of 10-year-old Zandile Mkhize and her mother Maqhulika (45).

Charges were later withdrawn pending the outcome of an inquest. It is not yet known whether the Attorney-General will prosecute.

"Newspapers have smeared me as a killer," said Ntombela. "The same thing was done by 'amaqabane' in pamphlets. They do not approach me directly, but get wrong information from my enemies."

"I am against killing. I don't even have a single killing court charge."

Ntombela said he had been voted into the KwaZulu assembly because the community "know what I have done for them".

"I stand against schools' boycotts perpetrated by the UDF hooligans who don't want to go to school," he said.

"I have set a good example in KwaMncane, where I am an induna — no school is closed there."

Setback for peace

Buthelezi said the initiative would have to be discussed at the Inkatha central committee meeting on April 29 and then at its general conference in June.

He said the church had no impressive track record in ending the violence. What was first needed was for the leaders of the warring factions to talk to the people involved in the violence.

"We can then have any number of high-profile consecration meetings with bishops and clergy after that."

Buthelezi's comments came days after Inkatha leader and Vulindlela (Edendale) MP, Velaphi Ndlovu, publicly criticised the initiative and the convenors.

Ndlovu, who took part in earlier talks as a representative of Inkatha, questioned Hurley's authority in presenting Inkatha with a list of convenors.

Despite Inkatha's objections, Cosatu has expressed its support for the conference and the convenors.

Said Cosatu president Elijah Barayi: "Our organisations have been aware of the urgent need for peace and have reached agreement on the necessity for all organisations, including Inkatha, to be part of a peace conference."

Barayi said the process of consultation had been difficult because of the restrictions on the UDF and called on all organisations to support the

initiative to ensure its success.

He said he had sent a memorandum to the convenors and to Buthelezi which addressed points raised by the Inkatha leaders.

"It is our sincere hope that this will pave the way to a successful conference," he said.

Responding to this memorandum, Buthelezi said Cosatu and the UDF were on record as saying they would not talk to Inkatha.

He further called on Cosatu to withdraw a recent dossier it had prepared alleging collusion between the SAP and Inkatha, although Cosatu leaders have said that the dossier was aimed at the SAP and not Inkatha.

According to research conducted by the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, almost 1 300 people have been killed in the Natal midlands since January 1987.

Countless thousands have been left homeless and millions of rands in property destroyed.

John Aitchison, head of the centre, said there was a continual rise in the level of violence in the region.

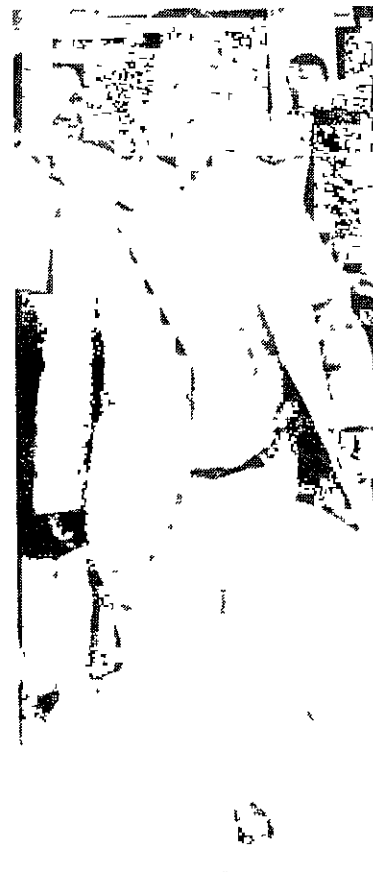
"What is happening is that the polarising effect on the groupings is actually being deeply ingrained," said Aitchison.

This was leading to a situation where killings were leading to revenge killings and these to even more revenge killings.

Aitchison said the comments by State President PW Botha last month that the violence was declining — made in response to a call by Bishop Michael Nuttall for a commission of inquiry — showed Botha to be "misled".

"When 50 people are being killed a month for political reasons, you cannot describe the situation as calm," he said.

Last Friday Buthelezi made public a letter from Rev Athol Jennings, an intermediary in trying to set up the conference, which showed that the original initiative for the conference had come from Cosatu and had the full support of the UDF and the ANC.



David Ntombela

'Mr X'

FROM PAGE 1

In another ironic twist on Thursday, birthday celebrations planned for accused Alpheus Ndude, 47, and Lumka Nyamza, 30, were quickly changed to include Mr X

Shortly before requesting his own legal counsel and asking for "protection" from the court, Mr X said that he "wanted to be with my comrades"

"I am still a member of the ANC and I am prepared to go to Mandela's feet," he said

"It is only in court that I can express my opinion because I had reasons why I could not express my views before I did not want to fall on a bar of soap, fall from the 10th floor, fall from a flight of steps, end up with a brain operation or end up leaving someone cold," he said

Applications for him to be moved from Section 31 of the Internal Security Act on the grounds that he was no longer a state witness, and for him to be transferred to Pollsmoor, were also turned down by the judge

The state has granted permission for Mr X to see his lawyer for two hours every day until the trial resumes next Tuesday.

The trial continues on April 25

20-26/4/89
frucht

Two killed on ANC farm

(1100) Smith
20-26/4/89

TWO members of the African National Congress have been murdered on a farm run by the organisation in Zambia.

Farm manager Seddhan Naidoo and chief mechanic Mtunzi Thole were gunned down in the farmhouse on Saturday evening, as they were watching television. A spokesperson for the ANC said both men were very important for the running of the farm.

The farm, situated 44 km outside Lusaka, is run on a commercial basis with maize being the major crop.

Police have not yet made any arrests, but the ANC said progress was being made towards apprehending the culprits.

Both men were in their early thirties. Thole is from Uitenhage, while Naidoo — the son of prominent ANC member Phylis Naidoo — comes from Durban.

Exciter
last we

SPORT

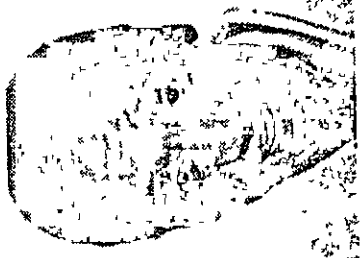
SOWETAN Friday, April 21, 1989

11A

GOSBY JOINS CRUSADE

Helping Archbishop Tutu

South for 2/7/89



WASHINGTON — Anglican leader the Very Rev Desmond Tutu and popular American actor Bill Cosby have renewed efforts to raise funds in the US for the education of South African refugees.

In a message mailed to thousands of Americans in recent weeks, Archbishop Tutu says: "South Africa is exploding. Each day brings new violence, new arrests, new deaths. The inevitable result is a continuing wave of refugees — people marked for arrest — who are fleeing for their lives. Our refugees are prepared and ready to

most often young — many under 18 — with a single common trait: leadership ability. Our potential leaders are the most vulnerable to arrest

catastrophe. Please help us." The letter is mailed in an envelope on the outside of which says, "A message from Bill Cosby."

Inside, Bishop Tutu's letter is accompanied by one from Mr Cosby, which says "What words can I use to prompt your gift to this (Bishop Tutu Southern African refugee scholarship) fund? Truthful descriptions will offend, for they smack of extreme statement. On the other hand, understatement might not get your check in the mail. "Let me risk something in-between."



enter college. For these young, gifted and capable people to be equipped to take over the leadership of our country, they must be educated. Education must be one of our priorities.

"The American people can make a difference. Our children are dying. Our country is bleeding. We are on the verge of

BILL COSBY . . . letter. and detention and thousands have been forced to leave the country.

"The SA Council of Churches estimates that there are 10,000 of these refugees academically prepared and ready to

Group to show alleged slaying

WASHINGTON

The group which is to televise allegations that South African security forces effectively executed Swapo fighters by shooting them at point-blank range is determined to drag South Africa back as a major issue of coverage by the American media.

Calling itself *South Africa Now*, the weekly 30-minute show is produced by *Globalvision*, a small independent producer based in New York, in association with the Africa Fund, a tax-exempt education organization.

It has received warm endorsements from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Allan Boesak, Mr Dennis Goldberg of the ANC and former South African newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods.

Globalvision was founded by Mr Rory O'Connor, an experienced producer of investigative reports for television and a newspaper columnist.

The company launched *South Africa Now* as a 13-part series last year in response to Pretoria's clampdown on the media.

Senior producer, reporter and co-anchor of the show is Carolyn Craven, a former White House correspondent for *National Public Radio* and an associate producer for *ABC News* in New York.

Her co-anchor is Fana Kekana, a South African actor who came to the US in 1987. He has performed in several plays about South Africa including *Woza* and *The Broadway production of Asinamali* and in the Broadway production of *Poppie Nongena*.

ARCHBISHOP Tutu... support



GETTING SA ON SPOTLIGHT AGAIN

Soviets pressing ANC to opt for negotiations

119
21/4/89

From DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Foreign Service and Argus Africa News Service

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union is pressing the African National Congress to opt for a negotiated political settlement, the ANC's chief representative at the United Nations has disclosed.

Mr Tebogo Mafole, chief representative at the ANC observer mission to the UN, has told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington that the Soviet Union appeared to be embracing a form of "constructive engagement"

He said it had changed its attitude towards the ANC in that it placed a lot more emphasis on negotiation as opposed to the armed struggle

But in spite of this pressure, he said, the ANC did not find its way clear to abandoning the armed struggle because the conditions which led to its taking it up had not disappeared

PAC ANGERED

The disclosure of the Soviet "constructive engagement" stance has angered the Pan Africanist Congress, which has sharply rebuked the Soviet Union for supporting negotiations as a means to solve the conflict in South Africa.

In a statement issued from Dar es Salaam to the Africa News Organisation, the PAC also accused "some elements" in the liberation struggle who, it said, were now ready to initiate talks on the advice of the superpowers

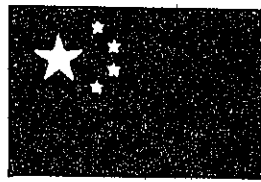
Mr Mafole said it was correct that the Soviet Union had "increasingly spoken in favour of a negotiated settlement" but added that it was debatable whether this had any bearing on its relationship with the ANC

"We (the ANC) have always said the ANC is in favour of negotiations. If we were to have had our way we would have had negotiations already. We wanted them for 48 years and it was only in the 1960s, when we were outlawed, that we took up the armed struggle," Mr Mafole said

COMING CLOSER

"We haven't turned away from negotiations, so there is no dichotomy between us and the Soviet Union. In fact, our positions are coming closer. What the ANC is now saying is what the ANC has been saying all along

"One cannot say the Soviet Union has become less supportive of the ANC. I think the determinant (of that) will be to what extent the Soviet Union will be seen to be allowing the ANC to determine its own policies"



The flag of
Red China

Big political shift as SA gears up for Red trade

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a dramatic turnabout in its political stance towards the communist bloc, the South African government has opened talks with Red China and Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe on the creation of new two-way trade links

Dr Stef Naude, Director-General of the Department of Trade and Industry, has been assigned to tackle the sensitive negotiations.

The talks confirm sweeping measures to launch a global search for new markets to expand overseas trade and counter the sanctions blockade.

South African exporters were taken by surprise when news of the moves were disclosed at a Federated Chamber of Industries conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Bert Pienaar, Director of Export Promotion, disclosed that the Department of Trade and Industry was braced to spend R1-billion a year on new incentives to encourage the industrial sector to streamline operations to tackle overseas markets more effectively.

SOVIET INVOLVEMENT

He confirmed that Dr Naude had already flown behind the Iron Curtain for talks with officials in Hungary and Poland to pursue talks on new trade pacts.

Soviet officials were also believed to be involved in discussions.

Precise details of new trade proposals were not divulged.

Mr Pienaar, who has been called in to use 20 years' experience as an overseas trade envoy to head a sweeping new export offensive, said exporters could expect normal trade relations with both Hungary and Poland to be under way "very soon".

IN FULL: MANDELA'S LETTER TO BUTHELEZI

(11A) WMMHC 21-27/4/89.

THE full text of the recent letter from Nelson Mandela to Mangosuthu Buthelezi — an important intervention in the tense relationship between Inkatha and the ANC — has been released.

The letter comes at a crucial time for peace-making attempts in Natal, particularly since it reveals a warmer than expected relationship between the jailed ANC leader and the Inkatha leader.

The letter is notable for Mandela's friendly tone and open attitude to Buthelezi, Inkatha and the Natal peace talks. Mandela calls the Inkatha leader by his clan name, "Shenge", and signs it with his own, "Madiba". He also uses traditional names in sending his "best wishes" to Buthelezi's wife, "Mndlunkulu".

Most striking is that he refers to "our organisation", presumably refer-

ring to the ANC, although Buthelezi's relationship with the banned organisation has been distant for some time. The full text is as follows:

"Dear Shenge:

I thank you for the warm and well-considered telex message you sent me on behalf of King Zwelithini and Inkatha on the occasion of my seventieth birthday. I also received your letter of 26 August 1988 in which you wished me a speedy recovery from illness, and in which you outlined your efforts both locally and abroad to secure the release of prisoners in South Africa.

"Apart from your telex and a telegram from Mrs Helen Suzman, hundreds of similar messages came from well-wishers in the country and in different parts of the world. It is partly the unswerving support of such men and women, and partly the achievements made by our organisation within and outside the country which have given prisoners so much strength and hope.

"You will readily accept that it is not at all easy from my present quarters to com-

ment fully and freely on the sentiments you so eloquently expressed in the above correspondence. "It is sufficient to state that your persistent demand for the unconditional release of prisoners before negotiation can start, is a stand which I have always welcomed as a positive contribution to the search for lasting peace in this country.

"Obviously, my fervent hope is to see, in due course, the restoration of the cordial relations which existed between you and OR (Oliver Tambo), and between the two organisations in the seventies. The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice, and to pool their efforts. Any act or statement, from whatever source, which tends to create or worsen division is, in the existing political situation, a fatal error which ought to be avoided at all costs.

"Far more information than I possess at the moment is required before I can blame any of the parties involved in the deplorable

conflicts now taking place in Natal. All the same, I consider it a serious indictment against all of us that we are still unable to combine forces to stop the slaughter of so many innocent lives. The struggle is our life and, even though the realisation of our fondest dreams may not be at hand, we can nevertheless make that struggle immensely enriching or absolutely disastrous.

"In my entire political career few things have distressed me (so much) as to see our people killing one another as is now happening. As you know, the entire fabric of community life in some of the affected areas has been seriously disrupted, leaving behind a legacy of hatred and bitterness which may haunt us for years to come. It is a matter which requires the urgent attention of all people in this country. Nothing will please me more than to know that my concern and appeal have not fallen on deaf ears.

"Once again, I thank you, the King and Inkatha for your inspiring message. My best wishes to you and Mndlunkulu — Yours sincerely, Madiba"

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Nine-year-long Thembu power battle moves to its climax

WJMM
11A
7-27/4/89

By LOUISE FLANAGAN,
East London

A NINE-year-old feud over a powerful Transkei tribal succession which has involved the Matanzimas, the military rulers and even Nelson Mandela, may finally be resolved within the next two weeks

At stake is the position of paramount chief of the Thembus, one of the most powerful chieftaincies in Transkei. Vying for the position are the deposed paramount's son and the Matanzima-supported incumbent.

After a lengthy court battle closely watched by thousands of Transkeians, the case has been referred to the regional authority for a final decision.

The original paramount chief of the Thembus was Sabata Dalindyebo, arch-rival and relative of paramount chief Kaiser Matanzima.

Chief Sabata was widely regarded as King of the Thembus and as the rightful hereditary ruler of all Transkei. In their bid to create an independent Transkei, the South African authorities split the Thembu paramountcy to create Emigrant Thembuland and made Chief Kaiser paramount chief of it.

Chief Kaiser, who had previously been a relatively minor chief, based his position in the newly "independent" Transkei government of 1976 on his new paramountcy.

Over the next few years, the Matanzimas fought a losing battle against Chief Sabata's widespread support.

In 1980, after a trial in Port St Johns which attracted thousands of Thembus to the town and threatened to topple the Matanzima dynasty, Chief Sabata was convicted of insulting the dignity of the state president — Chief Kaiser — and deposed on these grounds. He fled into exile, joined the African National Congress and died a few years ago.

After Chief Sabata was deposed, the Matanzimas installed Bambilanga Dalindyebo, Sabata's junior brother, as paramount chief of the Thembus. Bambilanga died recently, leaving the post to his son Zondwa Murara.

Last year Dalindyebo's son Buyelekhaya lodged a supreme court application challenging the legality of both the hand-over to Bambilanga and the current position of Zondwa Murara.

Buyelekhaya is supported in his claim by military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Last week the Transkei Supreme Court handed the succession matter over to the local Thembu authority, the Dalindyebo Regional Authority.

In terms of the court order, the military council must instruct the DRA to call a meeting to discuss the paramount chieftainship within three weeks. The DRA must either confirm Mthunzi's position, or designate another paramount.

The DRA decision will then become an order of court. — elnews

11A
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2/11/89
11

Balaclava-clad men beat me, says sister of dead guerrilla

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE sister of a dead African National Congress guerrilla says that balaclava-clad men who claimed to be policemen abducted her three weeks ago, demanding that she show them her brother's dead-letter box.

Four months after the body of ANC guerrilla Bongani Gideon Siwela was found hanging from a tree in a Bophuthatswana forest, a gang allegedly abducted his sister, Jabulile Sarah Siwela, from her Meadowlands home.

They drove her to the Meadowlands bush, assaulted her and interrogated her about her brother.

Jabulile and her common-law husband Sam Mokgotho told the *Weekly Mail* that although the gang of more than 10 men wore balaclavas, they could see their eyes through the slits. Although some gang members were black, the voices of whites were also clearly identifiable.

The gang demanded she disclose names of guerrillas who, together with Bongani, engaged security forces in a shootout in Soweto in 1987. Police said one ANC guerrilla was shot dead and two policemen injured.

Three men, including Bongani, were arrested after the shootout.

Bongani, who had been detained to testify for the state against his comrades, was released at the end of the trial last November without giving evidence when the accused changed their plea to guilty.

Siwela says her brother was frequently visited by police on his release, and left to "cool off" with relatives in Dinokana, near Zeerust. A month later villagers found his body dangling from a tree.

According to Siwela and Mokgotho, the balaclava gang arrived at their house in two minibuses at about 3.30am on March 30.

Said Siwela: "I was asleep when I heard a loud knock, followed by a sound of breaking glass", then the sound of voices saying "Ons is politse, maak oop".

As Mokgotho opened the kitchen door, he said, "two men wearing balaclavas pushed me back into the room, forcing their way into the house". One of the raiders held a list containing names of various people.

"Seconds later, more black men, also wearing balaclavas, entered. Every one of them was armed with a machine gun. I thought they feared there were guerrillas in the house", Mokgotho said.

Siwela said she was forced to dress at gunpoint in front of two men, one of whom said "Jou crook, jy sal die waarheid praat vandag".

They took her away in a white minibus accompanied by a similar vehicle, "packed with men in balaclavas".

During interrogation in the bush "I was kicked until I fell down," she said. "As I tried to stand up I heard a female voice. Speaking Xhosa, the woman urged me to tell the truth."



The evidence: Jabulile Siwela points to the window she says was broken by balaclava-clad raiders on the night of her abduction.

Picture: THAMI MKHWANAZI

"I turned around to see who was speaking. A white man slapped my face. He fetched a black cloth from the kombi and blindfolded me."

After interrogating her, the abductors removed the black blindfold and drove her back home at about 5.20am but warned her they would return.

She received treatment from a Soweto doctor after her assault, she said, and she has also taken legal advice.

Three days later on April 2, two black policemen arrived at midday and enquired after her health. The men promised to take her to the doctor the next day.

"I was afraid of further assaults," she said. "I have been in hiding ever since." She said the family had taken

the registrations numbers of the balaclava-clad visitors' vans.

Her brother Bongani's death was attributed by Bophuthatswana police to suicide, but the homeland's police failed to order a post mortem.

The local district surgeon said that no post mortem examination had been conducted because there was a scarcity of pathologists in the homeland.

● Captain R Crewe of the SAP Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said the *Weekly Mail* enquiries had been referred to the Soweto police. He said he would respond once Soweto police had made their investigations. At the time of going to press, he had not yet done so.

Free food, says bogus leaflet

WIMBAC 21-2748 (11C)

Weekly Mail Reporter
East London

FREE food, blankets and clothes, announced the friendly pamphlet. Anyone interested just needed to visit the home of a kindly Black Sash official.

Unfortunately for the 120 people who responded this week, the pamphlet was a fake, designed to embarrass the East London Black Sash.

The pamphlet, issued in the name of the regional director of the Black Sash, Sue Power, described a "winter care programme". Readers were told to call at Power's house for food, clothing and even housing. The pamphlet was widely distributed in Duncan Village, Cambridge township and the Postdam refugee camp at Newlands.

Among the group were people who have lived as squatters in the bush at Cambridge for many years.

The pamphlet, written in ungrammatical Xhosa with Power's name misspelt, is the second such fake to be distributed in the name of the Black Sash.

"If you want food, a place to stay or clothes, even blankets contact Sue Powers," read the pamphlet.

Residents in Duncan Village said they found pamphlets under their doors. Potsdam refugees said they heard a car stopping at about 2am, when they went near the occupant, a white man, quickly dumped the pamphlets and the car sped off.

The Black Sash has been involved in assisting the 300-strong Potsdam community camped in Newlands in a bid to find land in South Africa after leaving Ciskei.

"We know these smear tactics," said Power. "They have done it to us before. Some people will understand this, but I feel sorry for those poor people who need help. It is a very cruel thing to do, using poor people for one's little gains." — elnews

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Cape Times 22/4/89
**Mayor,
official
agree to
prevent
attacks**

Supreme Court Reporter

MR Mahi Hoza, the mayor of Khayelitsha, and one of his councillors yesterday undertook in the Supreme Court not to participate in, assist or permit an unlawful attack on two residents.

Mr Hoza and the councillor also undertook to prevent, as far as possible, any of their servants or agents from perpetrating any unlawful acts

Mr Hoza said he would personally inform all people under his control of the undertaking within 48 hours. He denied, however, that people under his authority constituted a homeguard or court, as was alleged.

The undertaking to the court follows an urgent application brought by Mr Mgcini Hunderson Mkaza and Ms Lucia Cikizwa Manyakanyana against Mr Hoza, Mr Jackson Nonjaca, Mr Pieter Thetani, Mr Dielo Mogoma, Mr Xexo Solixo, Mr David Olifant and Mr Richard Daladada.

However, an interim interdict was granted against Mr Thetani, Mr Olifant and Mr Daladada. The return date is June 1.

Mr Mkaza, a security guard who runs a discotheque, said he had been assaulted on April 10 and a number of his possessions destroyed or stolen. His attackers were subsequently released on bail.

He described his at-

crack of dawn

crack of dawn

From page 1

Cape Times 22/4/89
Hoza

attackers as members of a group known as "Masolumzi" — a homeguard — formed by Mr Hoza after his arrival in Khayelitsha. He said its members were armed with firearms, pangas and other lethal weapons, acted as bodyguards and purported to enforce law and order.

Mr Hoza also controlled a system of "informal and unlawful" courts in Khayelitsha, run by a headman and homeguard in each section. At these courts people were often heavily fined or beaten, usually without the opportunity of a proper hearing, Mr Mkaza said.

On April 9 this year a group of men arrived at his house and told him he was wanted by the headman. When he refused to go he was assaulted, but fought back and reported the matter to a special constable who lived close

While speaking to the constable he heard gunshots and saw that about 30 members of the homeguard had surrounded the house and were beating up people inside and breaking windows.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has served 25 years of a life sentence. President Botha has re-stated he must commit himself to non-violence and indicated he could become constructively involved in a peaceful settlement in South Africa. Although given the chance, Mr Mandela has still to respond to Mr Botha's speech. The question is — what would happen if he was released?

DR Nthato Motlana, honorary president of the Soweto Civic Association, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF), believes the release would be trouble-free — if the government allowed Mr Mandela full freedom.

The way to handle it would be to ensure that Mr Mandela was not released into "a vacuum", Dr Motlana said.

He believes peace would prevail if the government allowed him to be a free man in every respect.

The scenario Dr Motlana foresees is crowds to see and hear Mr Mandela. There would be meetings, rallies and speeches. There would be political activity and participation in negotiations with other leaders.

But none of this would be violent or menacing if the government was to relax and let it be.

Dr Motlana said Mr Mandela would have to be free to play his role as a political leader of his people, and to negotiate on their behalf with other leaders.

Before this could happen, the ANC would have to be unbanned, the state of emergency would have to be lifted, political prisoners and detainees would have to be released, and ordinary political activities, like meetings and rallies, would have to be allowed.

"If this was done, I am convinced there would be a peaceful response to Mr Mandela's release. We have always been a peaceful community."

Dr Motlana had often wondered why the government, and other commentators, feared the climate was unsuitable for Mr Mandela's release, and that it would lead to unrest.

"I have never heard anything so ridiculous."

President Botha had expressed the hope that Mr Mandela could contribute to peaceful negotiations. Mr Mandela could do so.

"But Mr Mandela is not an individual. He is a national leader. His base is the ANC, to which he is answerable. When

If Mandela was set free?

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

he speaks, he does so with a mandate from his people.

"There would be no point in releasing him into a vacuum. He must be released into ANC leadership," Dr Motlana said.

MRS Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, who has visited Mr Mandela in jail a number of times over the last two decades, said it was understandable that there could be mass reaction if he were to be released.

There had been a build-up of feeling for him over many years, and he had become a myth to the vast majority of the black population.

"From his side and from my experience, I think he would do his utmost to calm the situation and prevent any violence or unrest. How successful he would be, is another matter. There will be no encouragement from him of any riotous behaviour."

Mrs Suzman said she believed Mr Mandela would be "invaluable in the negotiating process in South Africa."

"I have thought for many years that he should be released, and that there is no justification for his continued imprisonment."

He had been in jail much longer than the normal spell of life imprisonment, which was from 15 to 20 years. He had been "impeccably well behaved".

His release would have a great impact on international opinion, and he

would work towards normalising the situation in South Africa.

Mrs Suzman said she had established a firm friendship with Mr Mandela.

She remained convinced that he was a reasonable man, who would be valuable in any negotiations on South Africa's future.

POLITICAL scientist Professor Robert Schrire, of the University of Cape Town, believes the government would make a mistake if it were to release Mr Mandela before it was prepared to enter into serious negotiations with black leaders and to go "at least part of the way towards meeting black political aspirations."

Professor Schrire said the scenario that could be expected after Mr Mandela's release would depend on his state of health, and on the degree to which Mr Mandela would stake out his own leadership strategy.

It was unlikely Mr Mandela would pay attention to any banning orders imposed on him after his release. He would draw large crowds and, depending on his health, he would address mass meetings and try to mobilise people. That was the kind of thing the government was likely to find unacceptable.

Even if Mr Mandela were to be released into a partly free society, all he needed to be was a symbol.

PAC warning on talks with SA govt

CP Correspondent

THE PAC has warned against negotiations with the South African government and strongly criticised elements in the struggle for liberation who were allegedly prepared to initiate talks on the advice of the super-powers

But, at the same time, the PAC accorded those elements the prerogative to go along with Pretoria's reform strategy at their own risk

The PAC's sentiments come close on the heels of the beleaguered start

to the process of free and fair elections in Namibia

"The Soviet Union's troika and glasnost -are on the offensive to arrive at a negotiated settlement through ill-defined means," the PAC said in a statement

Issued this week to the Africa News Organisation (Ano) from the PAC's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, the statement pointed out that "some people" in South Africa had stated "their treacherous willingness" to go to the negotiating table

with the South African government if certain conditions had been met. Surprisingly, those who were ready to do so had previously accused Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi of being "a collaborator"

"We believe the solution to our problem is the return of the land to its rightful owners," said the PAC, adding that "Those who want to join PW Botha's "reform" process are free to do so - although we warn them the struggle will throw them into the dustbins of history" - Ano

114

Chwano
23/4/89

Sowetan 2-14-87 (11A)

PAC man Madzunya gets political send-off

PAN Africanist congress founder member, Mr Josis Madzunya, was buried at his home village of Tshidzini in a funeral service characterised by political speeches, freedom songs and large scale police activity.

Police of the Venda homeland manned two roadblocks on the route leading to Tshidzini and conducted searches of mourners. Several youths were turned back while six were detained in a tent for the whole day and only released after

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

the funeral

A security policeman who was filming the proceedings was expelled after he claimed that he was a journalist. The filming continued from the gate, about 500 metres from where a large contingent of policemen in riot gear were stationed. The policemen and the road blocks were dismantled immediately after the burial.

Speakers at the service paid glowing tribute to Mr Madzunya's unwavering commitment to "the struggle to repossess the entire Azania."

They said the coat that Mr Madzunya always wore was a continued reminder that the struggle was far from over.

Messages read included a tribute by PAC President, Mr Zephania Mothopeng and Azapo president, Mr Nkosi Molala.

Women meet ANC

A DELEGATION of 53 women from South Africa, mainly Afrikaans - speaking, cried, laughed and sang together with women exiles belonging to the ANC and with women of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) Party at a three day meeting in Harare.

Most of the South African's returned yesterday after the historic get-together described by Mrs Jenny Boraine of Idasa as an "overwhelming success".

A statement said the aim of the meeting was to

exchange views and come to a common understanding of the nature and source of the conflict in South Africa.

"It was agreed that every effort must be made to dismantle apartheid as it is the root cause of the crisis in our country and the Southern African region," said the communiqué

ANC National Executive committee members who attended the meeting said "The women will go home with a vision of what is possible in South Africa".

Soutacoc 22/9/89

Business hard line

By JOSHUA RABOROKO



SOUTACOC'S president Mr Joe Hlongwane.

BLACK businessmen have resolved to actively involve themselves in community programmes that will help dismantle apartheid.

This was the tone of the 19th annual conference of the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce held in Sandton City, Johannesburg, last week.

Delegates at the conference said they will support trade unions, community organisations and political groups in their programmes

aimed at dismantling apartheid

In his presidential report Mr Joe Hlongwane said that that involvement would be vital for blacks to be included in the socio, political and economic structures in the country.

Economy

He said Soutacoc was trying to empower blacks by giving them opportunities to acquire skills and knowledge so that they could enter the mainstream of economic activity.

The conference, with the theme "black economic empowerment — initiative or philanthropy" also resolved to:

• Exercise great caution in electing community councillors in executive positions of branches,

• Encourage blacks to shop in townships while discouraging them from supporting white supermarkets on the border of the townships,

• Call members to propagate the idea of black support for black ventures,

• Appoint a transport committee in the region with the view to encourage members to share in the transportation of their people such as in taxis, and

• Request Nafcoc to start a research bureau on economic trends for the benefit of black business and consumer.

Mr Hlongwane said too many whites wanted to do business with blacks, just for the sake of money. "Do the businesses in Boksburg want blacks back or do they want their buying power and money."

GET YOUR

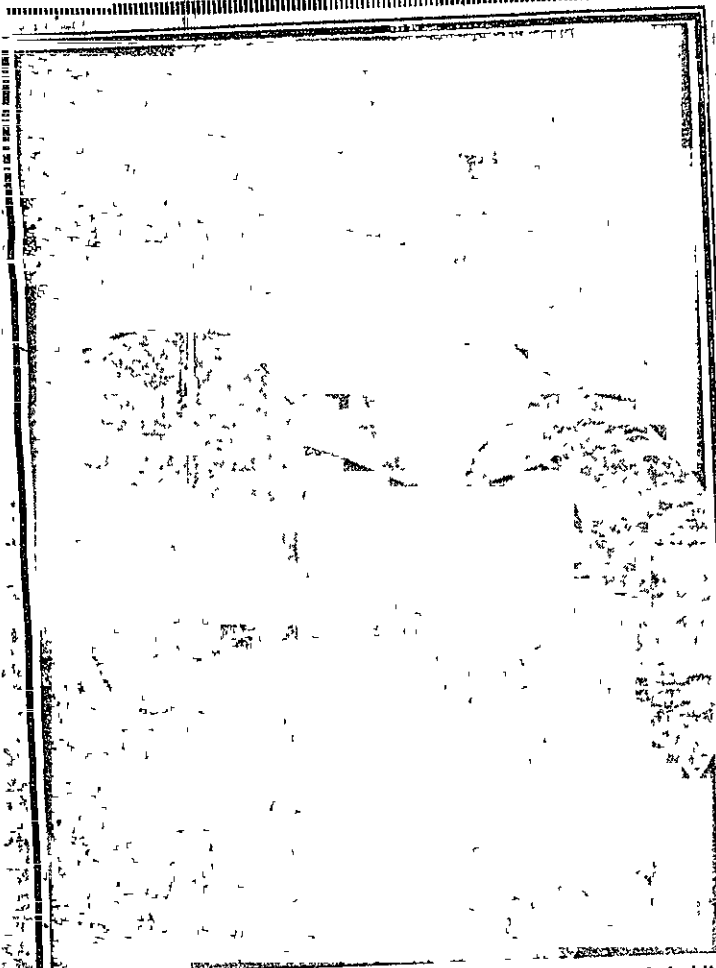
PLEASE FOR PEACE

Chief Buthelezi

calls for

end to slaughters

Sowetan 24/4/89



SIX-YEAR-OLD Karen Sesibe of Meadowlands, Soweto, with a loaf of white bread, the price of which is now 96 cents from an initial 85 cents. She holds four cents, the change after paying with R1.
Pic: JOE MOLEFE

ANGER OVER
Sowetan 24/4/89

KWAZULU'S Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday called on the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, the churches and all concerned organisations to support Inkatha in a massive drive to end the killings in black communities.

He outlined a plan to declare 1989 the year of action for peace and end the strife that has left more than a thousand dead and tens of thousands of bereaved, largely in Natal

Killings

Dr Buthelezi undertook to raise whatever money he could from the world's churches for the peace campaign. Millions in overseas church money was deposited in South Africa for the victims of apartheid and much of this could be used for peace.

In an address to Inkatha's central committee in Ulundi, he said "I call on the ANC's national executive in Lusaka to unambiguously say that the killings in Natal and KwaZulu must now cease."

He pleaded for an end to political propaganda which demanded violent retribution and pre-emptive strikes against

• To Page 2

heroic adm

Sowetan 24/4/89

Plea for peace

• From Page 1

possible sources of attack and urged the start of a concerted publicity campaign by radio, TV and pamphlet to end what he called the killing mentality.

Dr Buthelezi outlined points of action for the 1.6 million-member Inkatha to pursue a vigorous peace campaign at grassroots level. There would be regular peace meetings at which every Inkatha branch will meet "urgently and repeatedly" to listen to the people and take their advice in restoring harmony.

Inkatha calls on rivals to help end group strife

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, the churches and all concerned organisations to support Inkatha in ending the killings in black communities.



● BUTHELEZI

He outlined a plan to declare 1989 the Year of Action for Peace and end the internecine strife that has left more than a thousand dead, largely in Natal, and undertook to raise money from the world's churches for the campaign.

Addressing Inkatha's Central Committee, he said: "I call on the ANC's National Executive in Lusaka to unambiguously say that the killings in Natal and KwaZulu must now cease"

He pleaded for an end to political propaganda which demanded violent retribution and urged the start of a publicity campaign by radio, TV and pamphlet to end "the killing mentality".

Buthelezi outlined points of action for an Inkatha peace campaign at grassroots level, but said a multi-party and multi-strategy approach was needed

Inkatha members should stand shoulder-to-shoulder with members of the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu and other organisations to outlaw violence

Buthelezi released the text of Nelson Mandela's letter to him in which he said it was an indictment against blacks that they could not combine to halt the violence.

□ Police yesterday reported several incidents in Natal. At Taylors Halt, a man was stabbed to death. At Inanda, houses were burned and a police vehicle stoned. In Imbali, a youth was arrested after shots were fired at police and their vehicle. — Sapa.

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1987
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Buthelezi echoes call for peace talks

MARITZBURG — The kwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has added his voice to calls for an end to township violence in Natal, which has claimed an estimated 1 300 lives since late 1986

Speaking to Inkatha leaders, he yesterday proposed a foreign-funded peace campaign to end violence between his followers and United Democratic Front supporters

He called for the deployment of peace-keeping units and the formation of joint monitoring teams.

The proposals came shortly after a call by UDF, endorsed by the ANC, for a peace conference. — AP

CAUTIONS
24/11/89

NA



Buthlezi appeals for peace drive

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Dr Buthelezi undertook to raise whatever money he could from the world's churches for the peace campaign. Millions in overseas church money was deposited in South Africa for the victims of apartheid, and much of this could be used for peace, he said

— Sapa

Hendrickse accused of ^{Star 24/4/69} 'evading' corruption



By Tim Cohen

Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse has refused to comment on a 47-page report alleging corruption in the management committee which controls coloured areas in Johannesburg

The report, which makes allegations of corrupt land allocation and electoral fraud, was compiled earlier this year by the United Civic Association (UCA), a minority group in the South Western management committee

The UCA executive committee said it was deeply disappointed by Mr Hendrickse's response and described it as an "evasive cover-up". Its leader, Mr Dudley Arends, said it as an attempt "to put on a brave face" before the general election

In a letter to the UCA, Mr Hendrickse wrote "I have to inform you that the first part of the memorandum compiled by your association deals with alleged corruption by members of the Eldorado Park management committee and a Member of Parliament and his

wife about which the Administration cannot comment"

The UCA report includes sworn affidavits from two Eldorado Park residents who allege that before last October's municipal elections they were asked to cast their votes under false names

It also states that the MP for the area, Mr D H Mateman, and two councillors, Mrs M E Mateman and Mr S S Adams, were listed as "silent members" of Hopewillith Investments, a close corporation allocated a property by the management committee for R300 000

The council minutes record that Mr Mateman (who was a councillor at the time) and Mrs Mateman were asked to recuse themselves while the item was considered

However, the UCA claims Mr Adams did not recuse himself despite the fact that he was bound to profit from the allocation

Mrs Mateman, now chairman of the management committee, last night said she would respond after having read the report

24/4/89

(11A) (20)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Sir Robin Renwick, British ambassador in Pretoria, has asked for permission to see Nelson Mandela in what Britain hopes will be a step towards his negotiated release, according to newspaper reports here

Peter Godwin of the London *Sunday Times* says that if the request is granted, it could signify an important shift in Pretoria's strategy. Until now, it has rejected all requests for a

Envoy wants to visit Mandela — UK press

visit by foreign government representatives

Whitehall sources denied that Sir Robin had asked the South African authorities for permission to see Mandela, but confirmed that Sir Robin had replied to a letter from Mandela

which seemed to hint that he would like a face to face discussion

Godwin says Mr Ismail Ayob Mandela's lawyer, is sceptical of any suggestion that his client wants to see the ambassador

Mr. Tink 24/4/89

Grosskopf: Mum wants Vlok apology

JOHANNESBURG. — A Stellenbosch woman, Mrs Santie Grosskopf, has demanded in letters to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that he should apologise in public because he had "charged, tried and found her son guilty in Parliament of being an ANC terrorist"

Her son, Mr Hein Grosskopf, is being sought by the police in connection with the bomb explosion at Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on March 17, 1988

Cold-blooded deeds

The newspaper Insig, which last week published a series of letters by Mrs Grosskopf, reported that she wrote the letters after Mr Vlok accused Mr Grosskopf of being a trained terrorist who was responsible for a bomb explosion in Krugersdorp and another in Johannesburg

"I have no doubt that he committed these cold-blooded deeds on instruction from the African National Congress," Mr Vlok said in a statement in Parliament.

Insig reported that it had obtained permission from Mr Vlok to publish his letters replying to Mrs Grosskopf. However, the minister's office had made known that this could unfortunately not be done

Mrs Grosskopf is the wife of Prof H J Grosskopf, senior lecturer in journalism at the University of Stellenbosch.

Mrs Grosskopf wrote her first letter to Mr Vlok on August 30 last year. "Hein Grosskopf is my son. I am writing this letter to you only now because I did not trust myself to react calmly to your statement on March 17 in which you charged, tried and found my son guilty — without providing any evidence

"As a citizen and voter in this coun-

try I have always believed that a person was innocent until his guilt was proved in court

"My husband and I abhor terrorism such as that which occurred at Krugersdorp. But we refuse to believe that our son was involved, unless his guilt is proved in open court, and not merely by a ministerial statement. Perhaps the police have again made a mistake?"

Three weeks later Mrs Grosskopf again wrote to Mr Vlok and enclosed a copy of her previous letter. A little more than a month later Mr Vlok, according to Insig, sent a letter marked "Personal and confidential" to Mrs Grosskopf

Asked by Insig whether this letter could be published, the minister's office let it be known that it could "unfortunately not give permission for publication of personal and private letters". On November 3, 1988, Mrs Grosskopf reacted as follows to Mr Vlok's reply:

"I received your letter of 25 October 1988 and read it with interest. There is only one point on which I would like to comment. Your 'sincere regret' that I went through this should you have declared my son guilty.

"It is not I who 'experienced this', it is you who declared it with a lot of publicity

Public apology

"From you I expect nothing less than an apology in public of what the original intention was about, together with your 'sincere regrets'."

According to Insig, Mr Vlok again replied (again personally and confidentially). Permission to publish this letter was again refused.

On February 27 this year — after three months — Mrs Grosskopf wrote her last letter to Mr Vlok. Insig reports that the minister has not yet replied to her questions — Sapa

Gang is named in murder of former detainee

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The murder of former detainee Mr Chris Ntuli last Friday has been attributed to a vigilante township gang here known as the "Sinyoras", who have been terrorising young people in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda for the past two years

Mr Roy Ainslie, who is a leading member of the Democratic Party's unrest-monitoring group and who has been doing extensive research into the gang, yesterday said he had been informed that the Sinyoras were responsible for Mr Ntuli's death

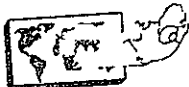
Mr Ainslie said the Sinyoras had been monitoring detainees at KwaMashu and Inanda

Meanwhile, widespread violence in townships here at the weekend, sparked off by the memorial service for Mr Ntuli who was killed on April 14 after reporting to an Inanda police station in terms of his restrictions, has left at least three people dead and many homeless.

However, police said that by yesterday all was quiet in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda, where the violence had been most intense

The driver of a Creamline Dairies delivery truck was killed on Friday and his passenger extensively injured when the truck was petrol-bombed in KwaMashu. The truck caught alight and when the occupants freed themselves from the cab, they were attacked by a mob and the driver was stabbed

The Detainees Co-ordinating Committee (DCC) have stated their concern at the vulnerability of restricted former detainees to vigilante attacks



Songs, tears as SA, ANC women meet

News 24/4/89 11a

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — A delegation of 53 women from South Africa, many Afrikaans-speaking, cried, laughed and sang with African National Congress women exiles and women from Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party at a three-day meeting here.

Most of the South Africans returned home yesterday after the get-together, described by Mrs Jenny Boraine of Idasa as an "overwhelming success".

Understanding

A statement said the aim was to exchange views and come to a common understanding of the nature and source of the conflict in South Africa

"It was agreed that every effort must be made to dismantle apartheid, as it is the root cause of the crisis in our country and the Southern African region," said the statement.

ANC national executive committee members who attended

said "The women will go home with a vision of what is possible in South Africa

"The young Afrikaners saw how much they have been lied to and they recognised the power of the government's propaganda machine.

"They found us to be normal human beings and not the devils we had been painted"

Leading ANC members present included Mrs Ruth Mompati, Mrs Lindiwe Mabuza and Mrs Gertrude Shope.

There were discussions behind closed doors about the armed struggle and the reasons for its adoption by the ANC, and about conscription

Mrs Boraine said it was no good whites just talking to each other "We need to hear what black people have to say and to hear it directly from them"

The concluding statement said there was broad agreement to continue the exchange of views

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11/11/89 24/489 11A

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Star 2/4/87

Cosby and Tutu team up to aid refugees

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Anglican leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu and popular American actor Bill Cosby have renewed efforts to raise funds in the US for the education of South African refugees.

In a message mailed to thousands of Americans in recent weeks, Bishop Tutu says "South Africa is exploding. Each day brings new violence. The



Tutu



Cosby

inevitable result is a continuing wave of refugees — people marked for arrest — who are fleeing for their lives.

"The SA Council of Churches estimates that there are 10 000 of these refugees academically prepared and ready to enter college. They must be educated."

The letter is mailed in an envelope on the outside of which says: "A message from Bill Cosby."

Cosby's letter inside says "What words can I use to prompt your gift to this refugee fund?"

Cosby says it is now clear South Africa's all-out assault on families and on young people has no respect for tenderness in age

Star 24/4/87

(11A) (202)

Apartheid rejected at historic meeting

Tears and laughter as women share views

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — A delegation of 53 mainly Afrikaans-speaking women from South Africa cried, laughed and sang together with women exiles belonging to the ANC and with women of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party at a three-day meeting in Harare.

Most of the South Africans returned home yesterday after the historic get-together, described as "an overwhelming success" by Mrs Jenny Boraine of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa)

A statement said the aim of the meeting was to exchange views and come to a common understanding of the nature and source of the conflict in South Africa

"It was agreed that every effort must be made to dismantle apartheid as it is the root cause of

the crisis in our country and the southern African region," said the communique

ANC national executive committee members said afterwards "The women will go home with a vision of what is possible in South Africa

"The young Afrikaners saw how much they have been lied to and they recognised the power of the Government's propaganda machine

"They found us to be normal human beings and not the devils we had been painted as"

Leading ANC members present included Mrs Ruth Mompoti, Mrs Lindiwe Mabuza and Mrs Gertrude Shope

There were discussions behind closed doors about the armed struggle and the reasons for its adoption by the ANC and also about conscription of young whites into the armed forces

Mrs Boraine said it was no good whites talking only to each other

"We need to hear what the black people have to say and to hear it directly from them," she said

The concluding statement said there was broad agreement to continue the exchange of views and it was agreed the shape of the future South Africa depended on the participation and contribution of all women

The South African delegates were from many parts of South Africa and all walks of life. They were there as individuals and their political affiliations included the National Party

ANC - Times 22/4/89

Women's group talk to ANC

By PETER DENNEHY

FIFTY women from South Africa held talks at the weekend in Harare with 30 ANC women-in-exile over the conflict in their common country, how it affected women and ways of working towards peace.

Mrs Jenny Boraine, the leader of the delegation whose trip was sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said that the aim of bringing people together to promote greater understanding had been achieved.

"It was a historic meeting. There has never been a group of women going to talk about issues

such as how conflict affects them," she said.

Among the women who went to Harare were Ms Jennifer Ferguson, the singer, Mrs Anita Worrall, wife of Dr Denis Worrall, Mrs Elsa Schreiner, mother of ANC trialist Ms Jenny Schreiner, Dr Selma Browde of Johannesburg, and several workers, academics, housewives and activists.

All the women agreed that apartheid must be dismantled as it was the "root cause" of the crisis in Southern-Africa.

"We also agreed that we must join hands and contribute to the creation of a favourable climate

for a just and peaceful resolution of this conflict," Mrs Boraine said.

Women of Zanu-PF, which co-hosted the conference, talked about their war experiences and how they had moved forward to peace and unity afterwards.

Everybody at the conference wanted peace through negotiations, but people had to be freed to negotiate, Dr Browde said.

"A negotiated peace is essential, and everybody has to be represented at the negotiations, because if people are not they are unlikely to accept the decisions," she said.

Alexandra's woman mayor qualified as a nurse in '52

By Sue Olswang

Mrs Jacobeth Agnes Poo, the first woman mayor of Alexandra township, began her working life as a nurse

Last year, Mrs Poo was elected (unopposed) as a councillor in Alexandra township and was subsequently elected as mayor for the year 1989

"A number of black councillors have been persecuted because they were elected unopposed or because their communities perceive them to be some sort of government puppets," says Mrs Poo, "but I have only received acceptance from my community"

Mrs Poo was recently elected "Woman of the Month" by Kontak, a non-party political organisation with the aim of improving relations between South Africa's various population groups.

A desire to help people, encouraged Mrs Poo (64) to study nursing at Baragwanath Hospital where she qualified in 1952. She was then employed at the Edenvale Hospital from 1954 to 1972, when the hospital was moved to Tembisa. Mrs Poo retired from nursing in 1985.

"I witnessed a great deal of suffering during my nursing years and my desire,

always, was to help

"As a nurse I was able to help people suffering from physical pain, but now, as mayor of Alexandra, I want to help those who are suffering because they are homeless," says Mrs Poo.

"The 'old' Alex was established as a unit of houses which were built mainly for migrant workers. You would find 10 houses/rooms built for 10 'migrant' workers, but today most of those migrants are permanent residents. And, they now have families of their own, so accommodation has become a problem"

Solution

The obvious solution is the provision of more housing, but Mrs Poo points to costs and the lack of available land

"We are extending Alex to the east, but this is the only direction in which we can extend Alexandra township is like an island which is surrounded by other developments

"Our housing situation can only be described as painful havoc — we have 5 000 names on our waiting list, so we desperately need more houses, but we don't have enough land

"Many people have been forced to erect

shacks, mostly tiny and squeezed in among existing structures, because they have nowhere else to live. The shacks are built from cardboard, corrugated iron and plastic — basically anything they can lay their hands on — and they are a thorn in our side. There is a tremendous lack of toilet facilities for these people

"Most of Alexandra's shack people are living here illegally so they are reluctant to make use of services like our health clinics — we had an outbreak of polio last year and more recently we had an outbreak of measles. This type of thing would not happen if the shack people sent their children to be inoculated"

While the shortage of housing is one of Mrs Poo's main concerns, she is also worried about Alexandra's unemployed and the high crime rate

Mrs Poo belongs to the Anglican St Michael's and All Angels Church, where she is a member of the parish council and chairman of the Anglican Women's Fellowship. She is also a chairman of the Allied Professional Nurses and Paramedics group in Alexandra and a former member of the Housewives' League

PAC man dies

A FORMER publicity secretary for the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Edwin Makoti (68) died in Harare last week after a long illness. Harare announced yesterday that Mr Makoti will be buried in the Zimbabwean capital on Saturday. A family spokesman

said they were making travel arrangements. Mr Makoti left SA in 1963 at the height of the "Poqo" arrests. The PAC office in

VIP status for Zeph

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, has arrived in London, for medical treatment.

This is his first visit abroad after he was issued with a three-month travel document.

Mr Mothopeng (75) was released from prison unconditionally last November.

The PAC's Department of Publicity and Information at the United Nations told reporters that initial medical tests on Mr Mothopeng were to be carried out in London. Future medical treatment would be decided on thereafter. International organisations have agreed to pay his medical costs.



MOTHOPENG
medical treatment.

On arrival in London during his short stay abroad, Mr Mothopeng, who is accompanied by his wife, Mrs Urbana Mothopeng, and his aide, Mr Benny Alexander, will also attend a special meeting at the United Nations organised by the Special Committee Against Apartheid.

Ambassador Joseph Garba of Nigeria, who is chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid said Mr Mothopeng would be accorded a welcome "befitting a freedom fighter and national leader". It said the secretary general of the UN will also receive the PAC leader.

PUNISH SA

South Africa 25/11/81

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BISHOP



URGES

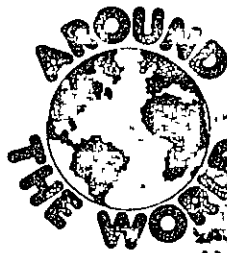
LONDON — A leading Anglican bishop in England has called for a refusal to re-schedule South Africa's debts as "the least, small sign" that Britons mean well towards the black people of South Africa "after so much betrayal."

Black people in South Africa and the Frontline States are bitterly disappointed in Britain as represented by Mrs Margaret Thatcher, claims Bishop Harries

"They are looking for some sign of sincerity, some indication of solidarity, in a struggle of a cruelly treated, suffering people," he adds in a special article for yesterday's *Times* newspaper

Recent months had seen "the strange notion put around" that the situation in South Africa was improving. "The truth is precisely the opposite, the brutal repression in South Africa gets daily worse, and apartheid is being enforced more ruthlessly than ever."

Bishop Harries questions as "deeply flawed" polls which purport to

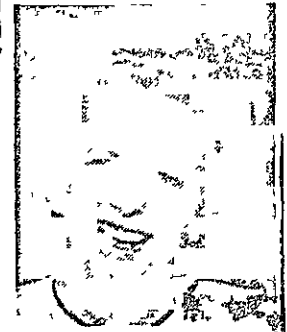


show that black people in South - Africa oppose sanctions.

"As one black grandmother said to me: "I hear people saying how hurt I will be by sanctions. I don't hear those same people saying how discriminated against I am."

"For most people outside South Africa, the most effective way of showing solidarity with this struggle and indicating sharply that it is in the self-interest of

Pretoria to change is by economic pressure, including sanctions," the bishop adds.



MARGARET Thatcher ... under fire.

United 6 calls for Nelson's release

Sowetan 25/1/87
SOWETAN Reporter

THE leaders of all six self-governing territories are now understood to be united in demanding that Mr Nelson Mandela must be released before they will participate in the Government's national statutory forum.

Fundraise by Tutu's son illegal - claim

MR TREVOR TUTU, a Johannesburg advertising executive and son of the Archbishop of Cape Town, is believed to be acting illegally in his attempts to raise funds for Shareworld.

And it has yesterday been revealed that Mr Tutu has approached Anglo American Corporation for money.

Donations

The director of fund raising for the Department of National Health and Welfare, Mr Dame de Waal, yesterday said as far as his department was concerned, Mr Tutu, son of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was not registered as a fundraiser.

They had not received an application from Mr Tutu to collect donations

SOWETAN REPORTER

from the public or companies in order to raise money for Shareworld, which is R45 million in debt.

Should Mr Tutu be collecting on behalf of a company, his contract with them had to be lodged with the department before he took any action, Mr De Waal said. This had also not been done.

"At this moment, as far as we are concerned Mr Tutu is acting illegally," Mr De Waal said.

Pick 'n Pay in wage agreement

Sowetan 25/1/87
AGREEMENT on wages and other conditions of

A minimum wage of R750 per month for the

This emerged after the chief ministers of Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and QwaQwa met Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, last week.

Mr Heunis said in a statement released yesterday that the chief ministers had re-stated their position on the release of Mr Mandela, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

Professor Hudson Nkomo, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa, have already made it clear that the release of Mr Mandela is a condition for their participation in central government.

Emerged

It has now emerged from the latest meeting that new KwaNdebele Chief Minister, Mr M J Mapena is also insisting on the release of Mr Mandela.

Mr Heunis said the meeting had taken place at the initiative of the three leaders.

They discussed matters of common interest including the economic development of the regions, the report on the evaluation of the regional industrial development programme, constitutional development and "ways and means of enhancing the process of reform".

Mayekiso is returning to Alex streets

ALAN FINE

CLEARED Alexandra treason
trialist Moses Mayekiso said yes-
terday: "We are returning to con-
tinue where we left off."

He told a Press conference after
he and four co-accused were ac-
quitted that the message from Mr
Justice P J van der Walt's judg-
ment was structures, such as
street committees, were lawful
"and we should now continue
building them".

Mayekiso said structures he and
colleagues of Alexandra Action
Committee had been accused of
building were democratic because
they encouraged accountability by
community leaders.

He added there was no question
at present of working through
black local authorities he claimed
were manipulated by joint man-
agement committees.

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He added their committee was
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Cosatu general secretary Jay
Naidoo said the judgment vindic-
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community organisations.

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Mayekiso is returning to Alex streets

ALAN FINE

CLEARED Alexandra treason
trialist Moses Mayekiso said yes-
terday "We are returning to con-
tinue where we left off."

He told a Press conference after
he and four co-accused were ac-
quitted that the message from Mr
Justice P J van der Walt's judg-
ment was structures, such as
street committees, were lawful
"and we should now continue
building them".

Mayekiso said structures he and
colleagues of Alexandra Action
Committee had been accused of
building were democratic because
they encouraged accountability by
community leaders

He added there was no question
at present of working through
black local authorities he claimed
were manipulated by joint man-
agement committees.

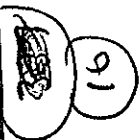
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Naidoo said the judgment vindi-
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community organisations.

Due to technical difficulties, the newspaper is unable to reproduce the photograph of Sir Michael as the takeover bids were made.

US court block could frustrate Minorco's bid



A US federal judge in New York yesterday decided to uphold an injunction barring Minorco from increasing its current 30 percent shareholding in Consolidated Gold Fields.

The injunction could frustrate Minorco's bid as it could deter shareholders from accepting its revised £3.5 billion bid for Cons-gold.

The deadline for the offer is at 1pm London time tomorrow, and despite the court's decision financial analysts believe it will be one of the closest calls ever.

Minorco still hopes that if it can win over more than 50 per cent of Cons-gold's shareholders, the Cons-gold board will be forced to drop the court action.

But Cons-gold chairman Kenneth Agnew said yesterday he would continue to fight in the courts, even if Minorco succeeded in winning majority control.

In an interview with the *Financial Times*, Sir Michael said that he was confident that the bid would succeed.

"I am sure that we will have a case to argue, we will appeal."

He was in a confident mood before the biggest takeover bid ever seen in Britain closes at lunchtime tomorrow.

"We very much expect to get more than 50 percent," he said. UK institutions hold 40 per cent of Cons-gold shares and their support is vital if Minorco is to secure victory.

"We have been very encouraged by the reception the institutions have given us," said Sir Michael.

Cons-gold, however, received a boost at the weekend when British insurance giant, Legal and General, with a stake of just over one percent in Cons-gold, said it would reject the Minorco bid.

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Sir Michael insisted that the Minorco offer of £3.5 billion was final. He said it was worth £15.31 a share, some 230p more than the present market price of Cons-gold shares.

"In deciding to accept our offer, shareholders should consider where the share price could settle if our offer was made to lapse," he said.

Sir Michael said Cons-gold had failed to show how it could deliver value to its shareholders today, never mind in three years' time. "On today's share prices our offer is 17 times Cons-gold's prospective earnings for the year — a full premium for control."

"Even on the basis of optimistic forecasts of the Cons-gold share price in three years' time, in terms of today it comes nowhere near the value of our offer." — Sapa-Reuter, AP-Dow Jones

Judge urges: 'Reconsider' treason charges

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Given the spectrum of politics in our society from black to white and far left to far right, a charge of treason should be carefully considered and reconsidered before being brought, Mr Justice Van der Walt said yesterday.

He made this comment at the conclusion of his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court, acquitting unionist Mr Moses Mayekiso and four others on charges of treason and alternative charges of subversion and sedition.

"It is a matter for comment and concern that so much energy and time was spent in the course of this trial on evidence made necessary and relevant by the charge of treason which has proved abortive.

"Treason," he said, "is a crime in a very special category where the ideas and political aspirations of those charged are part of the issue."

Complex society

Mr Justice Van der Walt said that in our strange and complex society a charge of treason should be considered very carefully before being brought "given the spectrum of politics of our citizens from black to white and from far left to far right, with the grievances and aspirations in most cases legitimate, the intemperate and exaggerated language liberally spiced with political cliches, and most of these citizens striving for a just South Africa".

During his judgment Mr Justice Van der Walt referred to statements in the press at the time attributed to Mr Mayekiso and which formed part of the state's evidence.

He said the state had built up a persuasive case on these that might possibly indicate a subversive intent and possible furtherance of certain events in the township.

The judge said, however, that taking conditions in Alexandra at the time into account and the Alexandra Action Committee's desire for political support, their evidence before the court could not be rejected and might reasonably be true.

Mr Justice Van der Walt noted in particular Mr Mayekiso's meetings with Alexandra's administrator, Mr Steve Burger, and other local authorities. "This, in my view, refutes any suggestion of a subversive intent," he said.

He said it was evident the support by the five accused and the AAC of the rent boycott was a form of protest against conditions in Alexandra and

JOHANNESBURG — "We are returning to continue where we left off," freed Alexandra treason trialist Mr Moses Mayekiso told a media conference after he and his four co-accused were acquitted yesterday.

He said the message from the judgment delivered yesterday by Mr Justice PJ van der Walt was that structures such as street committees were lawful "and we should now continue building them".

Mr Mayekiso said the community structures he and his colleagues of the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) had been accused of building were democratic in that they encouraged answerability and accountability by community leaders.

He said "The power should be given to the people where it belongs," adding "We believe the solution is to get rid of apartheid. The power should be given to where it belongs."

Mr Mayekiso, 40, said the marathon trial was "a trial of the whole struggle for a better society" in South Africa.

He said community structures such as street committees and "people's courts" were "spontaneously" introduced by the people in response to "the injustices in our society".

the perceived corruption of the councillors — not to make Alexandra ungovernable but to upgrade living conditions.

The judge also said a strong case had been made out against Mr Paul Tshabalala concerning his participation in the people's court at 31, 7th Avenue.

He added, however, that the single person who testified on this was an extremely poor witness and while the court did not think Mr Tshabalala had been completely truthful, his evidence that he had only mediated on domestic problems could reasonably be true.

Mr Justice Van der Walt described the minutes of AAC meetings from its inception in February 1986 until its demise with the arrest of four of the five in June that year as the "most important part of the defence's evidence".

"Despite a faint suggestion by the state that it is not genuine, I'm satisfied on the evidence before the court that it is," he said.

"The importance of the minutes lies in that it affords an insight into the thoughts of the AAC executive and actions at the time covered by the indictment."

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Timp 5/89
25/6
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Opinion

"SOVIET pressure on ANC" proclaimed a headline in a Cape's paper a week ago. The story quoted Tebogo Mafole, the ANC's chief UN observer, saying that Moscow was "pressing" his organisation to abandon the armed struggle in favour of negotiated settlement.

The conventional wisdom, which frequently confuses "ought" with "is", is that the Soviets are so pressing the ANC and that there is a growing divergence between "sponsor" and "client". However, that's not what Mafole said. As it happens what he said, and how he said it, was far more instructive.

Mafole spoke at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington last week. His theme was the impact of the Namibia-Angola accords on the ANC. It is perhaps significant that he chose to devote a considerable chunk of his time to the ANC's relations with the Soviet Union without waiting to be asked.

The impression he left was that whatever the Soviets were now telling it, the ANC was starting to feel distinctly queasy and that this had rather more to do with the rest of the world's (and particularly Pretoria's) interpretation of the Moscow line than with the Moscow line itself.

Mafole clearly wanted his audience to believe the Soviet Union remained firmly in the ANC's corner not simply because the ANC needs the help, because without at least the perception of continued Soviet backing, the organisation's credibility and capacity to strike fear into its adversaries might be seriously undermined.

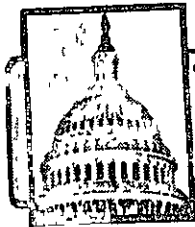
He began by noting "we are told that the Soviet Union seems to be embracing 'constructive engagement' in some of the ways that it does things and that it has changed its attitudes towards the ANC". He said this with a laugh that managed to sound dismissive and nervous.

Another tack

He then agreed that, yes, "the Soviet Union has increasingly spoken in favour of a negotiated settlement", but stressed that this had long been the ANC's thinking too. After all, what was the armed struggle if not an attempt to push Pretoria to the negotiating table? "This does not suggest to me that there is friction or a dichotomy between the positions of the Soviet Union and the ANC. In fact, one can even say the positions are coming much closer together."

Sophistry, and Mafole seemed to know it. He tried another tack. "If you want to determine whether or not there is a problem, you would want to say has the Soviet Union in its relations with the ANC displayed in some way a tendency towards restricting the ANC or circumscribing

ANC and Soviets not such good pals anymore



Washington
Letter
BY SIMON BARBER

the manner in which the ANC is conducting the struggle?"

Oliver Tambo did not have an audience with Mikhail Gorbachev on his last visit to Moscow, Mafole continued, and many had seen in this a Soviet snub. Many had also not given it much thought, but the ANC official went to considerable, almost rambling, pains to explain the non-meeting as normality itself.

At any rate, the ANC delegation did have talks with a "wide range" of lesser Soviet officials who "expressed their position, which has been articulated in the media and elsewhere, about favouring political settlement."

"The ANC, of course, agrees that this is how things should be, but under the circumstances does not find its way clear to abandoning the armed struggle. In fact, it has become more necessary, given what is happening right now. So the ANC is not about to do so, and in fact the Soviet side did not insist on this. The prerogative is the ANC's to determine how it wants to wage struggle."

What is interesting here is not so much the Soviet view but Mafole's evident anxiety to impress on his listeners — a fairly good cross-section of Washington southern Africa groupies — that Moscow was not pressuring the ANC to change its strategy. There being no reason to think Mafole is not broadly representative of the

organisation's external leadership, such anxiety suggests that the ANC is genuinely concerned about losing its status as a pawn in the superpower contest and thus no longer being viewed by Pretoria as part of the "total onslaught".

When any group pits itself against a government, its power is frequently defined less by its own action than by the government's reaction. By any objective measure, the ANC's "struggle" to replace white minority rule with its own has been an abject failure. The ANC, or rather its mythology, has been sustained by the manner in which Pretoria has responded to it. Pretoria, in turn, has vindicated its response by evoking nightmare images of the Soviet bogeyman.

For a variety of reasons, some valid, some ambiguous, the latter is evanescent. As it does so, the Government is re-evaluating the nature of the problem that confronts it. The ANC relished the old evaluation, which it viewed, with the brutal impracticality of exiled intellectuals, as making the country ripe for revolution. It fears the new one will diminish its stature. A "kinder, gentler" Pretoria was not what it had in mind.

New motto

Just as Swapo seems to have come up with a new motto — make me free, but not yet — the ANC is also obviously having trouble coming to grips with the changing environment. Things, and not just its old mentors in Moscow, are moving too fast for it. Mafole was asked for his views on the emergence of Mr F W de Klerk (he did not volunteer on this one) and his answer indicated a similar unease. If Gorbachev was having an unfortunate effect on Pretoria's thinking, De Klerk was doing the same to international opinion and, Heaven forbid, might even throw a spanner in the sanctions campaign.

"De Klerk has made a number of noises and there has been a lot of response from the international community," he said dubiously. For example, "the administration here, or perhaps certain individuals in the administration, has indicated we should give a chance to De Klerk."

As if that wasn't alarming enough, Mafole went on to suggest, De Klerk, or even State President Mr P W Botha in the interim, could compound the situation by releasing Nelson Mandela.

"As much as we want the release of Nelson Mandela, we don't think his release in the state of emergency would contribute in any meaningful way to a negotiated settlement." In other words, Mandela's freedom, so long demanded, would have to be dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all other political prisoners — both of which the ANC has it in its power to discourage.

Homelands united on Mandela

Political Correspondent

The leaders of all six self-governing territories are now understood to be united in demanding that Nelson Mandela be released before they will participate in the Government's national statutory forum

This emerged after the chief ministers of Gazankulu, kwaNdebele and QwaQwa met Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis last week

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and Dr TK Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa, have already made it clear Mandela's release is a condition for their participation

It emerged from the meeting that the new kwaNdebele leader, Mr MJ Mapena, is also insisting on this

The leaders of kwaZulu, kaNgwane and Lebowa have taken the same stand

SA citizens need visas for Germany

All South African passport holders would require a visa to visit the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) from May 9, Lufthansa Airlines announced yesterday.

A visa would take three days to obtain, and would cost R22, the airline said

Application forms are available from any FRG consulate.

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Violence key issue at talks with ANC women

Political Reporter

The use of violence to bring about a democratic non-racial South Africa was the most contentious issue discussed by a delegation of about 50 South African women who met 30 African National Congress women in Harare at the weekend, according to tour leader Mrs Jenny Boraine

Speaking from Zimbabwe yesterday, Mrs Boraine said consensus was reached that continuous dialogue was the most effective way in which to seek peaceful political solutions for South Africa

"The ANC delegation generally agreed that violence and conflict were wrong. But no resolution was passed that there would be an end to violence, neither from the ANC's side nor from the South African Government's side"

She confirmed that three members of the ANC's national executive — Ms Barbara Masekela,

Idasa delegations leader
Mrs Jenny Boraine

Ms Gertrude Shope and Ms Ruth Mompoti — attended the three-day congress entitled "Women in the struggle for peace"

The tour, sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), included talks with women from Zanu-PF, among others Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe

Mrs Boraine said it was a moving and emotional experience to meet South African women in exile

scribes the circumstances under which and the procedures applicable to the interception of telephonic conversations. The hon member is given the assurance that the relevant statutory provisions are at all times being strictly complied with and that no application for a telephone interception is granted for any other reason than for the maintenance of the security of the Republic.

(2) falls away. **B687E**

Crude-oil purchasing contracts.
 *6 Mr J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology
 Whether contracts entered into for the purchase of crude oil and the prices paid for such oil are verified, if so, (a) by whom, (b) which Department or body handles the payments for such purchases, (c) who is responsible for inspecting the books of the SFF Association and (d) (i) who audits these crude-oil purchase transactions, (ii) by whom are these auditors appointed and (iii) on how many occasions were new auditors appointed over the past 10 years] **B687E**

†THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY

- Yes
- (a) All prices and contracts are investigated and negotiated by the Board of Directors of CHEFP (Pty) Ltd. After the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology has approved any contract, all accounting transactions are audited by the Auditor-General in accordance to the Central Energy Act, 1977 (Act 38 of 1977)
 - (b) SFF Association
 - (c) The Auditor-General
 - (d) (i) The Auditor-General
 - (ii) The Auditor-General
 - (iii) According to the Auditor-general no new appointments have been made over the past 10 years

Capitalization of inspection fees
 *7 Mr W J D VAN WYK asked the Minister of Finance

(2) whether this inquiry has been completed, if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed, if so, (f) when and (ii) what were the findings, (3) whether any precautions have been or are to be taken to avoid similar occurrences in the future, if so, what precautions? **B694E**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1), (2) and (3) The hon member is referred to my reply in this House to question number 13 of 14 February 1989.

Mr Nelson Mandela: special treatment
 *10 Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Justice

With reference to his reply to Question No 50 of 28 February 1989, (a) why is the person in question, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, being accorded special treatment, (b) (i) what is the cost to the State of this special treatment and (ii) in respect of what period is this figure given and (c) what is the name of this person? **B711E**

†THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Mr Chairman, actually I should table the reply to this question in view of the fact that the hon member, Mr Derby-Lewis, is not present, in spite of the particular trouble one takes to give him his reply. I will nevertheless, seeing I have taken so much trouble, proceed to read the reply [Interjections]

(a) The treatment and circumstances of such persons are the result of the consideration of a variety of factors such as the period of sentence already served, prognosis, age, state of health, reintegration into the community and even sometimes other considerations which as in the past, I am prepared to share with Opposition Leadership on a personal and confidential basis and under given circumstances

(b) (i) Unfortunately a specific figure cannot be furnished as the cost-element involved in the circumstances and treatment of a specific person forms a varying portion of a great whole. When referring to the unit cost per

prisoner (namely R13,28 per prisoner per day) it only implies that the total budget has been divided by the average prison population

(c) The same as furnished by the hon member

Promotional film on SA

*11 Mr J R DE VILLE asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry

Whether his Department is planning to produce a promotional film on South Africa and its peoples for use on overseas television circuits, if not, why not, if so, (a) when and (b) what are the relevant details? **B718E**

THE MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND PRIVATISATION (for The Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry)

No This function is the mandate of Foreign Affairs

- (a) Not applicable
- (b) Not applicable

*12 Mr H J COETZEE—Foreign Affairs [Reply standing over]

Mr S Bopape: investigation into disappearance
 *13 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order

(1) With reference to his reply to Question No 1 on 11 April 1989 in regard to the investigation into the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape from police custody on 12 June 1988, what are the names of the members of the South African Police who accompanied the detainee in a police vehicle at the time of his alleged disappearance,
 (2) whether he will allow the attorneys representing the family of the detainee who has disappeared to question the members concerned, if not, why not? **B736E**

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) and (2)

have

'SA is in a war'

11A
20
Sowetan 26/7/89
• From Page 1

in the light of this

Before a gallery packed to its very limits Masina stated: "We are soldiers in a patriotic army struggling to establish democracy and peace."

He outlined the ANC history of non-violent struggle and stated that even after resorting to violence the ANC had attempted to regulate its conflict according to internationally recognised rules of war embodied in the Geneva Convention and protocols

Masina insisted that he and his comrades should be seen as prisoners of war.

"There is a war going on in this country. The fact that it has in the main, been confined to the townships does not alter the fact that South Africa is involved in a war."

ANC policy was still opposed to the harming of civilians, said Masina

He added "There may be situations where individual combatants go beyond policy and commit acts which cannot be condoned"

The statement conceded that some of the acts for which the four had been convicted had been committed without direct ANC instruction

More than 200 people attended yesterday's hearing and at each interval the court rang with ululating and cries of "Viva ANC"

(Proceeding)

S A I S

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Sowetan 26/7/89

FOUR convicted African National Congress members stood in the dock in olive green battle dress yesterday morning and called on South Africans of all colours to "unite around the democratic perspective for which we are prepared to die."

They urged the building of "a new South Africa" which must reflect our oneness" and in which human freedoms must be respected.

The plea made before a packed Delmas Supreme Court, was part of a statement read by the first accused, Jabu Masina

Mr Justice de Klerk requested that the trialists statement be delivered before he heard evidence in mitigation of sentence.

Three of the four men — Masina, Ting-Ting Masango and Neo Potsane — have been convicted of murder and

Soldiers of the ANC tell judge

face a mandatory death sentence if mitigating factors are not established.

The fourth accused, Joseph Makhura, has been convicted on multiple counts of attempted murder.

Mr Justice de Klerk yesterday made the historic decision to allow counsel to lead evidence in mitigation of sentence

on the instruction of families of the trialists. The men in the dock are maintaining the

position that they are soldiers of Umkhonto we-Sizwe and will not participate in the proceedings of a civilian court.

Although the State opposed evidence being led on the families instructions the judge decided it would be "immoral" to refuse this

He asked that the trialists read their statements so that he could construe evidence

• To Page 2

Wednesday April 26 1989

Vlok rebutts 'radical left propaganda'

Star 26/4/89

~~2/1~~ (11A)

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday gave Parliament an update on investigations into incidents at Khotso House, Cosatu House and Khanya House, rejecting "sharp accusations" and "scandalous propaganda" from "radical left-wing circles"

Replying to debate on the law and order budget, he also gave more details of investigations into the death of activist Matthew Goniwe and the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape

New information included

Cosatu House Police had established through sworn affidavits and other sources that a hole in the fence had been there some time before the explosion. The hole gave access to the yard, but not the building. It also now appeared there was an escape route used in the event of police raids.

Khotso House In this case, the police search for three assumed terrorists was continuing.

Mr Vlok said police had found books and documents belonging to "one Khotso Chikane" in one of the severely damaged cars parked in the basement car park. The car belonged to an occupant of Khotso House.

Beneath the documents was an identity document of "a certain Kgoro William Mabodja" who had died on September 7 last year "as the victim of his own limpet mine which apparently exploded prematurely at the Northpark Plaza in Northcliff"

Khanya House Regarding the fire at Khanya House and "the possible involvement of Mr Strydom of the so-called Wit Wolwe", Mr Vlok said he could not give more information in view of the sub judice rule.

Matthew Goniwe and others Mr Vlok said that while there had been wild accusations against the police — who had been as good as accused of murdering the activists — an inquest court had found there was no evidence whatsoever to suggest this.

Stanza Bopape Mr Bopape escaped from police custody in June last year while pointing out "certain spots in connection with acts of terror in which he was allegedly involved"

Police have since tracked down persons "who have stated under oath that they have seen Mr Bopape after his escape", once in the vicinity of another terror attack in which people died.

Kagiso Trust denies receiving Tutu plea



● TUTU

THE Kagiso Trust said yesterday it had not been asked for funds by Trevor Tutu

Trustee Achmat Dangor added that, if an application were received from Archbishop Desmond Tutu's son, it would be rejected

The archbishop is on the trust's 13-member board

Dangor, reacting to claims by Trevor Tutu

RIAAAN SMIT

in yesterday's Sunday Times, that he had applied for money through the Japanese consulate as part of a fund-raising scheme to take over Shareworld, denied Tutu's plea was ever received

"Even if we were to receive such an application we could not grant funds to individuals, or companies owned by individuals, especially for profit-making purposes," Dangor added

Tutu claimed in the report he and partner Mark Gordon had approached major corporations and various trust funds to put

up R30m to take over Johannesburg's financially strapped Shareworld entertainment complex and turn it into an education centre

Shareworld MD Rene Lion-Cachet confirmed his board gave Tutu written permission to solicit "unconditional donations" for the centre

He added Tutu could keep 20% of the donations

Lion-Cachet said Tutu and Gordon had decided to go it alone and make a take-

● To Page 2

Key Market Movements

Apr 20 to Apr 21

Kagiso Trust denies receiving Tutu plea

over bid for the complex

Tutu reportedly said he would negotiate the take-over bid with Standard Bank, which is owed R45m by Shareworld

Bank spokesman Don Macey said Standard was "not in the frontline" of negotiations about Shareworld

Kagiso Trust controls R25m annually granted to it by the EC Dangor said every project the trust endorsed had to be sub-

mitted to the 12-member European organisation for approval.

"Archbishop Tutu has never tried to influence the decision-making of the board of trustees in favour of any one of his family members," he added

Trevor Tutu could not be contacted yesterday Archbishop Tutu is abroad

● From Page 1

3/10am
26/4/89

Vlok names alleged ANC terrorist

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday 35-year-old Ronald Bezuidenhout, purportedly a trained ANC terrorist, was arrested in last week.

He added during the Law and Order vote that Bezuidenhout indicated he had associated with Hein Grosskopf while outside SA.

Police said Bezuidenhout left SA in 1986 when sought for criminal offences and by the military authorities for allegedly deserting.

It is understood that during 1987 Bezuidenhout was trained at Pango Camp in Angola and then received specialist training in East Germany.

Vlok said Grosskopf must know the grief of his parents

"If he is innocent why does he not do something about the matter?"

Vlok said Grosskopf should give himself up and put police evidence concerning car-bombings to the test in court. — Sapa

CAPC Trans 26/4/87 (110) (18) (30)

United demand for Mandela release

JOHANNESBURG — The leaders of all six self-governing territories are now understood to be united in demanding that Mr Nelson Mandela be released before they will participate in the government's national statutory forum, the Sowetan reports

This emerged after the chief ministers of Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and QwaQwa met Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis last week

Mr Heunis said in a statement that the chief ministers had "restated their position on the release of Mr Mandela, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population

Registration Act"

Chief Minister of Ganzankulu Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi and Chief Minister of Qwaqwa Dr T K Mopeli have already made it clear that the release of Mr Mandela is a condition for their participation in central government

New KwaNdebele Chief Minister Mr M J Mapena is also insisting on the release of Mr Mandela

● United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) president Mr Tom Boya yesterday joined homeland leaders in demanding the release of Mr Mandela before he will participate in the government's proposed national forum

CAP. TRIPS 26/4/87 (18) (18) (18)

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**Vlok: ^{CPT}
White ^{Tanks}
ANC ^{26/6/89}
guerilla ^(11A)
arrested**

Political Staff

A 35-YEAR-OLD white man, reported to be a trained ANC guerilla, was arrested by police in Port Elizabeth last week, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

It is understood that the man is Mr Ronald Bezuidenhout, who, according to a police spokesman, left South Africa in 1986 when he was being sought on a number of criminal offences, and by military authorities for desertion.

It is alleged that during 1987 Mr Bezuidenhout was trained at Pango Camp in Angola and then in East Germany.

He reportedly returned to South Africa this year, assigned the task of blowing up strategic installations.

Mr Bezuidenhout, who is divorced, was formerly employed as a conductor on the railways.

Speaking during the debate on the Law and Order Vote, Mr Vlok said Mr Bezuidenhout had indicated while being questioned, that he had associated with Mr Hein Grosskopf while he was outside SA.

He said it followed that Mr Grosskopf must therefore know about the grief and concern of his parents.

"If he is innocent, why does he not do something about the matter," he asked.

Mr Vlok said he felt sorry for Mr Grosskopf's family, adding that it was a pity Mrs Grosskopf had seen fit to make public the correspondence between them.

Meeting the Maties ... ANC representatives and the Cuban ambassador to Zambia with students from the University of Stellenbosch

LAST week's meeting between Stellenbosch University student leaders and the African National Congress in Lusaka will put student opinion on the issue to the test

The 18 students returned from their African safari to find a campus boiling with controversy, stoked by press reports in which they were accused of breaking promises and damaging the university's name

The student's views on the issue will be measured either by a referendum or a mass meeting, where the issue will be formally debated and a vote taken, a two-thirds majority carrying the matter

Either device will also test the relative strengths of student organisations, which represent a political spectrum ranging from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on the right to Nusas on the left

The storm of protest over the Stellenbosch student leaders' meeting with the African National Congress is intriguing in one aspect: it has not been echoed by official government condemnation.

This is in direct contrast to the scenario four years ago, when an attempt by eight Stellenbosch students to meet the ANC's youth wing was thwarted by the government's withdrawal of their passports

Minister for Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said at the time it was the declared policy of the ANC to bring about change through violence he deemed it in the public interest to withdraw their travel documents

Rector Professor Mike de Vries, other than to complain of "a breach of trust", has made it clear he wants the

The Stellenbosch storm stays among the students

The row among Stellenbosch students over the Lusaka trip by their colleagues has an intriguing aspect: the government, for a change, have left well alone. By GAYE DAVIS

students to settle the issue among themselves

Pamphlets littered the campus this week as students started making their opinions felt

Others had already done so: one of the tour members returned home to find her room had been broken into and vandalised. Clothes, dumped on the floor, had bleach poured over them. Books were swept off shelves and doused in dishwashing liquid and instant-coffee powder

Tour leader Mark Behr — dubbed the "Red Behr" in anonymous smear pamphlets — had his car tyres slashed and learned from workers on the farm where he lives that "elderly men" had visited, taking photographs of his room, his filing cabinet, his books and the house itself

Of the 18 students on the tour, eight were members of the SRC

On the eve of their departure, the 15-member SRC passed a motion, by 11 votes to four, stating that members for the 1988/89 term of office

would not hold talks with the ANC

It was known the tour was kicking off with a four-day visit to Lusaka at the invitation of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda — and that contact with ANC members was inevitable

The three SRC members who met ANC officials say they did so as individuals and that it was their right to do so. None of them supported the motion

While they and the other tour members engaged with ANC officials during international forums organised by the Zambian Youth League, the other five SRC members watched videos in their hotel bedrooms

Uncertain whether the motion bound them in terms of acting as individuals, they decided to refrain

The issue of whether the motion was wholly binding or not will be settled on Monday night by a student court

SRC chairman Pierre van der Spuy, who did not talk to the ANC but "fully supports" those who did, and Behr are submitting that the motion is *ultra vires* and should be set aside

SRC member Andre Gaum, whose motion it was, will be opposing the move

"You can't separate the person from the office. They have broken faith," he said this week

It seems unlikely, however, that the student court's finding will contradict the opinion of one of the university's finest legal minds, that of human rights chairman Professor Lawrence Ackermann

Ackermann has said the motion cannot be binding on members acting as individuals: it would be like forbidding SRC members from attending rugby matches in their personal capacity

Gaum believes the talks have damaged the university's reputation and claims that donors now want to withdraw funds

But just last week the university received its largest-ever donation, estimated at over R2-million, from Sasol. And this week, as the tour members faced both accolades and criticism from a vocal mass of students in a report-back meeting, Anglo Vaal chairman Basil Hersov was lunching with university officials nearby

In a lecture theatre packed by about 500 students — a mere fraction of the total enrolment of almost 14 000 — the tour members stated their case.

The Lusaka part of the tour involved the group as individuals, when they arrived in Namibia it resumed under the auspices of the political discussion group SPOG (Stellenbosse Politieke Ondersoek en Gesprek)

Nothing was said about the possibility of meeting with the ANC before the group left in order to avoid campus controversy and possibly jeopardising the initiative

Those SRC members who met the ANC members did so in their private capacity

● For a Matie comment, see PAGE 13

A TENUOUS PEACE COMES TO THE NORTH, BUT SUSPICIONS STILL RUN DEEP

No Swapo surrenders? A single glance tells us why

THE first sight of a "safe assembly point" in north-east Owamboland would not reassure a bush-weary Swapo guerrilla planning to emerge from the inhospitable savannah.

The 100 fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) said to be in this area would be greeted by a huge South African flag, dwarfing the bright blue-and-white UN emblem hoisted unsteadily above an Untag supply jeep.

The Okankolo position, like that at Nkongo and several of the nine other refuge points up and running this week, is right next to a large-scale South African Defence Force base.

At Okankolo on Tuesday, when the ceasefire proposals agreed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola were so inconclusively implemented, six Ratel armoured personnel carriers stood only a few metres away from the rudimentary UN encampment.

South African Air Force planes droved above, and "troopies" wandered unconcerned in and around their base.

As the Australian engineers, Polish monitors and British signallers tried to make the best of the very little that is to be their home for the next fortnight or so — Okankolo Assembly Point is 40km north-east of Ondangwa, on a rough dirt road with an indeterminate endpoint — the precariousness of the ceasefire process was on full display.

The terms of the tripartite 'Mount Etjo Declaration', agreed upon last weekend at an emergency meeting at a luxury safari lodge 250km north-west of Windhoek, require the estimated 2 000 Plan guerrillas still in Namibia to break cover and give themselves over to Untag. They are

It's not very surprising that Swapo guerrillas show such reluctance to hand themselves over. One look at the neighbourhood of the Okankolo Assembly Point reveals all
By SHAUN JOHNSON in Owamboland

obliged to surrender their weapons and wait in the remote bases before being airlifted out to points above Angola's 16th parallel.

Only a handful had done so by Wednesday night. With 263 of their comrades having fallen to security force bullets in the 300km-wide, searingly-hot battle theatres of Owamboland and the Kaokoveld, the guerrillas are being asked to make a leap of faith.

Swapo is deeply distrustful of South African intentions and openly contemptuous of Untag's ability to contain them.

At Okankolo it is easy to see why, and this gave rise to a quite extraordinary encounter on Tuesday afternoon. Some two hours after the midday-establishment of the UN camp, carloads of local Owambo civilians

drove the dusty tracks around the assembly point, closely observing how it functioned.

After some time, as many as 150 of them returned and asked to talk to Untag. It was immediately clear that the civilians had come as emissaries for a Plan contingent close by, numbering a hundred or more, according to one of the several representatives.

The civilians had a list of pointed questions and they were prepared to take answers from anyone, even journalists. But the task of responding fell primarily to the ranking Australian sapper, Captain Mark Hender. They formed an earnest knot around him, asking questions in English and furiously debating the answers in Oshivambo among themselves.

Also mingled into the group was an SADF officer, at the post as an observer in terms of the ceasefire proposal. After initial consternation about his presence he, too, was pressed for answers.

The revealing rapid-fire question-and-answer session reflected the seriousness of Swapo's misgivings. The flow of the international intercourse was several times interrupted because of mutual difficulty in comprehending broad Brisbane and colloquial Oshivambo, but its direction was clear.

Hender explained the UN's role in setting up the assembly points. "We are here so Swapo people can come in, put their weapons with us, and then be moved back to their bases in Angola."

He was instantly interrupted. "You mean they are going to be disarmed?" Yes, said Hender, that was the arrangement.

"Then what about that South African army?" said one of the questioners, gesturing energetically toward the SADF base.

"The South African army is part of the agreement," said Hender. "And if you come in, you are under the protection of Untag. You don't have any worries. Nothing could happen with out us getting hurt as well, and with out the rest of the world coming down on South Africa."

Hender was slightly taken aback when asked whether he could provide food for 100 men, but quickly said he could.

"And what about medical treatment?" said the civilians. "Yes, we have medical facilities from the South Africans," he began when he was interrupted by the incredulous listeners. "From the South Africans?"

Exasperated, Hender said he could have two Swiss doctors flown in to treat wounded guerrillas.

Then he turned to pleading. "This agreement has been made in good faith. Everyone has agreed to the procedure. I think it comes down to a matter of trust. You have to trust us to look after you, and we have to trust you to come in."

This didn't satisfy the emissaries, who wanted assurances that the South African forces wouldn't "block the camp" when the Plan fighters tried to come in. At this point the South African officer interjected. "No, no," he said, "I can promise you they will not be harassed. The patrols are not just going to start shooting. They've been ordered only to shoot if somebody shoots them first."

Asked what guerrillas should do if they were spotted while moving at night in contravention of the dusk-to-dawn curfew, the SADF officer offered this advice: "If they walk past (SADF patrols) and are halted, they should just stop, say 'hallo', and our guys will come and take a look and let them go on."

Hender reminded the crowd that guerrillas were also free to gather at churches in the region, from which they would be escorted to the nearest assembly point in preparation for removal to Angola. "Your people can just come into a town and go to a church, rifles over their shoulders, and they will be fetched," he said.

The emissaries left amid much muttering and sideways glances at the Ratels.



Ananias Ipinge arrives home to find his settlement devastated by a police Casspir during fighting in Northern Namibia

Picture GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

THERE are two basic political gestures in Namibia: the raised, slightly crooked right-arm salute of Swapo, and the "V for victory" sign of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

The predominance of one or the other of these signals in Owamboland has become a matter of great political importance, since the world rebuked Swapo for its tactics of the last fortnight.

Most of the Namibian population lives on these vast northern plains, and Swapo's election prospects hinge on maintaining its traditional stronghold. Statisticians say the party requires 80 percent of the Owamboland vote to ensure victory in the independence elections, more for a two-thirds majority.

Has Swapo managed to secure this after the extraordinary events of the past fortnight? There are no Gallup pollsters in northern Namibia, but there are other means of assessing the mood of the people.

There are always crowds milling around on either side of the road that runs from Oshivelo to Ruacana, bisecting Owamboland. The same applies to the northern artery running from Ondangwa to Oshikango on the Angolan border.

At the *caca* shops and on the roadsides, the civilians reflect the political temperature of the inaccessible villages of the hinterland.

On Wednesday this week, with so many People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) fighters freshly buried and the United Nations still waiting for the survivors who are stubbornly entrenched in the bush, an unscientific survey was conducted.

From a moving car, the Swapo and DTA salutes were alternatively given, and the responses recorded. While

Swapo's ahead, reveals our unscientific survey

What's in a hand-sign? An unscientific survey of the crowds milling around the main road to Ruacana tells us that there's plenty to be learnt from the shape of a salute
By SHAUN JOHNSON

Swapo salutes were enthusiastically returned — the DTA gesture drew at best disinterest, at worst derision. Owamboland is emphatically still Swapo country.

Among the hundreds who revelled in responding to white men giving the Swapo salute, there were two notable exceptions — a man selling home-made bows and arrows to travellers raised the DTA's two fingers, as did a nattily-dressed youngster on a state-of-the-art bicycle. If the DTA does command any support in Owamboland, it seems it is among the entrepreneurial classes.

To the local people, the recent events differ from what went before only in its intensity — the South Africans have been shooting the freedom fighters in the same way. There are just more of them, and there has been more blood.

As always the villagers give the Plan guerrillas help, although they won't talk about it to strangers.

However, one group made its allegiances quite clear on Wednesday. A large group from a secondary school in north-east Owamboland marched

behind an elder astride a horse to Untag's Okankolo assembly point.

Singing praises to Sam Nujoma and dancing the Namibian version of the *toy toy*, they held placards with slogans like "Untag, we have been waiting for you", "Guarantee Swapo's safety", and "Hasten more Untag to come to Namibia".

Despite the visible presence of an SADF platoon, these people made their loyalty to the organisation that had sent the fighters quite clear, ending their bizarre demonstration with shouts of "One Namibia", "One leader" and "Viva Swapo".

Earlier, in response to questions about Swapo's whereabouts, Swapo Youth League member Ananias Iana had said: "You are talking to Swapo right here. Everywhere you go you are talking to Swapo from Cunene to Ruacana, to the Orange River."

The clear hint was that he could himself be a Plan guerrilla now integrated into a village, having buried his weapons and uniform.

It is often repeated by whites here that Swapo, unlike Robert Mugabe's Zania, failed to liberate any part of Namibia. This is true, but it does not detract from the level of silent support for the Plan fighters in the villages. These people will vote for Swapo, regardless of what Western governments are saying about "Uncle Sam".

The last, tragic spasm of the war will have done Swapo some damage — Plan commanders will sooner or later have to explain to the families of

some 250 guerrillas why their children had to die when independence was within reach.

And there are also some Owambos who are beginning to blame Swapo's tactical incursion for "bringing back" the dreaded Koevoet and remobilising 101 Battalion after a brief respite.

Whether these elements will defect to the DTA is difficult to tell. Except among the black security forces themselves — who can be seen unashamedly giving the DTA salute from the backs of their Buffels and Casspirs — there is not a strong DTA presence here. But the party is making strenuous efforts to capitalise on Swapo's troubles.

Along the road to Oshikango, tens of thousands of pamphlets written in Afrikaans and Oshivambo have been dropped for collection by villagers. Headlined "Swapo Loses", the pamphlets ask: "Why did Nujoma allow hundreds of our sons to be shot dead? Now they lie buried in the land they longed for. Their voices are stifled. Their families will never hear them again."

"Nujoma does not want peace. He wants to be a boss with a gun."

"Swapo is a jackal that the world has put in a cage until it comes to its senses. But the DTA is not in a cage."

"Swapo and some church leaders say many civilians have been shot dead (since April 1). But why were none shot before then? Therefore Swapo is responsible for the death of every person who has been killed in the past week."

It is perhaps indicative of the strength of Owamboland's political loyalties that very few of the pamphlets had been picked up, a full two hours after they were dropped.

Vlok damned my son - Grosskopf

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Professor H J Grosskopf has accused the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, of "throwing a smokescreen" around the fact that he had publicly condemned Professor Grosskopf's son.

He said that Mr Vlok's comments in Parliament on Tuesday linking his son with the suspected African National Congress member arrested in Port Elizabeth amounted to "irrelevancies"

On March 17 last year Mr Vlok told Parliament that Mr Hein Grosskopf had carried out cold-blooded acts on the orders of the ANC

On Tuesday the Minister said police had evidence that Mr Hein Grosskopf had been involved in the car-bomb explosion in Johannesburg and a similar incident in Krugersdorp

The ANC suspect arrested in Port Elizabeth claimed to have met Mr Hein Grosskopf, he said

"The fact that you might have seen somebody abroad does not mean you plant bombs in Krugersdorp," Professor Grosskopf said

Professor Grosskopf, head of the Department of Journalism at Stellenbosch University and a former editor of Beeld, said South African law stated one was innocent until proved guilty.

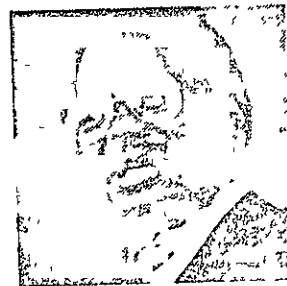
PEACE

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HOPES

RISE



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Cosatu, UDF to meet Inkatha

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and UDF affiliates yesterday supported fresh attempts to end violence in Maritzburg's townships where more than 1 000 people have died in clashes.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, representatives of these organisations said they were prepared to attend a "preparatory meeting" with Inkatha to pave the way for a peace conference involving the warring factions.

The call comes in the wake of a plea to community organisa-

BY NEN MASEKO

tions by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a massive drive be launched to end the killings

"While Cosatu and the UDF largely share a common political position which differs from that of Inkatha, all three organisations share an abhorrence of apartheid and are committed to

achieving peace in Natal", Cosatu and the UDF affiliates said in a statement

The "mass democratic movement" was consulting with its constituencies on the issue.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, came under fire at yesterday's conference for the "iron fist" operation he has

earmarked for Natal's townships

The organisations condemned Mr Vlok's "iron-fisted" approach towards the violence in the area, saying "It would seem to us that when we are on the verge of a major political initiative to break through the cycle of violence, the apartheid State has moved systematically to undermine the political process that we are engaged in.

"It would seem to us that the Government never learns from its errors of the past," they said

Cosatu, UDF men back Natal peace talks

 By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter 117

Renewed efforts to end political violence in Natal's black townships were given a spur yesterday when representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) gave unqualified support to a

SKW 2714187
"peace conference" with the kwaZulu-based nationalist movement Inkatha.

It was announced at a Johannesburg media conference that the talks would be convened by prominent Natal clergymen and other leaders

An estimated 1 200 people have been killed in the Maritz-

burg area in fighting between followers of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha from January 1987 to last month

In a statement, Cosatu and UDF affiliates said they were committed to exploring all necessary options to remove obstacles to a peace process

Inkatha spokesmen were not available

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Minister 'threatening peace'

ALAN FINE

WHILE Cosatu and the UDF hold a political position which differs from that of Inkatha, all three abhorred apartheid and shared a common commitment to achieving peace in Natal, Cosatu and UDF affiliates said yesterday.

However, they said they were concerned at the recent intervention by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, which appeared to be aimed at undermining a major political initiative to break the cycle of violence.

Vlok told Parliament on Monday Cosatu and the UDF were acting on instructions from the ANC/SACP alliance and their previous peace efforts had therefore been hollow. He announced the SAP would launch an iron fist campaign to end the violence.

Cosatu and UDF representatives told a media conference they were prepared to

meet Inkatha to remove any obstacles to a common peace initiative.

Restricted UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said Vlok's announcement jeopardised this process.

□SAPA reports the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit has made a major breakthrough in investigations into the killing of former hunger-striker Chris Ntsh, and has arrested four suspects alleged to be members of "Sinyoras" — a gang of criminals.

Police also report five people have died violently in Mpophomeni, Natal.

Four black men were stabbed to death and four wounded when a group attacked private dwellings in the area. The body of a 76-year-old black man was found with stab wounds.

... it is not his duty to declare people

... free volition and not (got) the President to reply to my first letter after so many months"

Natal call for peace is 'shared'

CMT 114 & S 27/4/89



JOHANNESBURG — The abhorrence of apartheid shared by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front and its affiliates and Inkatha constituted the basis for an end to violence in Natal

This was said yesterday by the UDF and Cosatu at a press conference here when the two organisations stated that, although they shared a political position which differed from that of Inkatha, they were prepared to hold a peace conference that included the Zulu movement

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said the three organisations' conception of how peace could be achieved had moved much closer than before

The statement came as the police unrest report announced that five people have died violently in Mpophomeni, Natal

Mr Morobe said the continuing violence in the greater Maritzburg area alone had claimed more than 1 200 lives since the beginning of last year and charged that police had "not always acted with circumspection" in the area

Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu's general secretary, said police collusion had resulted in an escalation of the violence

It was in the material interests of the state, Mr Naidoo said, to orchestrate the warlords in the area to use violence against Cosatu and the UDF in order to disrupt them

"It would seem to us that when we are on the verge of a major political initiative to break through the cycle of violence the apartheid state has moved systematically to undermine the political process that we are en-

gaged in," the joint UDF/Cosatu statement released at the conference said

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's recent "iron-fisted approach to ending the violence" statement was of particular concern. It appeared as if the government did not learn from its mistakes

Cosatu had warned in 1987 that the deployment of Special Police Forces in the area would "inevitably lead to greater violence"

"This is precisely what happened. The police are today discredited"

Condemnation of the police was not to be confused with the UDF's recognition of a need for a police force in the area to maintain peace. However, "the actions of the police must be in keeping with the interests of the people — in this case peace", Mr Morobe said

Cosatu and the UDF were prepared to attend a preparatory meeting with Inkatha and the conveners of the proposed peace conference to remove obstacles to initiation of the conference

The idea of prominent people acting as conveners and the involvement of Inkatha, Cosatu, the UDF and its affiliates and other influential organisations would mean that any agreement reached would carry great weight and influence, the statement said

While the conference alone would not ensure peace, the UDF and Cosatu saw it as the launching of the process.

● Today's police unrest report said four men were stabbed to death and four wounded when a group of people attacked homes in the area

Police used tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse the attackers and arrested 194 people

"In another incident in the same area, a black woman was injured when a group stoned a home — Sapa

Natal call for peace is 'shared'

CMT 71425 27/4/84

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In another incident in the same area, a black woman was injured when a group stoned a home — Sapa

Group to seek release of Mpetha

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

A SENIOR British trade unionist, a city attorney and officials of the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) yesterday met to discuss humanitarian care for jailed trade unionist and diabetic Mr Oscar Mpetha, 79

Lawyer Mr Hymie Bernadt, who has been professionally associated with Mr Mpetha for almost 40 years, said yesterday that he had held a "long session" with Mr Tony Shaw, of the Trades Union Congress's (TUC) international secretariat, and delegates from Fawu's head office.

The union had agreed to establish an ad hoc committee which would identify Mr Mpetha's needs upon his release and calculate the costs, which would be paid by the TUC, he said.

A renewed application for Mr Mpetha's release would be submitted once the committee had finalised its arrangements, he said.

Full-time nurse

Mr Bernadt noted that the Appellate Division had considered Mr Mpetha's compulsory five-year jail sentence under the former Terrorism Act to be "wholly inappropriate"

Fawu president Mr Chris Dhlamini earlier this week said. "We'll be looking at appointing a full-time nurse, procuring Mr Mpetha a car and driver and building him a home."

The committee would consist of 10 union delegates, representatives from the Congress of SA Trade Unions, community organisations, lawyers and National Medical and Dental Association doctors, he added

Mr Mpetha, who is serving the fourth year of his jail term, has been hospitalised for about three years.

International pressure for Mr Mpetha's release rose sharply this year, with both British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement calling for freeing of the former trade union and Western Cape ANC leader

2017/11/13 11:14:09
**Lusaka blast
damages house**

LUSAKA. — A bomb exploded outside a house in Lusaka on Tuesday night near a clinic used by members of the African National Congress (ANC), causing damage but no injuries, a Zambian cabinet member said yesterday.

Secretary of State for Defence and Security Mr. Alex Shapi could not say whether the bomb had been aimed at members of the ANC.

The damaged house, in the Emmasdale suburb, was empty at the time of the blast. Police were investigating — Sapa

Vlok 'smokescreening' Grosskopf's father

11A
 The Argus Correspondent
 JOHANNESBURG — Profes-

sor H J Grosskopf has accused the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, of "throwing a smokescreen" around the fact that he had publicly condemned his son, Hein, without trial

He said Mr Vlok's comments in Parliament on Tuesday, linking his son with the suspected African National Congress member arrested in Port Elizabeth, amounted to "irrelevancies offered up as justification for what he has alleged my son has done in South Africa".

On March 17 last year, Mr Vlok told Parliament he had no doubt that Mr Hein Grosskopf had carried out "cold-blooded acts" on the orders of the ANC.

On Tuesday, the Minister said police had "highly trustworthy" evidence that Mr Hein Grosskopf had been involved in the car bomb explosion at Command Headquarters in Johannesburg, and there were indications he was involved in a similar incident in Krugersdorp

He added that the ANC suspect arrested in Port Elizabeth claimed to have met Mr Hein Grosskopf overseas

"The fact that you might have seen somebody abroad does not mean you plant bombs in Krugersdorp," Professor Grosskopf said

Professor Grosskopf, head of the Department of Journalism at Stellenbosch University and a former editor of Beeld, said South African law stated one was innocent until proved guilty.

"The gravity of this point seems to have by-passed Mr Vlok. He is just playing the same note over and over."

EVIDENCE

Letters in which the Professor's wife, Mrs Santie Grosskopf, took Mr Vlok to task for "judging and finding my son guilty without any evidence being submitted" were published in Sunday newspapers at the weekend.

Professor Grosskopf yesterday said he had had no contact with his son since he left the country several years ago.

Lucille Ball's sudden death shocks

Mr Desi Arnaz jun, Miss Ball's 36-year-old son, said. "We are grief-stricken. We thought Mother was going to make it. She was so cheerful."

And Mr Gary Morton, her second husband, said "I can't believe she's gone. Yesterday she was talking optimistically about the future."

Bob Hope, with whom Miss Ball made her final public appearance last month, burst into tears when he heard the news.

comic we ever had," he said.

● Lucille Ball starred in films as early as the 1930s but it was not until the start of the television series *I Love Lucy* in 1951 that she became an international star — and one of the wealthiest women in America.

She was born in Jamestown, New York state, in 1911, the daughter of a telephone engineer.

Her early acting career pro-

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Peace conference planned to end violence in Natal

11A
Dec 27/489
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Hope flared that peace might be brought to Natal's troubled townships when representatives of the warring parties agreed to support the idea of a peace conference.

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At a Press conference in Johannesburg, representatives of the "mass democratic movement" committed their organisations to a proposed peace conference, convened by prominent Natal clergy and other influential leaders.

An estimated 1 200 people have been killed in the Maritzburg area alone in fighting between followers of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha between January 1987 and last month

In a statement, Cosatu and UDF affiliates said they were committed to exploring all necessary options to remove obstacles to peace.

"Inkatha, Cosatu and UDF affiliates share a common view and commitment to a mass movement for peace. We are prepared to attend a preparatory meeting with Inkatha and the conveners to remove obstacles to a common peace initiative," said the statement.

The idea of a peace conference involving all organisations had been canvassed widely, with consultations extending to the African National Congress.

● Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was opposed to the suggestion that Archbishop Denis Hurley and other peace conveners be included in the first meeting.

"If they (UDF and Cosatu) want to talk to us they must do so," Chief Buthelezi said, "but they must not bring in outsiders."

He also accused the UDF-Cosatu alliance of trying to dictate the terms of the talks.

Chief Buthelezi on Sunday proposed a peace campaign that would be funded by international church groups to halt bloodshed in Natal.

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4 held for hunger striker's murder

CMK, TULI 2-11-89

11A 2030

DURBAN — Four people have been arrested in connection with the killing of former hunger striker Mr Chris Ntuli

The four suspects, whose ages range from 17 to 48, are alleged to be members of the "Sinyoras" — a gang of criminals who have been terrorising township residents — and former members of the India Taxi Association

Major Charl du Toit, police public relations officer for Port Natal, said Durban Murder and Robbery Unit detectives under the command of Major Leonard Knipe had arrested the men and taken possession of two firearms. He said further arrests were expected soon.

Mr Ntuli, a former member of the KwaMashu and Ntuzuma youth congresses, was returning from reporting at the Inanda police station, in compliance with his restriction orders, on April 14 when he was attacked and stabbed by eight men who arrived in a minibus.

His death sparked off major violence in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda on Friday when demonstrators and members of the Sinyoras clashed. At least 12 were killed — Sapa

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Star 28/4/89

(11A)



Happy to be back in Alexandra after a forced absence of more than two years — Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso (left), Mr Paul Tshabalala, Mr Richard Mdakane, Mr Moses Mayekiso and Mr Obed Bapela

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

When unionist and Alexandra community leader Mr Moses Mayekiso landed at Jan Smuts Airport from a trip to Sweden in June 1986, he was arrested by security police who had been waiting for him — sparking one of the most intense international campaigns for the freedom of a South African anti-apartheid activist

And this week, after a trial spanning two years and four months, and having spent 900 days in custody, Mr Mayekiso walked from the Rand Supreme Court a free man, acquitted of treason and other charges. Four Alexandra leaders charged with him were also freed.

Mr Mayekiso (40) could, for the first time since his arrest, return to his house in Alexandra township. He could also give in-

We're furious we spent so long in jail, says Mayekiso

terviews to the media

He told The Star that despite being happy with their release, those who had been on trial were "furious" they had spent "such a long time in jail for nothing, and even refused bail".

Mr Mayekiso was released on R10 000 bail only last December, the State having initially opposed bail.

Among the bail conditions were that he did not give press interviews, go to Alexandra or take part in union meetings. Special permission had to be granted for him to represent the National Union of Metalworkers

of SA, of which he was elected secretary general while in detention, at the metal industry's current annual wage talks.

Barely a day after his acquittal, Mr Mayekiso fully assumed his duties at Numsa. He declared his determination to resume the building of community organisation in Alexandra like the Alexandra Action Committee, of which he was chairman, and street committees. The formation of these structures formed part of the basis of the State's case during the trial.

As a unionist he had no regrets about being involved in

community struggles. "I live in the community and must be involved in its activities. Unions and community organisations are fighting for the same goals — to improve the living conditions of the people."

Though detentions and the presence of security forces in the township had severely crippled community organisations, his impression was that "the people want to go forward, to continue" with the struggle to improve living conditions.

Supporting the observations of the trial judge, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, Mr Mayekiso

said programmes to upgrade Alexandra benefited only a minority of residents.

"There are still a lot of grievances, especially regarding the housing issue. Many of the houses being built are for sale and the people can't afford them. When we were arrested we were planning to challenge the authorities to renew Alexandra and build suitable and affordable housing, to have the streets tarred and to install electricity into the people's homes. We intend to continue with our plans."

Mr Mayekiso expected "problems in reviving the old community structures because the Government does not like them".

Up until his release, supporters in SA and abroad — from unionists to jurists — had called persistently for his release.

NEWS AND SPORTS

by LINDA GALLOWAY, Supreme Court Reporter

MR Mah Hoza, Mayor of Khayelitsha, already the subject of an urgent application, has given an undertaking in the Supreme Court not to attack pupils at Malizo Senior School.

At the same time he denied allegations against him

Mr Hoza, his Lingeletu West Town Council and three town councillors were the subject of an urgent application yesterday by Mr Ngwenya Fadana, Mr MacDonald Selana and Mr Noitha Sigodi.

The applicants asked for an interdict restraining Mr Hoza, the Town Council, a Mr Gaba, a Mr Mankuna and a Mr Goniwe from participating in, assisting, encouraging, permitting, authorising or allowing any unlawful attack on the applicants or the pupils of Malizo Senior Secondary School in Khayelitsha interfering with them, preventing any of the pupils from entering the premises to attend school or preventing access.

Mr Murray van Heerden, for Mr Hoza, the Town Council, Mr Gaba and Mr Goniwe, denied that his clients had acted in any way unlawfully, but gave an undertaking that they would not to do any of the things contained in the interdict.

The hearing was postponed to July 12.

In an affidavit supporting the application, Mr Fadana, a teacher at Malizo, said problems had begun with the "high-handed actions" of the principal, Constance January.

Students had many grievances which had not been resolved and the school had been "plunged into a serious crisis" which had spread to other schools in Khayelitsha.

The pupils allege

● The unlawful use of corporal punishment authorised and condoned by the principal.

● The assault and abuse of pupils by the principal.

● A refusal to allow pupils to use toilets during school.

● The unfair, unlawful dismissal of pupils earlier this year.

● The unfair way in which pupils have been compelled to raise money.

● Shortages of books and teachers.

● Overcrowding; and

● That pupils are compelled to take part in racial or multi-racial sport.

Mr Fadana said he could not pass judgment on the grievances, but believed that the way in which they had been handled had led to the crisis.

However, the respondents had entered the school and were manning the gates, preventing pupils from entering school grounds or classrooms. Those who did were chased out, allegedly by Mr Gaba, a Mr Mankuna and Mr Goniwe.

Heavily armed

Mr Fadana said these people had occupied the school under the orders of the Lingeletu West Town Council and, in particular, Mr Hoza for the past two weeks and had "at all times been heavily armed with sticks, iron and even firearms" and had beaten up pupils who tried to go to school.

As a result, all schooling at Malizo Senior Secondary had stopped and the crisis had spread to other schools.

Mr MacDonald said in an affidavit that he was one of the pupils at Malizo Senior Secondary who had been beaten up and chased by, among others, Mr Mankuna and Mr Goniwe.

What do I tell my people when a bomb goes off asks Harry Schwarz

MP'S OUTBURST AGAINST ANC

VETERAN government opponent Mr Harry Schwarz (DP, Yeoville) lashed out in Parliament at the ANC's use of violence, and took Idasa to task for describing the Congress as a "major and misunderstood actor on the South African scene".

Mr Schwarz rejected the ANC's "kind of democracy" and stated "We are in competition with that organisation".

Speaking in the Law and Order Budget Debate, he quoted an Idasa document which described the ANC as "a major and misunderstood actor on the South African scene".

"What do I tell people in my constituency when a bomb goes off? What do I tell people about this misunderstanding?"



DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT. Idasa leader.

invite people who are apologists for violence to say where I am misunderstanding violence

"A bomb is a bomb A gun is a gun You cannot have misunderstanding when that is taking place We need to make this clear"

Mr Schwarz was also critical of the ANC's view of post-apartheid society

He said "We need to look at what kind of society is being proposed in South Africa and whether the constitutional proposals are what we want

"They are not in favour of the kind of democracy we want and we are in competition with that organisation"

Replying to debate, Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok said "I agree 100 percent with (Mr Schwarz) The ANC must decide what it wants I cannot sit on two stools"

Shadow world of arms

with news 28/4/89

LONDON. — Twelve years ago, South Africa believed it faced a "total onslaught" virtually unarmed

Since the UN arms embargo of 1977, it has not only equipped the most efficient fighting machine in Africa, but Armscor has become one of the world's biggest exporters of military hardware

Jane's Defence Weekly estimates that in 1987 Armscor exported arms and ammunition worth nearly \$500-million to 23 countries. Official sources indicate this is not far wide of the mark, but behind the success story have been sinister allegations of arms smuggling, espionage and fraud

To the South African Army and Armscor itself, contact with the less salubrious end of the arms market was only to be expected. Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has openly admitted that any country at the mercy of an international arms embargo would have to resort to "unconventional" buying methods from time to time

Anti-apartheid campaigners in Europe agree, at least in part. They claim that many European governments are embarrassed at disclosure of their own embargo-breaching deals with South Africa, and are now cracking down on such contacts. It is this, they say, which has led to a surge in Armscor's contacts with the military fraternity's shadowy fringe

Past accusations of this kind have usually been shrugged off. But, this time, there are potentially damaging implications for South Africa's much valued relationship with that antagonist of sanctions, Mrs Thatcher

Up till now, both countries have been united in

by SUE LEEMAN,
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

their condemnation of "terrorism". Now, one is alleged to be selling arms to terrorists operating on the other's soil

The catalogue of past claims about South African arms dealings is both colourful and long

■ In 1979, six new Soviet tanks sent by Libya to Uganda aboard a French-owned ship were sidelined in Durban when Idi Amin was swept from power. Customs men found the tanks and unloaded them

Two months later Colonel Gaddafi retaliated for the loss by seizing another ship belonging to the French firm which shipped the tanks

■ In the mid-1980s four South Africans appeared in a Coventry court charged with smuggling arms-related goods worth up to R2-million to South Africa. The "Coventry Four", as they became known, were allowed to go home until the trial began, but they failed to return in spite of South African government assurances that they would

The four were alleged to have tried to export such strategic vital items as lead sulphide detectors, the basic technology in heat-seeking missiles, and high-tech magnetrons for radar systems. Both detectors and magnetrons were specifically prohibited by the arms embargo

The men, Hendrik Botha, Stephanus de Jager, Jacobus la Grange and William Metelerkamp, were also said to have dealt in sophisticated phosphor-bronze elevating gears, which experts suggested were intended for some kind of missile system. Three British businessmen were charged with helping them in their activities

■ In 1982, three British arms dealers were convicted of providing spare parts and firing mechanisms for Browning machine-guns. The court, which jailed them for periods ranging from three to six months, was told they had received payment from the South African Embassy

■ In 1986 a Danish court was told of the secret sale of French arms and ammunition to South Africa in 1981 and 1982

A Danish shipowner, who was charged with smuggling arms, claimed France's state-controlled arms industry was behind a multi-million rand weapons and ammunition deal with South Africa

■ In 1988 South Africa was reported to have obtained a piece of high-tech military equipment, the multi-sensor platform, by saying it was for civilian use. The platform, which was developed by British Aerospace and Messerschmitt, is used to track the behaviour of any high-speed airborne object

The West German government originally allowed the sale of three platforms to South Africa, believing they would be used to track weather satellites, but experts pointed out that they were more likely to be put to military use. After a public outcry last year, the Germans stopped the delivery of the last two platforms

■ For some years there have been rumblings that West Germany has sold nuclear technology to South Africa. Late last year it was confirmed that proceedings had begun against officials of three nuclear technology concerns

Reports said South Africa appeared to have taken delivery of reactor measuring equipment. A German radio station alleged it had proof that two of the accused had exported a highly strategic material, Beryllium, which can be used to make neutron bombs

■ Last year saw the continuation of a parliamentary inquiry in Germany into the alleged sale of submarine parts and plans to South Africa. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has appeared before the all-party committee which is conducting the inquiry

The Green Party claims that between July 1984 and July 1985 deliveries to South Africa of advanced submarine parts and plans continued with the tacit approval of the Bonn government



"But don't ask me

SA gets w 'world-wi

by DAVID BRAUN Weekend Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON - The recent jailing of a former US Army serviceman, who shipped 215 sets of classified military documents to the South African Embassy between 1979 and 1983, was the first conviction involving South Africa and the US

District Judge Herbert F Murray, imposing maximum sentence in Baltimore described the acts of espionage as despicable

Described by his attorneys as an anti-communist ideologue, Dolce was a mid level weapons analyst with secret clearance at the US Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground near Baltimore. He was arrested by the FBI last year

Critical damage

None of the documents apparently fell into highest critical damage category used by US intelligence to assess how badly American security had been breached. Thirteen of the documents were the second-highest "severe damage" category, 51 the "moderately severe" and 51 in the lowest categories

The documents apparently contained descriptions of various weapons systems, including Soviet equipment

According to reports Dolce both volunteered information, and was requested to steal it by officials in the South African Embassy

The Embassy has refused to comment on case

The international arms embargo against South Africa has frequently obliged Pretoria to seek orthodox methods to acquire weapons and technology denied to it

In April 1987, the US State Department accused Israeli arms merchants, almost certainly with approval of their government, of regularly violating the UN embargo for almost a decade. Jerusalem called a halt to the traffic

The department also said companies in France, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Britain sporadically sold weapons to South Africa or helped to modernise and maintain Pretoria's already had

"Given what we do know, we believe that

SIEMENS

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HEARING

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Black achievers are conniving

11/17/81
Soweto 28/4/81
● From Page 21

down their own For these people life in South Africa is one long party, where men and women attend dinners clothed in foreign made clothes.

These men and women adorn the media's "society pages" which give poor, aspirant people picture-profiles of who was who at this or that function. And those who appear regularly become "models of success" to be regarded with envious awe by the people

Among these men and women it is "high achievement" to dine with government ministers and be friends with bantustan chiefs. And one wonders why it is only those in politics who are not liked by the common peoples. These men and women play golf with these politicians.

"Achievers" look at you askance if you converse with them in Zulu or Sotho. In fact they hold their own mother-tongue in contempt and regard English as the medium of communication in a country seething with poisoned education and illiteracy

In some circles if you speak your own tongue to these men and women they give you a persona-non-grata stare or label

The "achievers" hold long hours of debate on semantics in English, but think you insult them if you greet them in Venda. With these men you can hold six post graduate degrees, but if you fail to express yourself fluently in English you are a washout

If you can, you become an instant hit who can get away with anything

These "successful" people loathe any talk that points out the inherent injustice in the status quo of any genuine articulation of the aspirations of the majority

This is only acceptable when they themselves do

it in front of whites to instil in whites a sense of guilt. As if these successful men and women have no blood in their hands!

To them politics is anything that challenges and questions the morality of what they do. This arouses awareness of betrayal on their part

To them theatre is plays that show Soweto youths dancing and singing to whizzing music of bullets, children laughing and raising fists as they choke in an atmosphere of violence

The big lie prevalent in the black world today is to pretend that "blacks are not responsible for the situation they find themselves in," that because they do not vote the Government into power they are set in a position of helplessness that takes away all the blame from their hands

On this big lie blacks are prone to abort the very society they want to give birth to. Shall they blame whites for that too?

What do these men and women do for their nation, their own people? They can only best scorn the handful of white people who have nightmare-filled nights and are moved to charity donations to squatter communities

They strongly criticise white youths who embark on clean-up campaigns in ghettos and offer food and clothing to the needy

The fact of the matter is that our "successful" men and women — be they local or abroad — have the potential to drag all the filth into the stove for "new" South Africa

The putrid spectre of our contemporary history haunts some of us as we soak in what is happening today. The shadow of evil hovers over us, looming larger and larger as South Africa shakes on the brink of a "new" society.

CONVENTIONAL wisdom, which frequently confuses "ought" with "is," is that the Soviet Union is "so pressing" the ANC to abandon the armed struggle for political negotiation that there is a growing divergence between "sponsor" and "client".

However, that is not what the ANC's chief United Nations observer Tebogo Malofe said when he spoke here last week.

As it happens, what Malofe said, and how he said it, was altogether more instructive.

Malofe, who recently replaced the late Johnny Makatuni as the ANC's de facto chief representative in the US, spoke at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His theme was the impact of the Namibia-Angola accords upon the ANC.

It is perhaps significant that he chose to devote a considerable chunk of his time to the ANC's relations with the Soviet Union without waiting to be asked.

The impression he left was that whatever the Soviets were now feeling it, the ANC was starting to feel distinctly queasy and that this had rather more to do with the rest of the world's (and particularly Pretoria's) interpretation of the Moscow line than with the Moscow line itself.

Malofe clearly wanted his audience to believe that the Soviet Union remained firmly in the ANC's corner, not simply because the ANC needs the help but because without at least the perception of continued Soviet backing, the organisation's credibility and capacity to strike fear into its adversaries might be seriously undermined.

He began by noting that "we are told that the Soviet Union seems to be embracing 'constructive engagement' in some of the ways that it does things and that it has changed its attitudes towards the ANC." He said this with a laugh that managed to sound dismissive and nervous at the same time.

Why the ANC do not want Mandela released at present

11A
B/Dog 25/7/89

SIMON BARBER in Washington

had in mind. Just as Swapo seems to have come up with a new motto — make me free, but not yet — the ANC is also obviously having trouble coming to grips with the changing environment. Things, and not just its old mentors in Moscow, are moving too fast for it.

Malofe was asked for his views on the emergence of F W de Klerk and his answer indicated a similar unease if Gorbachev was having an unfortunate effect on Pretoria's thinking. De Klerk was doing the same to international opinion, and heaven forbid, might even throw a spanner in the sanctions campaign.

"De Klerk has made a number of noises and there has been a lot of response from the international community," Malofe said dubiously. For example, "the administration here, or perhaps certain individuals in the administration, has indicated we should give a chance to De Klerk."

ship, such anxiety suggests that the ANC is genuinely concerned about losing its status as a pawn in the superpower contest and thus no longer being viewed by Pretoria as part of "total onslaught".

When any group pits itself against a government, its power is frequently defined less by its own action than by the government's reaction. By any objective measure, the ANC's "struggle" to replace white minority rule with its own has been an abject failure.

The ANC, or rather its mythology, has been sustained by the manner in which Pretoria has responded to it. Pretoria, in turn, has vindicated its response by evoking nightmare images of the Soviet bogymen.

For a variety of reasons — some valid, some ambiguous — the latter is evanescent. As it does so, government is re-evaluating the nature of the problem that confronts it. The ANC, relished the old evaluation, which it viewed, with the brutal impracticality of exiled intellectuals, as making the country ripe for revolution. It fears the new one will diminish its stature. A "kinder, gentler" Pretoria was not what it

bling, pains to explain the non-meeting as normality itself.

At any rate, the ANC delegation did have talks with a "wide range" of lesser Soviet officials who expressed their position, which has been articulated in the media and elsewhere, about favouring political settlement of disputes and conflicts.

"The ANC, of course, agrees that this is how things should be, but under the circumstances does not find its way clear to abandoning the armed struggle so the ANC is not about to do so, and in fact the Soviet side did not insist on this. The prerogative is the ANC's to determine how it wants to wage the struggle."

What is interesting here is not so much the Soviet view but Malofe's evident anxiety to impress upon his listeners — a fairly good cross-section of Washington southern Africa groupies — that Moscow was not pressuring the ANC to change its strategy.

There being no reason to think Malofe is not broadly representative of the organisation's external leader-

He then agreed that, yes, "the Soviet Union has increasingly spoken in favour of a negotiated settlement", but stressed that this had long been the ANC's thinking, too.

After all, what was the armed struggle if not an attempt to push Pretoria to the negotiating table? "This does not suggest to me that there is friction or a dichotomy between the positions of the Soviet Union and the ANC. In fact, one can even say the positions are coming much closer together."

Sophistry, and Malofe seemed to know it. He tried another tack. "If you want to determine whether or not there is a problem, you would want to say has the Soviet Union in its relations with the ANC displayed in some way a tendency towards restricting the ANC or circumscribing the manner in which the ANC is conducting the struggle? I would find no evidence of that."

Oliver Tambo did not have an audience with Mikhail Gorbachev on his last visit to Moscow, Malofe continued, and many had seen in this Soviet snub. Many had also not given it much thought, but the ANC official went to considerable, almost ram-

As if that wasn't alarming enough, Malofe went on to suggest De Klerk — or even State President P W Botha in the interim — could compound the situation by releasing Nelson Mandela.

"The regime would say to the international community look, you've been annoying me about Mandela, so I'll release him now." Evidently, not a very good idea as far as the ANC is concerned.

"As much as we want the release of Nelson Mandela, we don't think his release in the state of emergency would contribute in any meaningful way to a negotiated settlement."

In other words, Mandela's freedom, so long demanded, would have to be dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all other political prisoners — both of which the ANC has it in its power to discourage.

Times are changing, and the men in Lusaka seem to want to stop it by holding on to the hands of the clock, or perhaps by placing a lumpet mine in the spring.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Neville and Miriam Ferreira, the uncle and aunt of ANC suspect Mr Ronald Bezuidenhout, were still in police custody yesterday — almost a week after being arrested at a Port Elizabeth caravan park.

Police yesterday declined to furnish further details about the Ferreriras

Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has alleged Mr Bezuidenhout had links with alleged ANC bomber Mr Hein Grosskopf

Security sources said Mr Bezuidenhout, 35, had lived in Port Elizabeth, left school after Std 8 and worked as a conductor on the railways

It is also believed that Mr Bezuiden-

Relatives of ANC suspect still held

hout's ex-wife is living in Welkom with their son

The sources said Mr Bezuidenhout was being sought on a number of minor criminal charges at the time he left South Africa in 1986. He also allegedly did not complete his military commitments and was being sought on a charge of desertion

He allegedly underwent training at the ANC's Pango camp in Angola and in East Germany where he apparently came into contact with Mr Grosskopf

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Grosskopf and Vlok

Police have detained a 35-year-old white man who is alleged to have been sent to SA by the African National Congress (ANC) to sabotage strategic installations

Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced the arrest in parliament this week. He gave no details other than that the man was recently in the company of alleged ANC terrorist, Hein Grosskopf, somewhere outside SA.

It is understood, however, that the man — described by Vlok as a “trained ANC terrorist” — is one Ronald Bezuidenhout and that he was arrested near Port Elizabeth last week. He is being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and is alleged to be a member of the “special operations group” of the ANC.

Bezuidenhout, a former railways conductor, is alleged to have fled SA in 1986 while being sought by the police for questioning in connection with criminal charges. He is said to have been trained in Angola and East Germany and is believed to have returned to SA in March by air via Lusaka and Swaziland.

Referring to a year-long exchange of letters between himself and Grosskopf's mother, Santie Grosskopf, in which she accuses Vlok of “charging, trying and convicting” her son without a trial, Vlok said in parliament that Grosskopf must be aware of his parent's anguish. “If he is innocent why doesn't he do something about the matter?” he asked.

He regretted that Grosskopf's mother chose to publish their letters which he regarded as confidential. He said the police have “highly reliable” information that Grosskopf was involved in car bomb blasts in Johannesburg and Krugersdorp. In order to try to catch him, it was necessary to release as much information as possible about Grosskopf and his activities. The matter could be settled if Grosskopf surrendered himself to the police and stood trial.

Vlok said he is very sorry for the Grosskopf family, and also for the parents of all the young victims of terror. He sternly warned “young leaders” at universities (who have had contact with the ANC) not to underestimate the “slyness” of the organisation and urged parents not to allow their children to become involved in ANC activities. ■

A flurry of peace talks as 30 die in Natal

WJMKL 28/4-4/5/89.

●From PAGE 1

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dertaken yet, and are unlikely to occur before private talks with a mediator or conciliator.

Buthelezi has made plain his dislike of some aspects of the Cosatu/UDF plan: referring to the convenors, he said he was not prepared to meet, at least for the first round of talks, with "outsiders".

But he also made it clear that if certain conditions are met he might consider a compromise solution.

During debate in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the Cosatu/UDF plan, several MPs complained that some priests were acting as though they were "drunk on communion wine".

The language of any central committee announcement this weekend is likely to come under close scrutiny to see whether a call by Buthelezi for a "moratorium on mud-slinging" is being honoured.

The language of the African National Congress is also being monitored. Buthelezi has taken exception to a recent Radio Freedom broadcast which implied that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela blamed Inkatha for the violence — something Mandela was at pains to avoid in his recent letter to Buthelezi.

Another potentially serious problem is this week's intervention by Vlok, and his clear implication that he held UDF/Cosatu/ANC activists responsible for the violence.

Referring to the "revolutionary Cosatu/UDF alliance", he said activists were operating under instruc-

tions from the ANC.

He said the clergymen involved in the peace initiative were "being inspanned by the ANC/SA Communist Party to do their devilish work".

Vlok announced a massive increase in police personnel and equipment to be deployed in Natal, adding that he had discussed the matter during a recent visit to Buthelezi.

This caused consternation in some quarters, because of the possible interpretation that Vlok and Buthelezi had together designed the new "iron fist" strategy.

However, in a move seen as extremely conciliatory, Cosatu did not raise the issue at its press conference.

Instead, Cosatu's Natal regional secretary, Thamu Mohlomi, said the last time Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha had talks, they came to grief when a number of UDF leaders were detained.

Mohlomi said he hoped the "iron fist" speech did not mean that Vlok would once again wreck a promising peace initiative by wide-scale detentions.

Democratic Party officials have warned that Vlok's remarks "legitimised" the activities of those involved in violence against Cosatu/UDF while MP Peter Gastrow said Vlok's one-sided and "Rambo-like" approach was extremely dangerous.

11A W.M.M.C.
29/4-4/5/89.

Court reveals Mr X's name: Bongani Jonas, ANC commander

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

COURT Number One in Cape Town's Supreme Court building resounded to cries of "Long live Commander Bongani Jonas" this week after a judge ruled the identity of "Mr X" could be revealed.

Bongani Abednego Jonas, 30, was brought last week as a key state witness in the trial of 14 people charged with terrorism.

Early during his second day in the witness stand he stated his refusal to testify further, saying he had waited until he was in court to do so because he feared reprisals.

At the time he was protected by a court order providing for him to give evidence *in camera* and forbidding reporters from revealing his identity.

As a state witness, he faced repercussions from people who would see him as a traitor.

This week, he wanted "the world to know my identity and my views and not think I am a collaborator, or a traitor, or had decided to betray the struggle — which is a just cause".

Asked by his defence counsel, Dullah Omar, if there was a likelihood he would testify again, he said "Not at all — even if a sentence is imposed (for refusing to testify) I am prepared to serve it, even if it is 20 years".

State counsel Hendrik Klem, SC, opposing the move, argued that Jonas wanted to use the court as a platform "to render him a hero in the eyes of the ANC and its supporters".

Having once changed his mind, he could do it again, Klem said.

The judge responded "It was a pre-determined plan, he didn't change his mind in this court. The state believed he was willing to testify. He has given evidence, not yet tested, that he deliberately misled the state, seeing it as the only way of protecting himself from possible harm".

He was satisfied the basis on which the order was originally made no longer held, Mr Justice Selikowitz said.

"It is the strong desire of this court not to have anything hidden from the world at large. Nothing can be lost by changing the order".

If Jonas did change his mind at some later date, arrangements could be made to have his identity kept secret. For refusing to testify, he faced a summary hearing and if it was found he had no just excuse for his action, he could be jailed for up to five years.

"The circumstances would have to be extreme to do this in secret — it would be akin to a secret trial of the accused," he said.

There was no justification for him to interfere with Jonas' fundamental right to a hearing in open court.

The trial resumes today. In addition to a possible five-year sentence for refusing to give evidence, Jonas also faces charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts as an accomplice of the 14 already on trial.

They are Tony Sithembiso Yengeni, 34, Jennifer Ann Schreiner, 32, Lumka Elizabeth Nyamza, 26 (Yengeni's wife), Michael Mzimkulu Lumbambo, 36, Mbutu Richmond Nduku, 27, Wellington Mongameli Nkwandla, 31, Gary Kruser, 28, Christopher John Giffard, 28, Alpheus Nkwana Ndude, 45, Gertrude Magdaleen Nethama Fester, 36, Zurrayah Abass, 36, and Colleen Lombard, 38.

Hands across the Limpopo

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by DR ANITA WORRALL
ALMOST from the first moment we arrived in Harare I knew that I was an eye-witness to history

It was when the bright-eyed young woman with a big smile walked into the lift and said "Hi, I'm from the ANC"

I took a deep breath in almost disbelief. It took me a while to overcome the basic mistrust built in me by years of separation.

We 55 women from South Africa had travelled together to attend a conference of "Women in the struggle for peace" at the invitation of Idasa

There were women from the professions, academics, housewives, activists and representatives of a number of organisations.

They came from different political persuasions, Afrikaans and English-speakers. Our hosts were the Women's League of the ZANU (PF)

Reconciliation

The Zimbabwe women wanted to share with us their years of agony and bitterness and the reconciliation that followed.

For some time I have felt that we need to look at Zimbabwe and what happened before it led to bloodshed. Can we not learn from their mistakes?

Analysis after analysis suggested the same conclusion. What had led to the disaster had been a lack of communication between the black and the white communities.

There had been little or no attempt to bridge the cultural gap. Tearfully they declared: "Learn to know each other, discover each other"

MP Mrs Dawn Taunton gave her message. "If before you end your day you can say 'today I spoke to at least six people who are not the same as me, you will sleep better.'"

Senator Amina Hughes, our gracious and charming chairwoman, recalled how she, a coloured person, had joined the almost inter-racial movement

Women meet in peace and hope

started at Cold Comfort Farm "because it broke the mistrust"

"I realised that the whites in that movement suffered the same anxieties, the same pain, and that made it easier for me"

New era

Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of the President, opened the conference. She looked back with regret and wished that they, too, had had the opportunity to communicate and to discuss matters of common concern.

It was with hope for the future and the belief, shared by our Zimbabwe hosts, in a great and prosperous new era in South Africa, that we met the women in exile.

Gertrude Shope, head of the women's section of the ANC, reminded us that it was the first time that South African women had sat down together in this way. We met as compatriots and as women with so much at stake.

The young women, relaxed, confident, and very well-informed, came from varied walks of life. All of them are homesick and eager to return home, to a more just society.

For two days we discussed issues of common interest. We tried to seek out the truth on both sides of the conflict.

It wasn't easy. It was easier to explore differences and to seek to bridge the divide between us.

Healers

Women are good at this. Our approach is different to that of men. We are more emotional. We are the child-bearers and we must be the healers.

Many issues were explored. The feeling was expressed that in South Africa, blacks have the opportunity to know whites but

that whites still make little attempt to know their fellow blacks.

We started by identifying the common ground, which we agreed to be the abolition of apartheid.

Some of us thought that we should identify the common enemies — one of which is mistrust.

We thought that hope and fear were both built into the South African situation — blacks fear the present, whites fear the future.

Blacks have hope in the future, but then so do many whites. We are all concerned for the future of our children.

In many ways it was agreed

that unity is built in action and that through action mistrust can be overcome. Change will come in South Africa through altered beliefs and attitudes.

Change itself can only come through negotiation. Women have major roles to play in the process that leads up to negotiation.

They bear the major task of socialising the young. They can teach their children to be builders not destroyers.

Women also have a major role in the process of reconstruction. This is not new to South Africa.

The Afrikaanse Vroue Federasie has had an enormous influence on the miracle of Afrikaaner development.

The meeting provided us with a rare opportunity to break down stereotypes and to learn about each others point of view. We left with the distinct feeling that this was the first of many such meetings to follow.

ANC will free us all, says city bomb murderer Mamba

by REHANA ROSSOUW
Weekend Argus Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress commander Allen Mamba, convicted this week of murder and terrorism, told the Supreme Court the ANC would free all youth Africans

Mamba was convicted in Cape Town after admitting placing dynamite mines at the Volkskas bank in Piers Road, Wynberg, and on the railway near Pinebush on June 15 last year

A passer-by was killed when the limpet mine at Wynberg exploded

Mamba gave evidence in mitigation yesterday

He said he was beaten by police on June 16 1978. He had been talking and saw police running and shooting teargas

"I didn't know why the police were shooting. I ran past and one of them hit me on my head with a baton," he said

"I managed to run further but was tripped by a policeman and a

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few started assaulting me

"I was kicked and was hit by batons. I still have marks on my head"

Tripped

Mamba said he was arrested and police alleged he had been a stone-thrower

However, he had been released soon after his arrest

He disliked what had happened to him and decided to do something about it

"I then decided to join the struggle"

He read the Freedom Charter, which gave him an understanding of the ANC

"I could identify with the Freedom Charter

"The basis of it was to fight for housing for people, for food to eat and that the wealth of the country should be shared among all its inhabitants

"Before I read the Charter I regarded whites as my enemies

I later realised white people should also be accepted and we should all live peacefully"

Mamba joined the ANC in 1984 and left the country for military training

Oppression

He said the ANC was fighting for the freedom of all South Africans and for an end to oppression, slums and exploitation

"I believe the ANC will achieve these ends," Mamba said

During cross-examination by prosecutor Mr Mike Stowe, Mamba said he did not regret placing explosive devices at the bank in Wynberg or the railway line

"But I do regret that it cost a life," he said

He said he still regarded himself as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe and as long as South Africans had not obtained their "rights" would continue with the activities of Umkhonto

The hearing continues on Tuesday

People's power and the options for SA

114 5/1000 30/4/29

SOUTH AFRICANS may have been confused when, on the morning after the State President's budget vote on April 17, they read the following newspaper headlines "Federation not key for SA, says PW" and "SA can learn from Swiss canton system - PW"

President Botha was reporting on the findings of the Rautenbach Commission which was appointed to investigate the Swiss and Belgian constitutions, presumably because both are multi-ethnic countries with long histories of internal conflict

In essence, the president said that although it was an oversimplification to say federalism was the solution *per se* for South Africa's problems, nonetheless there was much to be learnt from countries with federal systems, in particular Switzerland

The apparent contradictions in the two papers arose because one chose to emphasise the former part of his message, the other the latter

Mr Botha praised the Swiss for their devolution of power, which allows diversity to be expressed at local (cantonal and community) levels

He observed that the Swiss system ensured that the people were consulted in decision-making, and that no single canton, political party, population group or leader could dominate. He also praised the Swiss tendency to solve their problems themselves, rather than turning to the state

From all this we have much to learn, he said. The problem was that the canton system did not tell how "components in constituent states with heterogeneous populations should be brought together to eliminate group domination"

Mr Botha's problem with Switzerland lies in the fact that it is a geographic federation which makes no specific allowance for

Frances Kendall and Leon Louw

explain the effectiveness of the Swiss democracy

"group rights", which he considers necessary for South Africa

But Switzerland's great strength is that it has succeeded in solving the problem of group domination without resorting to a special class of group rights over and above those which are a corollary of individual rights

Almost all heterogeneous countries experience inter-group conflict and many have tried to resolve ethnic differences through "group rights" - that is, by awarding certain rights and privileges on the basis of religion, language or other considerations

Conflict

But wherever attempts of this nature have been made - whether in Belgium, India, Nigeria, Lebanon or Malaysia - they have increased inter-group conflict instead of reducing it

This is because, in the words of Dr Eschel Rhodie (a keen advocate of group rights who nonetheless has reservations about their efficacy), "Group rights recognition is by its nature divisive. The giving of special rights and privileges to an enclave of the larger society emphasises differences and fosters discrimination"

Contrary to popular opinion, the Swiss constitution did not develop over hundreds of years. It was drawn up only in 1848 (in the aftermath of a brief but bloody civil war which threatened to blow the Swiss confederation apart) and was based on the American constitution with added Swiss features

The unique features added by the Swiss derived from the tradition of direct democracy enjoyed at that time by a handful of the oldest mountain cantons

This tradition of giving people the right to become directly involved in government decisions was extended at the federal level to the entire country by the constitution of 1848, making Switzerland the most democratic country in the world - and the only one in which the people are truly sovereign

Since that time all federal legislation has been subject to either a compulsory or an optional referendum. If the central government wants to change the constitution (which happens on average once a year), a compulsory referendum must be held and the amendment can be adopted only if it wins support from the majority of the people and the cantons

The "referendum threat" ensures that the Swiss executive doesn't even attempt to introduce new legislation without lobbying all the interest groups - labour, business, political, consumers, church and so on - which have sufficient support to launch a referendum

This is the reason why the Swiss federal government has passed only 1 400 acts in the last 150 years (South Africa, for instance, has introduced more than 5 000 acts in half that time)

The referendum is not restricted to federal government activities but applies at the cantonal and community levels as well

It ensures that the people are involved in the decisions that affect them. It is impossible, for example, for any level of government to introduce taxes without persuading the people that the benefits they bring are worth the costs they impose

Most decisions are made at the local level. People are free to

separate or mix through choice, and no single group is able to impose its values on others - so conflict doesn't arise

This used to be the case in the United States, as Mrs Jeanne Kirkpatrick observed. "One of the secrets of stability in our constitutional order was that many of the deepest moral controversies were removed from national politics and left to be settled in communities of shared values"

But in the US more and more powers have been transferred from the people and the states to Congress and, without recourse to the referendum, Americans have been powerless to prevent the process of centralisation

Future

In Switzerland the referendum is the people's veto. It enables them to ensure that the politicians remain answerable to them and are never placed in positions where they can abuse their power. The Swiss don't need group rights because they have genuine people's power

Spokesmen for the Department of Constitutional Planning and Development have stated that the Government will not present South Africa with a constitutional blueprint because our future must be decided by negotiation

Most South Africans agree that this should be the case, but in our view it is nonetheless essential that the people begin to consider their options now

If we don't, we will have forfeited our chance of winning a genuine, participatory democracy in which we are sovereign. We will have only ourselves to blame when the politicians decide to divide and rule

□ This article is based on ideas developed in detail in *Let the People Govern*, due to be published early in June

Amazing two faces of white terror suspect

11A
Simon
30/4/88

THE SA Police believe he is a graduate of the ANC's notorious Pango training camp — a member of a crack sabotage squad

But to those who knew him in earlier days, Ronald "Tok" Bezuidenhout was simply a brash hellraiser — a ducktail 30 years behind the times

The amazing two faces of the man alleged by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to be an associate of Hein Grosskopf, South Africa's most wanted man, emerged this week

The record of this man — the latest addition to the ranks of alleged white terrorists — shows Bezuidenhout to have been a drifter. He left school in Port Elizabeth in Standard Eight. He went AWOL from the army.

Former acquaintances at Vryheid remember him simply as a SA Transport

By BILL KRIGE and TERRY van der WALT

Services ticket examiner who wore leather straps with studs on his arms and always carried a weapon on his hip

"He had a reputation for being unreliable at work and he was a bit of a show-off. But he had a heart of gold," said a former acquaintance

Politics

"He got on well with his colleagues and never spoke about politics. But he did carry a gun and wore leather bands with studs on both arms," the man said

Bezuidenhout, who is 1,7m tall with reddish-blond hair, "dressed like a ducktail from the '50s" and presented a "tough guy" image, said

another source

Bezuidenhout was frequently absent from work, allegedly because of his high living

Superiors once gave him a dressing down because of his private life and improper dress. He was also told not to tote his 9mm pistol during working hours — but he carried it in a holster everywhere else he went

Three years ago, police believe, he walked away from his job as a train conductor and took the refugee trail

With a failed marriage behind him — his ex-wife and young son are believed to be living in Welkom — he shipped out of South Africa in 1986

When he returned earlier this year, police claim he was a fully trained member of the ANC's Special Operations

Squad, whose task is to identify targets for sabotage

He had been trained at Pango Camp in Angola and in East Germany where, claimed Mr Vlok, Bezuidenhout met Hein Grosskopf — wanted by the SA Police in connection with two bombing incidents and carrying a R100 000 reward on his head

Swoop

On his return, it appears, Bezuidenhout was a changed man

When police swooped on a Port Elizabeth caravan park two weeks ago and arrested him, his neighbours were astonished

An attendant at the Sea Acres Holiday Resort in the seaside suburb of Humewood said Bezuidenhout was "a grey person — nondescript, really" — and had not drawn attention to himself in any way

"But there was a constant stream of visitors to the bungalow, which was booked in the name of Ferreira. The callers were all white, well-dressed and respectable," the attendant said this week

Now police are anxious to question the visitors who called at the rondavel in which he, his aunt and uncle stayed for several days before being detained.

Narrow escape for fishermen

By EUGENE ABRAHAMS

WHEN things went bump in the night, crewmen of a small Taiwanese fishing trawler did not realise how close to death they had come off the Cape coast.

Only later did they discover their tiny 40-ton trawler had collided almost head-on with a gigantic 31 000-ton bulk carrier

"No one was sure what happened until

after the collision. It is very debatable who hit whom," said Jynan 6 radio operator Mr Chern Chorna Shi.

After the collision late this week, the bulk carrier Trade Fortitude apparently sailed away without realising there had been a collision, which left the fishing trawler with a two-metre gash in her hull above the waterline

Sowetan 25/4/89

Trespass

• From page 1

coming in to arrest us for trespass. We have in the past buried our people without any incidents and this is surprising," Miss Nonkonyana said.

She said that the food that was prepared for the mourners was wasted and a sheep that was to be slaughtered was never fetched from the seller as there was no one to do so.

Miss Nonkonyana said some of the mourners were released on Sunday while the others were released yesterday. They will all appear in court on May 23.

"I am still confused and do not know when we will be able to bury my cousin. All the expenses I paid for last week took all my money," she said.

Attempt to obtain a comment from the sub-owner, Mr Piet Haggling drew a blank.

A spokesman for the West Rand police, Major Tiane Halgryn confirmed that police did arrest the mourners after a complaint was received from the plot owner.

Today a guerrilla, tomorrow a leader

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30/4/89

By MARTIN NTSOELNGOE

RELATIVES and lawyers are fighting to save the lives of four ANC members convicted of murder, attempted murder and other related charges, but the Delmas trialists remain defiant.

When they emerged from the cells into the court this week they shouted, "Amandla!" to a thunderous chorus of "Awethu!"

The four, clad in the green, black and yellow ANC colours, joked among themselves, and with relatives and friends.

Three of the accused — Jabu Masina, 30, of Soweto, Ting Ting Masango, 30, of Mamelodi and Neo Potsane, 28, of Soweto — may be given the death sentence if the judge finds no mitigating factors.

Joseph Makhura, 27, of Mamelodi, was found guilty on various counts of attempted murder and sabotage.

Judgment was expected yesterday, but had not yet been given by the time of going to prison.

The men had refused legal representation and re-

**"Unite around
democracy". Turn
to Page 8 for full
text of ANC men's
statement.**

fused to plead before Judge MC de Klerk, claiming that as soldiers of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, they should not be tried by a civilian court.

Masina was found guilty of the murder of the most feared policeman in Soweto, Orphan. Hlubi Chapi.

Potsane was convicted of the murder of the leader of the KaNgwane opposition party, David Lukhele, and his sister, Elizabeth Dladlu, in Mamelodi.

Masina and Masango were both convicted of the murder of Sinki Vuma, a Mamelodi policeman.

When the trial resumed on Tuesday the defence advocate, David Soggot, SC, called Professor Colin Bundy of the University of the Western Cape to give evidence in mitigation.

Bundy, who specialises in South African history, told the court that about 6 000 black youths left the country after the June 16 student uprisings in 1976. Some of them joined the ANC.

He said the accused represented the present generation in pursuit of political rights.

"Today's guerrilla or freedom fighter may be tomorrow's prime minister. Robert Mugabe is a good example," he said.

SWAPO Jewelinks will be given 60 hours to leave

See 26/1/81

PETER FABRICIUS,
SUE LEMMAN and SPENDAN SEERY

SOUTH AFRICA has agreed to withdraw security forces in Namibia to their bases for 60 hours from 6 pm next Wednesday to give the remaining Swapo insurgents a "safe passage" out of the country.

Until then, taped messages from Swapo commanders ordering their troops to withdraw will be broadcast inside Namibia by radio, from vehicles and from aircraft.

The agreement was reached by the Joint Commission of South Africa, Angola and Cuba, which met at Lusitania on the Angolan, Namibian border on Thursday.

This is the third time that the "wall-Namibian peace process" has crossed the border on April 1 in defiance of the peace accords. Though many details of the plan are being kept secret, sources said that the verification after the 60-hour period of safe passage would be conducted by security forces accompanied at all times by United Nations monitors.

South African diplomats consider the new proposal a major concession from South Africa and said it was the last effort before the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal had to be renegotiated.

"Once again we are being the nice guys," one diplomat said, hinting that the concession by South Africa was at least partly aimed at regaining the moral high ground.

The South African Government has been deeply concerned about a spate of accusations of atrocities by security forces against Swapo, which they fear could put them back in the international dock.

At the same time Stanley Uys reports from London that Swapo's secretary for foreign affairs Ben Gurirab has given an emphatic assurance that a Swapo government would not allow the ANC to establish military bases in Namibia.

Agent Forsyth finds happiness — a husband

PASTORIA CORRESPONDENT

PASTORIA Undercover agent Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth has a new job and a new life — she is getting married. She is marrying a police lawyer, Sergeant Brian Forsyth, on June 23.

Despite her decision to get married, Lieutenant Forsyth said she will not leave her job. "I have never felt this way before."

Her fiancé, Sergeant Brian Forsyth, is a police lawyer who has been with the P.S. for 10 years. He is a member of the P.S. and is a member of the P.S. He is a member of the P.S. and is a member of the P.S.

Although "for security reasons" they refused to say where they would be getting married, it will be a Catholic wedding in a Catholic church.

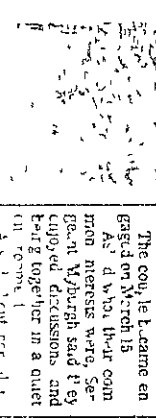
According to Lieutenant Forsyth, her parents are excited about her marriage.

"My mother is very pleased. She has always wanted me to settle down," the bride-to-be said.

Lieutenant Forsyth said it would be an adjustment for her to get married, because it will be new for her to orientate herself around another person.

Sergeant Myburgh said of the whirlwind courtship "I took Olivia to a friend's flat with a bottle of French champagne and asked her to marry me. I don't think she understood at first that I was asking her to get married."

The couple became engaged on March 15. As a result, their common interests were, Sergeant Myburgh said, they enjoyed discussions and being together in a quiet way.



BRIDE TO BE: Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth shows ring.



WHAT A LIFE! The chief of a unit of the South African Defence Force, Mr. Samson, is seen in his office. He is surrounded by his staff and is looking at a document. He is wearing a suit and tie and is looking towards the camera.

Addressing an all day conference of the P.S. on Thursday, he said that the P.S. is a member of the P.S. and is a member of the P.S.

He said that the P.S. is a member of the P.S. and is a member of the P.S. He said that the P.S. is a member of the P.S. and is a member of the P.S.

30/4/89

PAC founder member dies

(119)
Q1222

THE PAC has announced the death of one of its founder members, Edwin Letsholo Makoti, 68

Makoti died at the Harare Hospital last Friday after a long illness, and will be buried tomorrow

The announcement was made by PAC representative Thobile Gola

He said Makoti had held several positions in the organisation before his death

"Before moving into exile, Makoti was among the stalwarts who played a sterling role in the drafting of the PAC basic documents," Gola said.

Subsequent to the founding of the PAC on April 6, 1959, Makoti became secretary of the Dube branch in Soweto, as well as executive member of the PAC's Witwatersrand Region, which included Johannesburg

"After joining the external mission, he represented the PAC in Ghana, Indonesia and Egypt and was also a member of the revolutionary council, a forerunner to the central committee in which he served as administrative secretary and later secretary for defence

"By the time his health began to deteriorate, he was head of publicity and information," Gola said - Sapa

TTA
30/4/89
c. P. Ross

Stompie also fought struggle as a musician in Tumahole

By BONGANI HLATSHWAYO

YOUTH activist Stompie Mokhetisi Seipei was not only a political militant, but was also a reggae musician of some renown in Tumahole township in Parlys.

His surfaced recently when the group he used to play with, Parakletos - which means helper in Greek - recorded an album called *Stompie* - which is dedicated to the 13-year-old youth leader.

Stompie's decomposing body was found in Soweto in January after he was allegedly abducted by the controversial Mandela United Football Club.

Parakletos was formed in 1985 in Tumahole at the height of riots across the country. The youths started playing with self-made instruments that included guitars and drums made of tyre tubes.

The line-up was Calen Dominic on drums, Saramane Mose on lead vocals, Mene Rametla on keyboards, Rhee Ratholo on keyboards, Hasi Maruma on backing vocals, Khankhe Ramatshe on bass and Stompie Seipei as backing vocalist. They are still together, except for Stompie.

In 1985 and 1986, Parakletos played their original reggae compositions on street corners in Tumahole, until they were helped by local businessman Thabo Mose, who bought them instruments - which led to the recording.

Said Mose: "Stompie stood for the principles contained in the name Parakletos. He was always helping someone."

Added Ramatshe: "The state of emergency separated us from Stompie. He was still a member of the band when he met his death."



Stompie Seipei



Parakletos - Stompie Seipei's band on the dusty streets of Tumahole have dedicated an album to him - called *Stompie*.

Bara's ultra-modern medical unit opened

THE development of Soweto's medical facilities was of vital importance because of the steadily increasing population, the Transvaal Administrator, Dannie Hough, has said.

He was officially opening a new 2,780-bed hospital with some of the best modern equipment available, Hough said.

Swazi passports invalid

THE Swaziland Interior Ministry has called for the surrender of all international and diplomatic Swazi passports.

BLACK POLITICS

1989

MAY →



Naidoo speaks of May Day resistance campaign

COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo yesterday asked the labour movement and other sectors of the community to rebuild street committees and student and civic organisations

Addressing more than 2 000 workers at a May Day celebration at Wits University, Naidoo said his request came in the light of the acquittal by the Rand Supreme Court of Moses Mayekiso and others on treason charges

He said the charges were aimed not only at jailing Mayekiso but at criminalising the mobilisation and organisation of people against apartheid.

The meeting was moved to Wits because a planned open-air meeting at Soweto's Orlando Stadium was prohibited. It was characterised by the singing of freedom songs and ANC slogans A

B10am 21/5/89
11/8

SIPHO NGCOBO

police convoy kept a low profile outside Naidoo said employers and government were trying to destroy the country's labour movement through the Labour Relations Act

"The capitalists and the government are trying to destroy our unions by uniting around the Labour Relations Act which is an extremely repressive piece of legislation," he said

□ Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres last night denied that the prosecution had any ulterior motive in charging Moses Mayekiso The prosecution had concerned itself with facts not political philosophy.

● See Page 4

Inkatha rejects peace initiative

INKATHA's central committee has rejected a peace initiative put forward by Cosatu and the United Democratic Front, but has decided to push ahead with its own plan to end the political killings in Natal and KwaZulu.

Members of the committee meeting in Ulundi said the Cosatu/UDF initiative was undemocratically conceived.

"We as the central committee would fail to convince Inkatha's general conference and Inkatha's democratic structures nationally that this peace initiative was beyond reproach and was conceived as an initiative which is unblemished in terms of anticipating party political gain in the pursuit of the cessation of violence."

Cosatu and UDF had secured the support of the African National

Congress for their peace initiative, and were prepared to mould it with Inkatha's proposed peace plan.

A team of convenors, including the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, was prepared to try to help bring the contending organisations to peace talks.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha, told the Inkatha central committee in his opening address to them that "we must distinguish between real peace initiatives and tactics and strategies to establish party political supremacy presented in the guise of peace initiatives

"We would be the last in the world ever willingly to destroy any prospect of moving away from political violence to the kind of peace in which democratic decisions can be made," Dr Buthelezi had said.

He attacked Cosatu officials in his address and felt the Cosatu/UDF initiative would be no more than a talking shop approach.

Inkatha's central committee commended the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance on "their eventual realisation that the policies of Inkatha and its president, which eschew political violence, need to be supported by all the people of South Africa including the followers of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu."

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CMT-TMP 2/5/89

Inkatha bid for ANC peace talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The central committee of Inkatha resolved at the weekend to call on the leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC mission-in-exile to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to establish a joint initiative for peace in KwaZulu/Natal.

The envisaged talks would be at a mutually acceptable venue "so that the political organisations directly involved in the violence which is now hindering the liberation struggle can democratically establish a joint initiative and joint priorities in the pursuit of peace in the KwaZulu/Natal region," a statement from Chief Buthelezi's office said.

9/11/87
11/87

Soviets back violence

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union is not opposed to the the ANC's use of violence and reports to the contrary were "distorted", a senior Soviet official stressed in a letter to the New York Times published on Sunday.

He also denied that his government was scaling back the level of its military support to the ANC.

"We fully support the tactics of the ANC, which include both military and political means," wrote Mr Boris Asoyan, former Soviet ambassador to Lesotho and now described as a "consultant" to the foreign ministry's African countries' administration.

Mr Asoyan also insisted that there

was no chance of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Pretoria "while apartheid remains intact".

The Times had earlier quoted Mr Asoyan as saying that Moscow might be prepared to renew relations if Mr Nelson Mandela was released and Pretoria made a "commitment to talk directly with ANC leaders".

A colleague of Mr Asoyan's, speaking recently at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said: "While favouring a political settlement in South Africa, the Soviet Union at the same time recognises the right of the oppressed people to fight for its freedom by all means, including the armed struggle."

Court hears of Jonas' arrest

11A
3-10/5/89
Smith
ABEDNEGO Bongani Jonas, the ANC commander called by the state to give evidence against Tony Yengeni and 13 others, will know his fate on May 30.

Until then he will remain in detention in terms of Section 31 of the Internal Security Act.

Bongani, 30, who refused to give evidence only hours after entering the witness box, could face a sentence of up to five years.

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court, Cape Town heard this week how Jonas was wounded while being arrested by security policemen on September 17 1987.

Captain William Liebenberg told the court that during interrogation he discovered Yengeni had arranged a meeting with Jonas for the following day.

Two security policemen accompanied Yengeni to the meeting place in Belgravia Road, Athlone. Liebenberg heard later that Jonas had been shot during the arrest.

Jonas accompanied him from the security police headquarters to his home in Khayelitsha. Here Jonas identified where a Makharov pistol and three grenades were hidden.

They returned to security police headquarters from where he summoned an ambulance, Liebenberg told the court.

Top UDF man freed

(11A) *Wen*
3-10/5/89

From PETER AUF DER HEYDE
GRAHAMSTOWN — Eastern Cape
United Democratic Front president
Edgar Ngoyi has been released from St
Albans Prison in Port Elizabeth after
spending nearly three years in deten-
tion

Ngoyi, detained since the beginning of
the state of emergency in 1986, has
been severely restricted

Ngoyi was released late on Friday
with four other detainees.

He has been prohibited from attending
church services without permission, and
has to report to the police twice a day,
between 6am and 9am and between
2pm and 6pm.

Ngoyi is confined to his home from
6pm to 6am and may not enter any
school premises or the premises of the

UDF

He is not allowed to leave the Port
Elizabeth magisterial district without
permission, and cannot speak to jour-
nalists

According to figures kept by the Port
Elizabeth Advice Office, 24 detainees
are still in detention in the Eastern
Cape

• Picture page 3

11A



Cape Democrats has organised several successful meetings

Chairperson Amy Thornton

WHEN Cape Democrats was launched, advocate Dullah Omar predicted the organisation would face turbulent waters.

In the 12 months since then, not only have the seas been choppy, but in many ways Cape Democrats has navigated a path through largely uncharted waters

While committed to nonracialism, the organisation is aimed primarily at white Capetonians.

Its goal is twofold — to take the message of the mass democratic movement to white areas and to win whites to the democratic movement and build nonracialism

The impetus for forming Cape Democrats came from a UDF national executive directive that whites who wished to be part of the UDF should form organisations which could affiliate to the front

After lengthy discussion within the old area committees, several organisations were formed. They included Mowbray Youth Congress and the Gardens Youth Congress

Educating

Cape Democrats has cast its net wider than both of these

Not exclusively a youth organisation or an activist organisation, Cape Democrats has tried to be a home for a wide range of people who are committed to a nonracial and democratic South Africa free of oppression.

Its membership ranges from youthful activists to the middle-aged and beyond.

This in itself has meant that the organisation has had to define itself in somewhat less militant tones than that of its youth counterparts

Much of its work has been concentrated on educating the white constituency about the mass democratic movement and on building nonracialism

The amount of work done by its activists in the past year is more than impressive, especially when one realises that there is no paid organiser

In line with providing broad exposure to the beliefs of the mass democratic movement, Cape Democrats

Sailing stormy waters

Cape Democrats, formed to draw whites into the mass democratic movement, celebrates its first anniversary this month. CHIARA CARTER looks at some of their problems and challenges:

undertook a variety of educational programmes for the general public

Many "nine-to-fivers" will recall the series of lunchtime meetings at St George's Cathedral on topics ranging from the Sharpeville Six to the Labour Relations Amendment Act

Freedom Charter Day and Heroes' Day are among the occasions which the organisation publicly commemorated last year

The Rivonia trials were given a human face by a media blitz combined with a highly successful public debate

The organisation initiated the "red ribbon in solidarity with detainees on hunger strike" campaign

Cape Democrats is proud to count among its accomplishments that it was the first organisation to tackle the vital issue of Aids

As one of the few UDF affiliates not facing severe repression, Cape Democrats has also played a vital

role in providing a platform for several organisations which could not hold public meetings in the townships, thereby ensuring that issues such as the black education crisis were raised in public

These highly successful events, together with the organisation's adoption of the Freedom Charter, its affiliation to the UDF and the involvement of its members in a number of forums, campaigns and issues alongside community organisations, are amongst the gains counted by the organisation in the past year

Together with the inevitable teething problems of a new organisation formed at a time of repression, the somewhat unique character of Cape Democrats has given rise to several dilemmas

These include the question of how to win whites to the mass democratic movement without either diluting the message of that movement or alienating potential members, and how to

meaningfully build nonracialism in a period of extreme repression and simultaneously focus upon educating the white constituency

Another key question is whether an organisation primarily intended as a home for white democrats should focus upon drawing in as many members as possible or upon consolidating its core membership

Much of its work of necessity involves alliances. This in certain cases means working in a tactical alliance with organisations which do not share the ideals of the UDF

One example is the campaign to fight the Group Areas Act which Cape Democrats, committed to "One city, one future", is working on alongside the newly formed Democratic Party

The formation of the Democratic Party has also given rise to questions of Cape Democrats' relationship with the DP and the existence of the DP may mean that the organisation is forced to define and focus itself

more sharply

Cape Democrat chairperson Amy Thornton says that on the relationship with the DP, as in all matters, the organisation's stance is that of the mass democratic movement

Thornton said that while there could be a certain amount of overlap in terms of winning people from the middle ground, the DP is not part of the democratic movement and it remains to be seen to what extent they will act as a bridge between parliament and extra-parliamentary forces

She said that people who were already committed to a nonracial and democratic South Africa would not see the DP as their home

Part of the organisation's commitment to democratic principles is the constant critical assessment of its work. Members have themselves identified these issues as vital to the future of the organisation

Grappling

While the organisation has not had to cope with the level of repression which other United Democratic Front affiliates have faced, it, too, has felt the effects of the state's onslaught against the democratic movement

Members have often had to grapple with thorny issues without easy access to the guidance of the mass democratic movement

Repression has made it doubly difficult for the organisation to realise its goal of building nonracialism in a meaningful way

Thornton herself was detained shortly before the anti-apartheid conference last year

Upon her release she was served with a restriction order which, among other things, prevents her from taking part in any of the organisation's activities

At the first AGM of Cape Democrats last week she was re-elected chairperson

Thornton says that her re-election is indicative of the determination of the organisation's members to exercise their democratic right and to highlight the erosion of liberties in South Africa

With her proud history as a fighter for a democratic and nonracial South Africa, Thornton in many ways typifies the ideals of Cape Democrats

These ideals will guide the organisation as it meets the challenges of the year ahead

WORLD BRIEFS

World champs for volleyball

THE World Volleyball Federation is to hold its first world league championships next year.

If successful, the championships will be held annually and will be enlarged to include those countries left out of the first league tournament.

The league format will involve eight international teams who will play in two groups of four on a home and away basis.

The top two teams in each group will go into a final pool competition to be played from July 13-15 1990, in a country yet to be named.

Group A comprises the Olympic champions, the United States, together with Brazil, France and Italy. The Soviet Union, silver medalists in Seoul, is in Group B with China, the Netherlands and Japan.

Coaches get flak and sack

YET another coach has fallen victim to the latest soccer trend in which coaches are summarily sacked after poor performances by their teams, irrespective of the experience those coaches might possess.

After their humiliating defeat by AC Milan in the European Champion's Cup semifinal, Real Madrid wasted no time in firing their Dutch coach, Leo Beenhakker.

Within 48 hours of the five-nil drubbing, Beenhakker was dismissed from his job.

Hillsborough's grim reminder

THE tragedy of Hillsborough has cast its shadow over the forthcoming European Cup winners final.

The Swiss Football Association has announced it is to limit the crowd for the cup final between Italy's Sampdoria and Barcelona to 48 000.

Taiwan, China vault closer

TAIWAN and China, who have long been at political loggerheads, are tentatively trying to improve their relations through sport.

Sportspersons from Taiwan competed for the first time in China last month in the latest rapprochement between Beijing and the island, which China considers a rebel province.

He Zhenliang, vice-president of the Chinese Olympic Committee, said the latest sports exchange would give "great impetus to the promotion of brotherhood and mutual understanding" between the two nations.

The team competed in the Asian junior gymnastics championships in Beijing and was designated "Chinese Taipei" under a compromise agreement reached in Hong Kong in April.

LA Dodgers the cash champs

THE Los Angeles Dodgers are not only the world-series baseball champions but also world champs in the baseball salary league.

The Dodgers moved from world-series champions on the last day of the 1988 season to payroll champions on the first day of the 1989 season, with the average team salary exceeding \$800 000 (about R1.9 million).

According to a study of 1989 player salaries by the New York Times, the Dodgers' average salary is \$844 002, well ahead of the New York Mets whose average is \$790 643.

Third are the Boston Red Sox at \$759 781.

Dodgers have eight players on their books who receive salaries of \$1 million or more.

Nigeria acts on thuggery

AFRICAN soccer-playing countries are determined to stamp out violence and football thuggery which has become rife on the continent's soccer grounds.

As an example of their determination, Nairobi's top soccer outfit, Gor Mohia, recently banned their Danish coach, Jack Johnson, for life.

Johnson attacked the referee during a league match in Nairobi and the Kenyan soccer establishment wasted no time in "whipping" the successful coach.

Johnson guided Gor Mohia to the victory rostrum in the 1987 African Cup Winner's Cup.

African runners supreme

By WAGHIED MISBACH
AFRICAN marathon runners have yet again demonstrated their superiority in the world's top races by dominating the first two major marathons of the year.

In the Rotterdam marathon in Holland on April 16, world record-holder Belaneh Dinsamo of Ethiopia won for the second consecutive year in an impressive 2 08,39 sec, while in Boston (USA) the following day, Abebe Mekonnen, also of Ethiopia, won the race in an excellent time of 2 09,06 sec.

In the Vienna marathon earlier this month, Alfredo Shahangar of Tanzania triumphed in a personal best time of 2 10,28 sec to take the title from three-time winner Gerhard Hartman of Holland.

This year, as in last season, the top marathon runners have studiously avoided each other to race for the big prize money.

The Ethiopians Dinsamo and Mekonnen raced in separate races, both winning in excellent times.

Inexperienced

Had they raced together they might have established a new world record but instead, Dinsamo had the relatively inexperienced Alejandro Cruz of Mexico as competition.

Although Cruz, 21, set a world record for the 20-year-old age group by clocking a remarkable 2 08,5 sec in a marathon in Chicago last year, he was no match for world record-holder Dinsamo in this year's race.

In the Rotterdam marathon last year, Ahmed Saleh of Djibouti had pushed Dinsamo all the way to a new world record of 2 06,5 sec, breaking in the process Carlos Lopez' three-year-old mark of

2 07,12 sec.

But Cruz was just not strong enough on this occasion to respond to Dinsamo's surge three-quarters of the way into the race.

In Boston, on the other hand, Mekonnen and Juma Ikangaa of Tanzania (the first African to break the 2 min 10 sec record back in 1982) ran a close race, with Mekonnen triumphing 48 seconds ahead of Ikangaa in 2 09,06 sec. Ikangaa clocked 2 09,54 sec.

Had these two run with Dinsamo on the fast and flat Rotterdam course, they could perhaps have come close to the 2 05 sec mark.

Last year's marathon season was exciting in many respects.

The Olympic Games proved a major motivation for the top runners, as their subsequent performances and times have indicated.

Dinsamo's world record created great media interest in the marathon and Italy's Gelindo Bordin's surprise win in the



Ahmed Saleh

Olympic marathon also contributed to making the season a memorable one.

The year was also marked by a string of fast times and stupendous performances.

Abebe Mekonnen (who notched six sub-2 10 sec marathons) won in Tokyo in 2 08,33 sec, and again in Beijing in 2 07,35 sec.

Ikangaa claimed two 2 08 sec times to his credit in coming second in both Tokyo and Boston, and the revitalized Steve Jones of Britain ran a scorching 2 08,20 sec in New York signalling that he is still a contender to the leading world marathon runners.

Another fine performer was Ibrahim Hussein of Kenya, who won the Boston marathon in a course record of 2 08,43 sec, but disappointed in Seoul when he failed to finish the race.

Hussein disappointed again this year when he finished fourth in the Boston marathon.

The possibility of a new world record seems to be out of reach this year since the fastest course (in Rotterdam) has already been run.

Rotterdam boasts the three fastest times ever and has the support of a large and enthusiastic crowd, which gives it the ideal atmosphere for record-breaking feats.

The year is not lost, however, since there are several young up-and-coming marathoners who could easily put the fright into the more experienced men and drive them to faster times.

Consistent

The phenomenal Ethiopians have another talented team marathoner in the form of Wodajo Bultu, who established a first marathon record in an astonishing 2 08,44 sec.

Then there is Kenyan Douglas Wakihuru, who, after securing his silver medal in Seoul with a personal best time of 2 10,57 sec, is a rapidly improving and consistent performer.

But Alejandro Cruz, who took a courageous second place behind Dinsamo in Rotterdam, is also a man to watch.

Further challenges to Dinsamo's world record could come from the Japanese who have made marathon running virtually a way of life.

They have perhaps two dozen marathoners capable of under 2 min 10 sec.

Presently the runners that could give the Africans a run for their money are Taisuke Kodama (2 07,35 sec), Hiromi Taniguchi (2 07,40 sec), Kunimitsu Itoh (2 07,57 sec) and the up-and-coming Takeyuki Nakayama (2 08,08 sec, run in a hailstorm and which could otherwise have been a new world record).

Injured

No-one, however, should dismiss 40-year-old Carlos Lopez, the former world record holder, who is currently injured but could surprise everyone by giving the younger men a run for their money.

He still has the third fastest time ever set in Rotterdam in 1985 when he was 36 years old.

If and when the top marathoners decide to race each other on a fast course this year, the winner will doubtless clock a magnificent time.

What could prove more exciting, though, is that he might "pull" the other competitors to new personal bests, resulting in the magical 2 hour barrier being broken for the first time.

Zina comes of age

By CHERYL ROBERTS

WHEN international tennis star Zina Garrison beat Martina Navratilova to reach the semifinal of the US Open at Flushing Meadows last year, it signalled a milestone for Garrison.

The 25-year-old player fought ferociously after losing the advantage in the second set, and, when victorious at the end, threw her arms into the air.

For spectators and television viewers, it was a rare glimpse of Garrison with her emotions in full, glorious flight.

It also marked Garrison's coming of age in the highly competitive and commercialised tennis world.

In the past, Garrison had never seemed at ease with herself.

And nowhere was this more evident than in her ambivalent relationship with her grassroots coach, John Wilkerson.

As a 10-year-old sports fan, Garrison was taken by her elder brother to the local tennis courts in Houston, where Wilkerson immediately took her under his wing.

Tennis duels

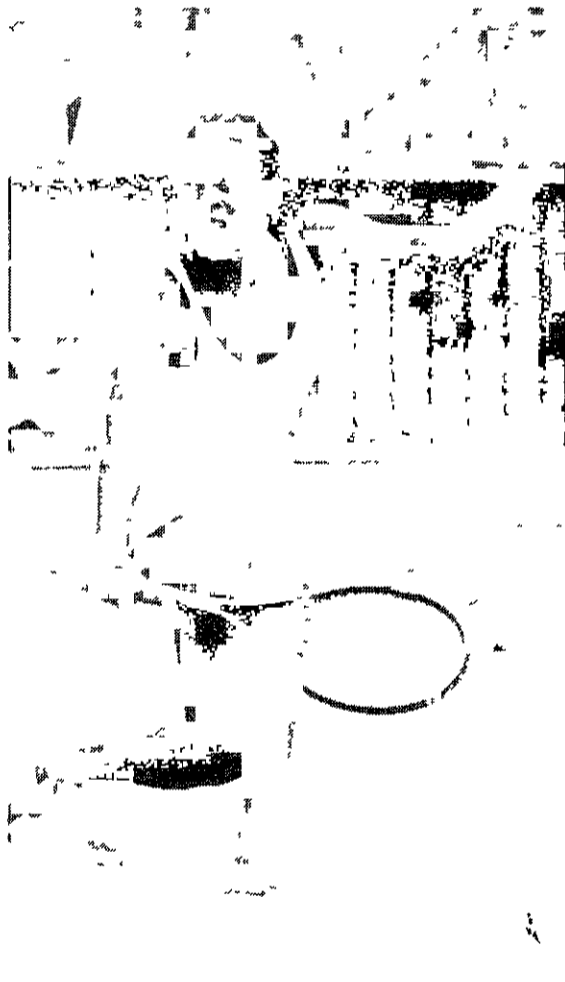
Within four years he had transformed her into the best under-14 in the US.

Careful guidance coupled with intensive workouts saw Garrison become the world's top junior player in 1981.

Since then, she has never looked back.

By 1983 Garrison had broken into the women's top 10, carrying with her the hopes of black Americans, who eagerly followed her tennis duels as she competed in a world dominated by white tennis players.

But, despite Wilkerson's 100 percent commitment to his professional charge, Garrison never settled down in their working relationship.



Zina Garrison

When Wilkerson pushed her to the limits she retaliated angrily, and when he adopted a go-easy attitude the fiery Garrison claimed he was faltering in his coaching duties.

But Wilkerson pursued with the talented player, even choosing to coach Garrison over his commitment to a romantic relationship.

But such was Garrison's restlessness and soul-searching that she eventually parted company with Wilkerson in 1986 after claiming that he was spending too much time with Lori McNeil.

Her break up with Wilkerson led to a partnership with coach Willis Thomas and a most unsuccessful 1987 season.

After careful consideration about her future tennis-playing career, Garrison began the 1988 circuit equipped with renewed confidence in her abilities and the determination to reach her goals.

She reached the semifinal at Wimbledon, where she beat Gabriela Sabatini, and the US Open.

At the Seoul Olympics she won the bronze medal and teamed up with Pam Shriver to capture the prestigious gold in the women's doubles.

A remarkable year? "Undoubtedly," said Garrison at a recent press conference.

Despite her newfound self-confidence, Garrison has not forgotten the efforts and commitment of John Wilkerson during the most trying years of her tennis.

She and Lori McNeil, with whom she has also settled her discord, have committed themselves to raising funds to build a John Wilkerson Tennis Foundation, so that other black children from lower social and economic backgrounds like themselves may also have the opportunity to explore their tennis potential.

SA WIDELY INVOLVED IN SEPTEMBER KILLING

GABORONE — In spite of denials, SA was widely involved in the killing of ANC Paris representative Duleie September in March 1988 and the assassination attempt on ANC member Albie Sachs by car bomb in Maputo in April the same year, the US said yesterday.

In a document entitled: Patterns of Global Terrorism 1988, the US State Department mentioned instances where the SADF had been accused of murdering ANC members in countries including Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana.

The booklet, which the US embassy in Gaborone termed the "official State Department policy document on terrorism", said the struggle against apartheid, although largely non-violent, had generated a cycle of violent repression by government and violent resistance by the black opposition, which had resulted in some acts of terrorism.

The ANC's leadership, while disavowing a strategy of deliberately targeting civilians, had not punished any of its members for "violating this publicly stated policy".

The US had strongly counselled the ANC against "more acts of violence of this nature".

The booklet said, however, the increasing implantation of mini-limpet mines in crowded urban settings when high casualties must be of expected "suggested a possible shift in tactics or, perhaps, an inability of the ANC to exert external control". — Sapa.

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Webster about to publish report on repression saying ...

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8 activists 'assassinated'

210 27/1/89

ADELE BALETA

DAVID Webster was murdered this week as he was about to publish a report listing eight activists killed by "unknown perpetrators" between September 1987-July 1988

The report on repression was written by Webster and his girlfriend Maggie Friedman. It contains a section devoted to "SA contras" or vigilantes (which is to appear in the SA Review), and deals with violence, abductions and assassinations

It said "Assassinations have the effect of controlling government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed. It is a rare event, indeed, when such assassinations are ever solved"

Those assassinated were listed as Samuel Setiso Ndlovu, of the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco), Sicelo Dhlomo (DPSC, Sosco), Linda Brakvis (UDF), Paul Tshabalala (UDF) Amos Boshomane (Steel Engineering and Allied Workers' Union), Nomisa Nduna (a trade unionist's mother), Michael Banda (Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association) and Sidney Msibi (a former ANC member)

The report said these were individual killings of known activists and did not address the killings in Natal, in which hundreds had died

The report gave an overview of trends in repression, ranging from formal and legal methods (which it defined as detentions, bannings and the use of courts to criminalise political

opponents), to extra-legal (the use of "dirty tricks" squads, vigilantes, death squads and surrogate forces) and informal repression

Informal repression related to activities by state-controlled structures — including joint management centres and municipal police — which operated with legal sanction

It also included illegal activities performed by anonymous agents, perhaps linked to the state, or by surrogate right-wing groups. These actions "frequently step beyond the bounds of the law and are seldom successfully investigated or the culprits punished"

The report said last year saw a "steady tempo" of kidnappings and assassinations of anti apartheid activists inside and outside SA

There were "numerous assassinations carried out by clandestine groups, presumably a death squad, referred to many years ago as the 'Z' squad"

There had been 51 right-wing attacks on individuals and property from 1986 to September 1988, including arson, petrol-bomb attacks, burglaries and

vandalism

Robberies and break-ins involving the offices and properties of trade union and political organisations escalated and, often, the only items stolen were documents "leading the victims to suspect the security police"



WEBSTER . 'a way to control opposition'

Dirty tricks campaigns had been mounted against "progressive" organisations, such as the production of 'disruptive' pamphlets

Several disappearances and abductions remained unsolved. Some missing people had been discovered in detention while others had disappeared permanently, the report claimed

The report concluded that repression was bound to intensify in all its forms as long as SA had a government which was "fundamentally undemocratic and unrepresentative"

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Webster about to publish report on repression saying ...

8 activists 'assassinated'

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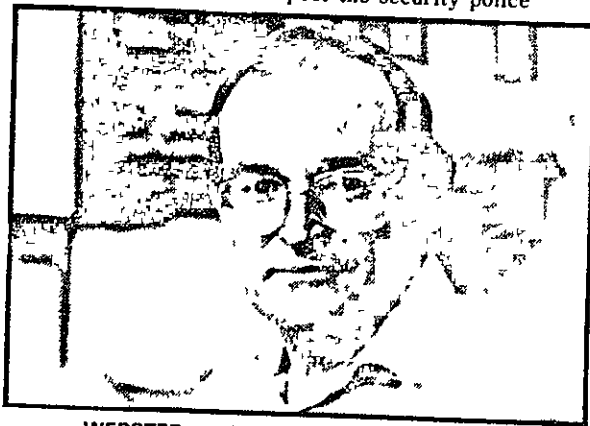
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WEBSTER

'a way to control opposition'

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LUSAKA — Pope

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...at who have been selected to be senior officials of Untag".

Mayekiso 'welcome home' party banned

5/19/81
SIPHO NGCOBO

A WELCOMING party for former treason trialist Moses Mayekiso and six other Alexandra township activists has been banned by police in terms of the emergency regulations.

This was announced by the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) at a Press conference on Wednesday.

The ban, which has been issued by Witwatersrand Divisional Police Commissioner Brigadier Hendrik Muller, in terms of emergency Regulation 10, appeared in the Government Gazette of April 28

The party, which was to have taken place at an Alexandra community hall, had been organised by the AAC and the Alexandra Youth Congress to welcome Mayekiso and his co-trialists back into the community

Mayekiso and his co-treason trialists said they feared the banning of the party would be followed by restrictions on them.

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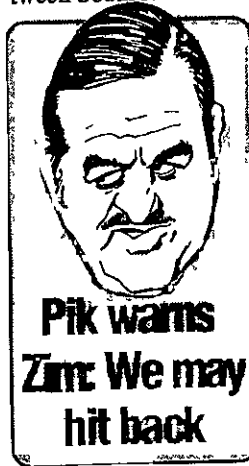
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Tensions rise after guerrillas mortar radar post

13/04/89
5-11/89
11/89

By GAVIN EVANS

THE African National Congress mortar attack on a South African Defence Force radar installation in the Western Transvaal on Wednesday — the largest in the history of the conflict in South Africa — has heightened tensions between South Africa and its neighbours



South Africa has said the guerrillas moved from Zimbabwe through Botswana before crossing the border. Yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha warned both Zimbabwe and Botswana that South Africa could take action following the attack.

The surprise early-morning raid, involving at least 21 ANC soldiers, caused "slight damage" to the radar station and living quarters, but no casualties, according to an SADF statement.

A landmine was detonated by a police vehicle during the SADF's follow-up operation, in which one suspected guerrilla, who was injured, was captured. The rest apparently managed to escape over the Botswana border.

The incident is the latest, and most dramatic, in a series of ANC attacks on military and police installations and personnel. It provides a further indication that despite the setback of having to withdraw its bases from Angola, the ANC has succeeded in increasing the scale of its military operations.

It also suggests a continuation of the shift towards attacks on "hard targets" and away from civilian targets.

The radar installation is situated in Slurry, about 25km from Mafikeng, an area which has become the centre of a series of ANC incidents. In the past month a railway bridge and railway line have been damaged in explosions, scores of landmines have been found and several ANC guerrillas have been arrested.

According to Commissioner of Police Henne de Witt, the guerrillas started their mission in Zimbabwe, entering South Africa via Botswana.

It is believed that six mortar bombs were fired from a distance of 2.5km.

Mortar attack: Zim warned

●From PAGE 1

De Witt said the insurgents were armed with at least five 82mm mortar tubes with 350 mortar shells, three RPG missile launchers and 30 RPG missiles, two landmines, a large number of AK47 rifles and ammunition, as well as an unknown quantity of hand grenades. An abandoned vehicle with "a large quantity" of weapons was found in the follow-up operation, he added.

He said the group had travelled from Zimbabwe to Gaborone in Botswana, from where they launched their attack. They are believed to have returned to Zimbabwe via Botswana.

According to a source in Mafikeng, who asked not to be named for fear of reprisals, at least 100 South African Com (counter-insurgency) police have been manning roadblocks and patrolling the area over the past month.

The police, based in Lichtenburg in South Africa, refused to allow anyone to enter or leave a farm in Ditsobotla after several landmines were discovered in the area, according to the source.

At least four suspected ANC guerrillas are believed to have been treated at the Bophelong Community Hospital in Mafikeng, after having been wounded in clashes with Bophuthatswana and South African security forces, one source said.

The April 14 edition of the *Mafikeng Mail* reports that at 9.30pm the previous day, a bridge on the Mafikeng-Johannesburg railway line was damaged by an explosion and that the railway line at Lenenong village near Phokeng was also damaged in a suspected sabotage attack.

Wednesday's raid follows a series of attacks on police and army personnel and members over the past six months. Last week, five special South African Police constables and two municipal policemen were injured in hand grenade attacks on a police base in the East Rand.

There are also strong indications that ANC leaders' instructions that attacks on "soft" targets should cease are succeeding. Over the past seven months there has been a marked reduction in the number of attacks on civilian targets, and a significant increase in the number of attacks on military and police targets.

According to government figures, between 1984 and 1988 the number of ANC attacks rose from 44 to 322 — an increase of 732 percent.

In this period the ANC lost its military bases in Mozambique and Angola and its official presence in Swaziland and Lesotho.

According to De Witt, between 1985 and October 1988 there were 243 attacks on police targets, as against 52 over the previous nine years, and 48 on military targets, compared with six between 1979 and 1985.

He said there had been 73 attacks on civilian targets in the first 10 months of last year as against 82 in 1986 and 69 in 1987.

Commenting on Wednesday's attack, De Witt said the police were in possession of information that "further similar groups of terrorists" were preparing to launch attacks in South Africa.

●To PAGE 3

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

1114 WMMW 5-11/5/89

RETURN OF THE ACTIVISTS

THERE is a new sense of confidence in township communities. The State of Emergency may have removed the leadership but it did not dissolve the bedrock.

Organised community struggles are now re-emerging and the evidence can be seen in press reports: squatters resisting removals, inner-city black tenants opposed to exploitative rentals, trade unions organising around housing demands, struggles to create "apartheid-free cities", rent boycotts and cultural resistance.

But this resistance has a new style and focus. Firstly, there is a view that "organisation must precede mobilisation". Doing it the other way round — putting mobilisation before organisation — is now seen as one of the mistakes of 1984-6.

Secondly, there is a very conscious focus on "the city" as a whole rather than simply on "the township".

These two themes are related: the changing South African city is so riven with contradictions and tensions that it offers numerous opportunities for social movements that want to build organisational power around concrete urban demands.

There are squatters who need houses, inner-city tenants who want affordable rentals, township residents who want upgraded townships, new homeowners living in sub-standard houses that are beginning to crack up, residents who require community facilities, black residents in white areas who want access to recreational and health facilities and shop stewards with access to company loans but no land to build their houses.

These trends have been highlighted by three current struggles.

● The Pietermaritzburg Combined Ratepayers and Residents Association (PCRRA), an umbrella body for dozens of local neighbourhood civics in the Indian and coloured areas, has been negotiating with the city council since rent increases were announced in September 1988.

The bargaining process takes the following form: a delegation is elected to meet the city council to table demands democratically formulated by the civics, mass meetings then discuss the council's response, and, if necessary, action is planned. All decisions, meetings and demands are carefully recorded and sent as a letter to the city council.

The PCRRA has been demanding deferment of the rent increases to February 1989, the establishment of a joint working committee with the city council to work out an appropriate rent policy, a city council investigation of the socio-economic plight of residents, and access to information.

The rent increases were deferred for "technical reasons", but in January the PCRRA demands were flatly rejected

With the Emergency heading for its third birthday, activists are slowly re-emerging. But this time, the emphasis is on quiet organisation and on bargaining with local officials
By MARK SWILLING

by the city council. A new and comprehensive rent increase is due in July.

Two months ago, a broad meeting of PCRRA representatives decided to march to the city hall on March 31. However, permission for this march was refused and there is now talk of a rent boycott.

The PCRRA has also challenged the Indian Local Affairs Committee to hold a public meeting in the community to explain why they reneged on their October election promise to reduce rents.

Feelings are running high at the moment and there is a sense in the community that the campaign has made no im-

meal deracialisation of the city through the "free settlement" laws. Instead, it has called for Cape Town to be exempted *in toto* from the Group Areas Act.

● In recent months, Johannesburg-Soweto has become the focus of rent boycott negotiations between the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD) and the Soweto City Council. These negotiations have received more media attention than the others, mainly because of the prominence of SPD members, such as Frank Chikane, Albertina Sisulu, Cyril Ramaphosa, Desmond Tutu, Bernard Ngcube and Ellen Khuzwayo.

The central focus of the SPD's demands has been the Johannesburg-Soweto tax-base. Arguing that the Johannesburg municipality can afford to subsidise white ratepayers and invest in a high standard of urban services because of the massive transfer of wealth from Soweto to Johannesburg's CBD, the SPD has called for the creation of one tax base for the entire city.

Soweto, the SPD argues, is Johannesburg's responsibility.

This has been coupled with demands to write off rent arrears, transfer houses to their occupants, upgrade infrastructure and fix an affordable service charge.

The Soweto Council has publicly supported these policies, though this differs fundamentally from how Johannesburg's National Party council and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) think Soweto should be run.

The future of the Soweto rent negotiations will depend on how the Johannesburg City Council and the TPA respond to an invitation to meet the SPD.

If they follow the recommendations of the Witwatersrand Joint Management Centre and choose not to meet the SPD, tensions in Soweto could reach breaking point.

In the meantime, the rent boycott is stronger than ever.

These three examples of community struggles bring into relief the complexity of local urban struggles. Combining mass grassroots organisation with negotiation tactics, community organisations are re-emerging to contest the future of the cities.

In doing so, these organisations are challenging the state's security policies, a cornerstone of which is "not to negotiate with revolutionary organisations".

The JMCs have the power to "eliminate" the negotiating initiatives, but the cost would be great.

Heavy-handed tactics at this stage may crush the re-emerging organisations, but grievances are then likely to be expressed in more violent and confrontational ways.

● Mark Swilling is a senior researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.



Reverend Frank Chikane

pact on the council. The PCRRA believes the solution lies in a combination of the mobilisation of community power and negotiations in a spirit of compromise.

● Two initiatives are underway in Cape Town.

The Cape Town City Council has entered into local negotiations over urban issues with civics on the Peninsula. The two sides share the view that urban planning can be democratised through community participation in the planning process — a fundamental break from the traditional top-down approach of the technocrats.

Democratic planning, however, cannot take place in a racially divided city. This is why a second campaign is underway that brings together a broad coalition of parties, civics and organisations around the demand for an "open city".

This coalition is opposed to piece-

(300) (11-9) (200)

Pik defends Soviet contact

CAPE TOWN — It was in SA's interests if the Soviet Union saw its way clear, for whatever reasons, to tell the ANC the season for violence was over and that it had to accept that a political solution had to be found, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told Parliament on Wednesday.

He was referring during debate on his budget vote to criticism from the CP of "government's growing contacts with the communists" from Russia.

Botha said there could be no doubt changes in the Soviet Union in recent months were not cosmetic and were the result of Mikhail Gorbachev's realisation that Russia could not afford to continue stagnating economically.

There was no doubt it was acting in its own interests, but if an opportunity for Botha to work in the interests of SA was created in the process, then "I welcome it".

The Soviets' role in the Angola/Namibia settlement had changed from a "non-obstructionist" one to a "helpful presence".

Botha said there should be no doubt Gorbachev was still a committed communist, but that nobody in SA should object if the ANC was told to stop throwing bombs and to work towards a political solution.

Botha also asked what was wrong with selling SA products to the Soviet Union if this could be arranged.

The West had imposed sanctions against SA and the US was still threatening further boycotts, so "for what reason should I not try to get other markets for our farmers and other producers" — Sapa

empowered the Venters- present case. as a subject in the

Azasm adopts a new motto at congress

118

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By LEN MASEKO

"BLACK power for a socialist Azania" is the motto adopted by the Azanian Students' Movements at its national congress in Durban at the weekend.

Azasm's publicity secretary, Mr Siphon Maseko, said the congress reiterated the organisation's position that the black working class was "the vanguard of the black liberation struggle".

"Black people are the people who are the most exploited and it is out of the unity and exercise of their power that they can be able to usher in socialism," the Azasm official said, echoing one of the resolutions taken at the meeting.

New executive com-

mittee members elected at the meeting were Mr Brister Kalaote (president); Miss Sally Chetty (deputy president); Mr Katiso Lengane (general secretary); Mr Siphon Maseko (political education secretary); Miss Violet Mojapelo (minutes secretary); Mr Themba Kunene (project director) and Mr Monwabisi Yuza (national organiser).

The newly elected executive called on Azasm members to launch a campaign against the "below-the-belt tactics of white liberal student unions which seek to re-start their articulation of black students' interests".

Tutu 'surprised' if killers are caught

11A
[Handwritten initials]

LARNACA — Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday he would be "surprised" if the assassins of the anti-apartheid academic, Dr David Webster, were caught

caught

the methods used against those who stand for justice in South Africa. I would be surprised if the assassins are apprehended.

Archbishop Tutu, who is in Cyprus attending a meeting of world leaders of the Anglican Church, said in a statement that he was deeply distressed by the assassination.

"I would like to express my condolences to the family in the tragedy that they have suffered".

"This is yet another example of the methods used against those who stand for justice in South Africa. I would be surprised if the assassins are apprehended."

The original text of the statement follows

"I am deeply distressed at the assassination of David Webster. This is yet another example of

Steve Kgame bloodied, unbowed

By Stan Hlophe

~~Star 3/5/87~~ 11A

The black moderate political leader, Mr Stephen Kgame (62), who was shot six times last month by three unknown gunmen, will continue serving the community — despite his ordeal.

This is the bold message from the former Dobsonville mayor, now director of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

Speaking from his Dobsonville home for the first time since he was shot on the night of April 6 outside his shop minutes before closing time, Mr Kgame made it clear that he would not be deterred.

The former senior journalist on the *Rand Daily Mail* yesterday revealed that he was standing for election to the local council in by-elections to be held in his ward on June 3.

This comes after his surprise defeat in last October's municipal elections.

"My goal is to serve my community to the best of my ability. At this point in time I have made myself available to the community to make use of my able leadership. With determination God will spare me to see my work reaching fruition.

"As a leader involved in civic affairs for the past 20

years I am aware that leaders always have enemies. A dedicated leader will not be deterred from the road of serving the community," the politician-cum-businessman explained.

Asked if he blamed anyone for the second attempt on his life, he said it was the job of the police to find the gunmen and bring them to book.

Recalling the nightmarish Thursday night when three gunmen "left me for dead", he said it was only through God's grace that he was still alive today.

The father of three said he had fully recovered, in spite of his right arm being in a sling and his neck still being bandaged.

Mr Kgame reiterated his willingness to take part in the national statutory council as that was Ucasa's standpoint.

On the breakdown of unity talks between Ucasa and a splinter group, the United Municipalities of South Africa he said the two were poles apart like the Democratic Party and Conservative Party.

Asked if he would reinforce security at his home he declared: "I am not scared. You die once in this world and the killer will go through the same thing but will die the painful way."

US govt 'erred' over ANC

copy this
5/5/89
(11A)

WASHINGTON — President George Bush's nominee to manage US policy toward Africa said it had been a mistake for the White House to designate the ANC a terrorist organisation.

Mr Herman Cohen, nominated to be assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said the group was too important in attempts to forge a peaceful, negotiated end to apartheid for the US to refuse to deal with it.

Appearing at his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr Cohen was asked about the listing of the ANC as one of 52 terrorist organisations in a report issued late in the Reagan administration.

'A mistake'

"I think the designation of the ANC as a terrorist organisation was a mistake," Mr Cohen said.

He conceded that the group's military wing had engaged in terrorist acts.

"But I don't think we can designate the entire organisation as a terrorist organisation because of one activity by one of its wings," he said.

● Mr Cohen said he was "very distressed" at the Mobil decision to leave SA — Sapa-AP

Storm after senior black official is dismissed

RED CROSS

'RACE ROW'

A MAJOR row has erupted in the Southern Transvaal region of the South African Red Cross Society which might affect the society's membership of the international movement.

The row centres around what black workers of the organisation perceive as a poor and racist image of the body in South Africa.

It blew into the open yesterday when a senior black official, Mr Bongani Kumalo, who helped the South African Red Cross to be retained in the international body, was suddenly "dismissed" as assistant regional director of the society's Southern Transvaal region.

Yesterday angry members of the Henri Dunant Coalition (HDC) in the Southern Transvaal region met at Funda Centre in Soweto, and bitterly accused the organisation of racism in its operations.

Angry

They said the Red Cross, which should be a non-partisan and non-political body appeared to take sides in favour of the political status quo in this country.

The incumbent leadership and management have shown reluctance in laying down the infrastructure which would ensure effective humanitarian assistance to the homeless and victims of political violence, it was claimed.

Mr Neil Ross, the society's Southern Transvaal regional director, yesterday confirmed that he had

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

told Mr Khumalo verbally on Tuesday that he was dismissed after he refused to accept a letter terminating his services.

The HDC, of which Mr Khumalo is president, is a union of volunteers, members and employees of the Sarcos and its entire membership is registered as bona fide members of the Red Cross throughout South Africa.

The HDC was established in July 1988 by members of staff and volunteers of the society who questioned the non-representation of blacks in the South African Red Cross organisation.

Mr Khumalo told the meeting that since the Red Cross international

• To Page 2



Mr Kingsley Silhole, a Red Cross community organiser, addressing members of the Southern Transvaal headquarters at Funda Centre in Soweto yesterday.

Election date set

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, announced at a special joint Parliament sitting called for the purpose yesterday, that a general election would take place on September 6.

A proclamation would be published in the Government Gazette in July.

Botha told the joint sitting that he had indicated earlier this year that in terms of the Constitution Act, the term of the present Parliament expired on September 5, 1989.

Although he will continue to head the government-of-the-day until after the elections he is expected to play a very low-key role with NP national leader,

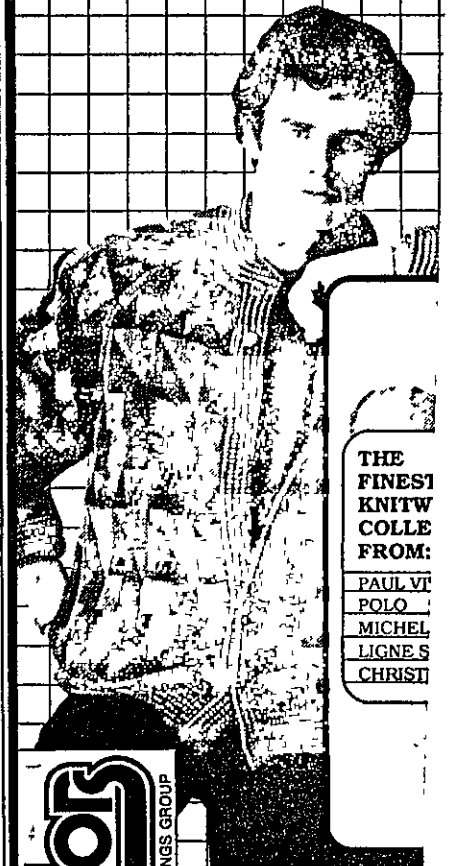
Mr F W de Klerk leading the party into the fray.

In a statement Mr de Klerk said he gave notice the NP would counter vigorously what he claimed would be destructive tactics used by the opposition parties.

He said he would refrain from making any policy statements at this stage as he expected "the first real and full-scale salvo to be fired" during his Budget vote in Parliament on May 12.

The NP election manifested and the mandate sought from the electorate was being completed and an announcement "will be made" at a special and suitable occasion.

FIRST P AT WIN



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Ex-detainee's plight - P9

Red Cross row

• From page 1

conference in Geneva in 1986, there had been a build-up of tension between himself and incumbent leadership at national and regional levels.

He said matters came to a head last Friday when Mr Ross wanted to force him to resign from the society.

He said he declined to do so because he viewed the matter as unprocedural. Mr Ross did not have the authority to dismiss him.

According to a speaker at the meeting, Mr Ross had on Wednesday called a meeting of office staff members and said Mr Khumalo was no longer in the employment of the society. The community organisers were not present.

At yesterday's Funda Centre meeting, the HDC members passed a resolution calling on the society's Southern Transvaal region management to explain events that led to Mr Khumalo's dismissal.

The HDC members said, as workers they viewed Mr Khumalo's dismissal as a racist and contradictory to the principles of the International Red Cross movement.

They viewed the dismissal as an attempt to perpetuate the white supremacy which has always been a fact at the decision making and management levels of the SarcS.

The HDC resolved that should the matter not be settled amicably, they were considering legal and diplomatic options.

Bearing the Cross

Sueka 5/5/89 - (118)

PROFESSOR JEAN PICTET, an executive member of the International Committee of the Red Cross, says in his commentary of the Seven Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement "While people differ, human nature everywhere is the same — and there is nothing more widespread than human suffering, to which all men are equally vulnerable and sensitive"

That observation sums up the commitment of the movement towards humanity and human suffering

The South African Red Cross Society is one of 149 National Red Cross and Red Crescent societies worldwide. It is a member of the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

Work

It enjoys the recognition of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and has an obligation to work strictly according to the Seven Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements (ICRCM)

These principles are humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality. The movement has always scrupulously guarded its traditions of remaining above political positions and contentions of an ideological nature. The character of the Red Cross is best dramatised by its neutrality in conflict and impartiality in its rendering of humanitarian assistance

THIS revealing article is by BONGANI KHUMALO, assistant regional director of the Southern African region of the South African Red Cross.

Mr Khumalo was appointed to this position in 1986 and has held that position up to now.

He gives a brief resume of the International Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement, with specific reference to the South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) which is in its 75th year. Mr Khumalo is a graduate of Fairfield University, Connecticut, USA, and holds a Masters degree in Corporate and Political Communications. He is the first black to hold such a senior position in SARCS, and is presently researching for a senior degree with Rhodes University on the subject of Communications and Competitions in Philanthropic Communications



BONGANI KHUMALO

which had become "traditional" Red Cross activities in South Africa became more and more contentious in the debates about the IRRCM mandate in the last three years. The National Society has been under tremendous pressure to prioritise activities which fell within the scope of the mandate of the international movement.

It has been seriously questioned about the lack of meaningful black participation in its structures at all levels. The simple theory is that with effective participation by members of all South African population groups the Red Cross in South Africa would be non-racial in its interpretation of IRRCM mandate and the ideals of the movement.

While the inception of the Community Organiser Project has brought in some inspiration and creativity into the organisation, the entry of blacks has become a type of "swaart gevaar" to many whites who have used blacks as "tea-girls," "kitchen-boys," drivers and messengers. The community Organisers Project which was the branchchild of the International Committee of the Red Cross and whose initial funding came from that international organ of the movement has had a great impact in the communities where these field workers have been

operating. In certain regions they have helped bring the members of their population into the region councils. This work has transcended political ideological barriers and they have done a sterling job in introducing a great spirit of humanitarianism. The problem is where do they go from there?

South Africa needs a Red Cross Society which would be beyond reproach and would be a pride of the international movement. Besides the awkward federal structure of autonomous regions, which renders the society a cumbersome cluster of organisations with no sense of common destiny, the entire structure is racial. The exclusive black and white detachments of voluntary Aid Corps Resources are not impartially distributed. White detachments have equipment and black ones are unequipped. White ambulances lie gathering dust in "white towns, waiting for sport games on weekends while there is a desperate shortage of emergency services and equipment in the settlements where blacks live. There are highly trained members of the VAC who hardly use first aid kits.

Problem

The South African Red Cross today resembles other philanthropic organisations, including the Church, about a decade or two ago.

In the business arena many companies wasted no time to ratify the Sullivan Code, but there was great frustration as some companies still practiced racism behind their steel gates and marble-plated walls.

The South African Red Cross Society today is like a congregation or subsidiary whose observance of the ideals of the mother body are questionable.

FOCUS

to victims of natural as well as man made disaster or emergencies

The South African Red Cross Society covers the whole sub-continent including the TBVC areas and Namibia. Its structure is federal with all its eight regions being "autonomous". The regions are the Northern Transvaal, Southern Transvaal, Free State

Eastern Cape, Border Cape (Western Cape) and Natal

The national policy-making body is the National Council while there is a regional council governing the affairs of each of the eight regions. As it is basically a voluntary organisation the SARCS relies much on volunteers. The Voluntary Aid Corps (VAC), one of the oldest units of the movement in South Africa, is a highly disciplined and well-organised arm of the Red Cross.

Skills

There are other units of volunteers including the newly formed Special Skills Unit (SSU) in the Southern Transvaal Region. The community organisers, the first group of fieldwork professionals who were introduced to the SARCS and have enrolled hundreds of people, young and old as volunteers.

Since the beginning of 1986 the SARCS has gradually been establishing a permanent presence in the black areas where it had been almost virtually absent.

Old age homes and creches for whites only

Nation Building Lets Set record straight

WHITE

strange, you know. To this day, there are people who still feel we gave them a raw deal when we launched the Nation Building campaign last October. This is what I picked up from a young white academic and a black conference in Bermuda last week. From some of the questions they asked, it became clear to me that in explaining the concept one could say one thing when intending to mean something else.

These two gentlemen said when we launched a campaign for Nation Building at a banquet we held at Shareworld, they gained the impression that we were either forming a new organisation or introducing an alternative.

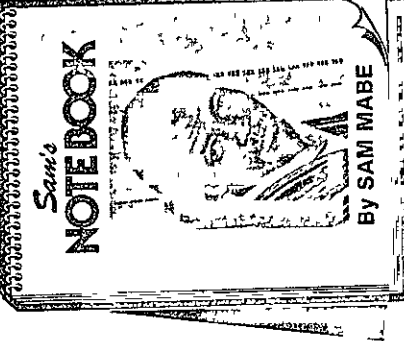
active or a substitute for revolutionary programmes initiated by the political movement in this country.

The second point they raised was that the banquet was attended by middle class blacks and rich white businessmen.

By leaving out the grassroots people, they said, we could have alienated potential supporters people who formed the core of the struggle.

Concept

They were also concerned over the interest, they said, shown by white businessmen in the concept. I'll set the record straight by saying that Nation Building is by no means a third force intended to compete or even to substitute



on the banquet from which we raised R28 000.

Although the invitation to the banquet was open to anybody who wished to attend, the fact that we sold a plate of food at R40 and R100 meant that the grassroots people would not afford it. It did not even occur to me at the time that some people would feel left out. I was just going to get for the old-age home.

We had however, been talking to various grassroots people before the launch and we are still talking to many. They come to Sowetan for consultation on the concept some phone or write to us and also invite us to address them.

University in Mamelodi, Pretoria. On March 21 I spoke to students at St Lukes High School and on March 25 I addressed a youth rally at the Orlando East Methodist Church in Soweto.

On my return to South Africa next week I will address two youth rallies, one in Diepkloof on April 15 and another in Natalpruit on April 16. The response we are getting from the grassroots people is quite encouraging.

Parents

Recently, one auntie volunteered to make track suits for school children at a school in Diepkloof and undertook to donate 25 percent of her sales to the school fund. This is a private school we have been working on in the past three years in an attempt to turn it into a role model to show the type of alternative education structures parents could create because of the problems we have with DET schools.

In that school, we have implemented most of the ideas I often write about to show the type of People's Education we need for South

Masses

To me, some of the white businessmen said to be showing interest in the concept do so because they have mistread us. Because they view the concept in isolation from all other efforts to bring about change in South Africa, they fall into the trap of seeing the concept as an alternative to Azapo, UDF, ANC and PAC.

But Nation Building, I must repeat, is about empowering the masses. Trade unions, for instance, were created to empower workers, to strengthen their bargaining power on the shop floor. The creation of Sabia, Nafco, African Bank, Lesedi Clinic, Get Ahead and many other structures through which blacks are pursuing economic and political objectives are intended to empower blacks.

We encourage the creation of more such structures as these are the physical manifestations of the Nation Building concept.

Teachers

Within a week before I left South Africa, I had addressed four meetings. One on March 18 at the graduation of teachers who had completed an English improvement course at Funda Centre which is in use at National Building initiative.

During the same afternoon I spoke at the campus of Vista

initiatives of Azapo, UDF, ANC, PAC or any other grouping. We fully recognise these organisations and their role in the struggle.

The reason for holding a banquet at Old Age Home and which we said we were

"launching" the campaign was really to make money. That was the sole objective. A friend of mine had told me about financial problems faced by the Soweto Old Age Home and that is how we decided

Vacancies for matric rewrite candidates

THE BP/SOWETAN RE-WRITE MATRIC SCHOOL TIME TABLE

DAY	TIME	ROOM SSI	ROOM SS10	ROOM SS2
Monday	4:30pm - 6pm	English (1)	Biology (1)	
	6pm - 7:30pm	English (2)	Biology (2)	
Tuesday	5pm - 6:30pm	Mathematics (1)	Mathematics (1)	Business Economics (1)
	6:30pm - 8pm	Mathematics (2)	Mathematics (2)	Business Economics (2)

THE Sowetan-BP Matric Rewrite School has still got vacancies for those pupils who missed registration last weekend. Another chance to register will be on Sunday April 16 in the Social Sciences Building.

WEBSTER'S FUNERAL TOMORROW

11A
Sowetan
5/5/89

DR David Webster, the Wits University activist who was shot dead outside his home on Monday, will be buried at the Westpark Cemetery in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Cold-blooded murder is condemned

By SY MAKARINGE

The funeral service at St Mary's Cathedral starts at 10am

This was announced at a Press conference at Wits University where anti-apartheid organisations condemned the "cold-blooded" murder and laid the blame on

"agencies of apartheid"

Mr Mohamed Valli, a prominent United Democratic Front activist, told the conference detainees who were recently released under heavy restrictions were living in fear of their lives following Dr Webster's assassination

"Many of these people just wait in their homes for the killers to come," Mr Valli said

In a statement read out by Sister Bernard Mncube, the Federation of Transvaal Women said it did not have confidence in the promises made by the

police that the people who killed Dr Webster would be apprehended

The statement said the killing would not deter the mass democratic movement from continuing with the struggle for liberation

The Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa) said "this monstrous act appears to be yet another event in the sickening web of unresolved murders, bombings, arson and other attacks"

The organisation said it would not allow itself to be intimidated by acts of this nature

"They only serve to strengthen our resolve to challenge and change all that apartheid has brought about," it said.

Mr Chris Dlamini, vice president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said this was a manifestation of the growing apartheid violence against the democratic majority in the country.

He said Dr Webster's death could not be seen in isolation. He recalled the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Steve Biko, Solomon Mahlangu and many others

The Five Freedoms Forum said the Department of Law and Order

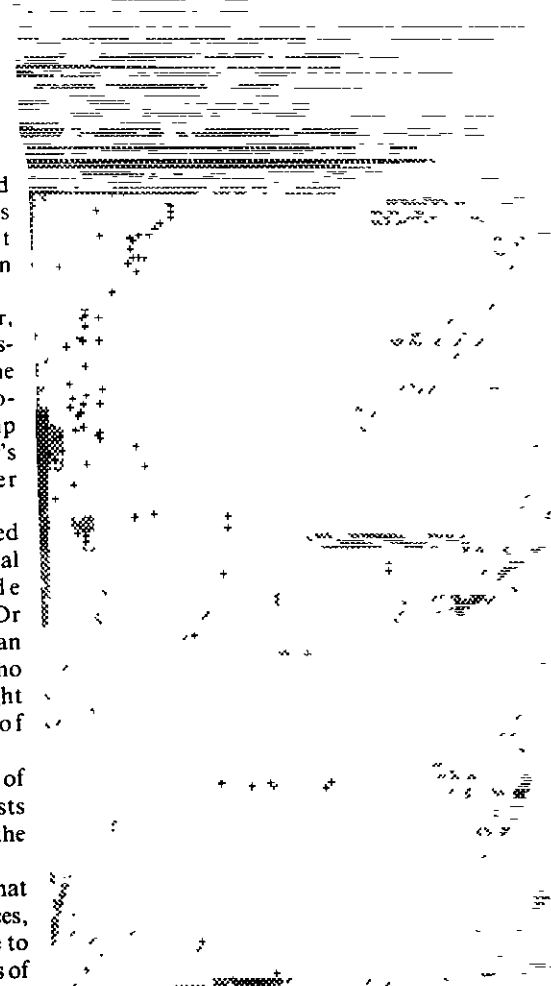
had a poor track record in solving crimes perpetrated against opponents of repression and apartheid

Mr Michael Olivier, chairman of the organisation, appealed to the newly-formed Democratic Party to help ensure that Dr Webster's funeral was neither banned nor restricted

In a statement issued to *Sowetan*, the National Council of Trade Unions, said it knew Dr Webster as a human rights campaigner, who "unflinchingly" fought for the rights of detainees

"He joins the ranks of all dedicated activists who have fallen to the bullets of assassins

"It is remarkable that with all their resources, the police are not able to bring the perpetrators of these heinous acts to justice," Nactu said



Dr David Webster . . . gunned down.

Prisoner Mkwayi

said to have

visited Mandela

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

JAILED African National Congress leader Wilton Mkwayi is believed to have visited Nelson Mandela at his prison "home" at Victor Verster Prison last month.

Mkwayi was in Paarl during his transfer from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison on March 17.

After disembarking from the Prisons Service boat at the Cape Town harbour that morning, Mkwayi was driven to Paarl where he allegedly spent the whole day with Mandela.

The bloodshed in Natal is known to have been a focal point of discussion between the unexpected guest and his prison host.

At the end of the day Mkwayi was taken to Pollsmoor Prison and placed in the same section as Rivonia Trial ANC leaders Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada.

Walter Sisulu, it is alleged, has since been removed from that section and kept alone in another part of the prison. It is believed he may soon be transferred to a house near Mandela's in Paarl or share the same house.

Mkwayi's transfer to Pollsmoor Prison triggered a rumour that he may soon be released — after spending 25 years on the island.

Speculation was heightened when it became known three weeks ago that the bulk of his Robben Island belongings are presently in Johannesburg Prison, Diepkloof.

Mkwayi first knew of the missing goods when he unpacked his luggage on arrival at Pollsmoor Prison, according to his daughter, Treason Zukiswa Tokelo, the first person to visit him there. When he enquired, the authorities at Pollsmoor Prison told him the goods had been dispatched to the Johannesburg Prison, she said.

Mkwayi was busy hanging his laundry on the washline outside his section in Robben Island Prison when a group of warders entered with empty cartons and hurriedly removed his personal belongings from his cell, she said.

Once his goods were packed, Mkwayi was taken to the prison reception where he was booked out of prison and driven to the docks.

Asked to comment, the Prisons Service said: "It is the prerogative of the commissioner of prisons to decide where a prisoner will be incarcerated."

"Furthermore it is the policy of the South African Prisons Service not to comment on the incarceration circumstances nor to speculate about the possible release of individual prisoners."

"However, the allegation that Mr Mkwayi was not in possession of his belongings at the time of his arrival at the said prison is not true."

Zambia warns ANC to co-operate

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — Tension between the exiled African National Congress (ANC) and the Zambian government is rising following a number of bombings and killings in Zambia

The Zambian Secretary of Defence and Security, Mr Alex Shapi, this week said that the ANC "must co-operate with Zambian security forces"

After an explosion last week at a house near an ANC clinic in Lusaka, Mr Shapi warned that "unless there is close liaison between the ANC and Zambian security forces, similar incidents will escalate in Lusaka"

"I am concerned because Zambian lives and property have been and will be destroyed," he said

An ANC spokesman said "South African agents", some of whom had infiltrated the ANC, had been attacking Zambian targets

INFILTRATION

The spokesman said the actions of the "agents" were clearly aimed at creating tension between the ANC and Zambia to force the Zambian government to expel the ANC

Earlier this week, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo referred to the death of Zambian citizens

and the alleged infiltration by South African agents. He was speaking at a funeral of two ANC members who were murdered at an ANC farm near Lusaka

Mr Tambo is banned and cannot be quoted in South Africa

In his statement, Mr Shapi called on ANC cadres "to heed their president's advice for co-operation"

The ANC spokesman said Mr Tambo had been "terribly upset" by the death of the two ANC members and denied that there were tensions between Zambian citizens and ANC cadres

Many Zambian citizens had attended the funeral of the two men, he said

ROBBERY

The spokesman said the two ANC members had been murdered by "a South African agent" who had infiltrated the organisation

Initially robbery was given as the motive for the killings. The ANC spokesman said the alleged murderer was a ANC member who the organisation now realised was "a South African agent"

Sources said two other men involved in the robbery were Zambian citizens

THE

OVER the years, clues to the existence of mysterious "death squads" have surfaced too often to be coincidental. But the murder of David Webster may mark a new phase, argues MARK PHILLIPS in an article in the *Weekly Mail*. Mark Phillips is a researcher for the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University.

THE murder of David Webster is the latest in a long line of unsolved assassinations of anti-apartheid activists. But what is particularly worrying about his death is that it may mark the beginning of a new phase of extra-legal repression.

Fester, a mild-mannered anthropology lecturer, can't possibly have been seen as a threat to the State. The chilling implication is that he may have been killed less for what he was himself than for what he stood for.

For many years he had been clearly identified with detainee support work. Time and again, he had been arrested, held incommunicado so that they could participate actively and openly in the process of political change.

With the success of the consumer strikes and the detainee hunger strikes some of these demands were at last practically realised. Though heavily restricted, many hundreds of detained activists have been freed.

One released activist — ex-Nel Youth Congress member Nethi Nethi — was killed last month on his way home from the local police station, where his restriction order required him to report twice daily.

Many other detainees have expressed the fear that restriction orders which confine them to their homes for large parts of each day — and might make them sitting ducks for harassment and possible death squads — will eliminate it.

David Webster was not restricted. But his political work

had in many ways made him symbolic of all those — whether restricted or not — who have been released from detention in recent months.

South Africa's security establishment has always angrily denied allegations that it may be involved in political assassinations. But many serious questions remain unanswered. The most obvious is why have none of the killings been solved?

Ministerial statements of intent and the offer of rewards for information leading to the arrest of those responsible have never had any noticeable effect.

Last year General G Joubert of the CID was appointed to head a special police investigation into so-called "right wing" attacks such as the South African Council of Churches, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference. So far nothing has been heard from this commission.

Why is this? And why is the criminal and not the security division of the police dealing with these crimes?

Anti-apartheid activists have always believed that assassinations inside the country form part of the same pattern as assassinations of exiled activists.

Writing in the journal *Work in Progress* editor Glenn Moss noted that there had been an armed attack on an anti-apartheid activist outside South Africa every 12 days this year.

These attacks, he wrote, followed a statement by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that wherever the ANC is we will eliminate it.

The African National Congress's French representative,

Dulcie September, its Brussels representative Godfrey Motsepe, I Mkhonto we Sizwe guerrilla Mazzi Napekweza lying in a Lesotho hospital, and law professor Albie Sachs in Maputo were all attacked over the next few weeks.

In last year's murder trial of police sergeant Robert van der Merwe incriminating evidence of police knowledge and acceptance of death squad activity

was given. Van der Merwe said he had not hesitated to kill two men he believed had ANC links because I knew it had happened before.

As an example he said that on the night of the killing in Swaziland of ANC leader Cassius Mame and two others in July 1987 (for which police denied responsibility) he had been on the Swaziland border and overheard four security police-

men discussing what he took to be the arrangements for the assassination. There was no official comment on this claim.

In a speech to the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria last year General Malan said that like other countries South Africa sometimes used "unconventional methods" to achieve policy objectives. Like others, he said, we do not talk about them.

Recent trials in Zimbabwe have heard detailed evidence of SADF hit squad activities in the Frontline states.

Reports of official death squads within the South African intelligence establishment have circulated for many years. They were fuelled in mid-1970s by an off-the-cuff remark security supremo General "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh, to the effect that he had men in



See 6/18/84

ASSASSINATIONS

the Bureau for State Security (Boss) who would kill for him on command.

With his fall from favour, Boss was downgraded in importance and restructured as the National Intelligence Services (NIS) under PW Botha's appointment. Neil Barnard NIS's primary role is now the interpretation and evaluation of intelligence.

But unconfirmed rumours remain of the continuing existence of death squad units under semi-autonomous right wing leadership — the so-called "Z Squads". Allegations of official "death squad" activity were also made by Renamo's former European representative, Paulo Oliveira.

He claimed that such units were behind the murder in Pretoria in 1983 of Renamo secretary-general Orlando Cristina "because he no longer served the purposes of South African military intelligence" and that military intelligence had also played a role in the assassinations of Mozambican Air Force defector Adriano Bombata and his brother Boaventura.

The SADF responded that the allegations were part of a Mozambican News Agency (AIM) propaganda campaign.

The language used by security officials, and especially by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok when referring to internal extra-parliamentary opponents of the Government, is an ominous mirror of General Malan's comments on the ANC.

During the current emergency, Mr Vlok has spoken of the need to "eliminate" and "annihilate" those whom he calls "revolutionaries".

Perhaps most doubt over state denials of complicity in political assassinations arises from its wholesale acceptance of "counter revolutionary warfare" strategies developed by Van der Merwe recently said most CP support was in the 18-30 age group and most male supporters in this group were in the security forces.

Unless there is a genuine and concerted effort by the South African Government to root out the arbitrary and unaccountable killings — and there has been precious little indication of such intention in the past — David Webster's death will be one more step down the road to the violent futurity of Latin-American style repression.

political organisation among the local population.

The most explicit account of what this strategy may involve came in a 1977 article entitled "Some Possibilities in Counter-insurgency Operations" in the semi-official defence journal *Militaria* by Jane's Defence Weekly's current southern Africa correspondent, Helmoed Romer-Heitman.

"Some extra-legal operations," he wrote, "may prove beneficial both in eliminating certain key members of the insurgency and in sowing suspicion. Needless to say, such operations would need to be suitably disguised and the necessity for them carefully weighed."

Though the evidence of South African death squad activity inside the country is largely circumstantial, simple denials by Ministers and police officials are insufficient and unconvincing.

Until demonstrated otherwise, through arrests or an independent judicial inquiry — not merely a police investigation from which nothing public is ever heard — suspicions about State complicity will continue.

The possibility that death squads are associated in some way with the ultra-right wing is strong.

Right-wing publications constantly criticise the National Party for "muzzling" the security forces. Former security chiefs who stood as Conservative Party candidates in the 1987 election — such as General van den Bergh — called for a huge escalation of violence against anti-apartheid activists.

Conservative Party MP Kees van der Merwe recently said that CP support was in the 18-30 age group and most male supporters in this group were in the security forces.

Natal ANC leader in talks with Mandela

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged South Africans to strive for peace among themselves, according to a terminally ill colleague, Mr Harry Gwala, who visited him for five hours

Mr Gwala, whose arms are paralysed because of a neurological disease, was accompanied by his lawyer and a friend when he visited Mr Mandela at the Victor Verster prison farm

He said the discussions included the violence in Natal, an issue in which Mr Mandela has recently become involved

Mr Gwala, who lives in Natal, said Mr Mandela had given him a message saying South Africans should "try and strive for peace among themselves and to keep up their determination to bring about a new South Africa"

Mr Gwala and Mr Mandela, both 70, have been ANC members since the 1940s. Until Mr Gwala's release in November, both were serving life sentences

The visit marked the first time Mr Gwala had seen Mr Mandela since 1982, when Mr Mandela was moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor

There had been no guards observing the meeting, Mr Gwala said

Last December, Mr Mandela was allowed a visit by several ANC leaders convicted along with him of sabotage in 1964 and now held at Pollsmoor Prison. Another ANC leader held at Pollsmoor, Wilton Mkwayi, is believed to have visited Mr Mandela last month — Sapa-AP



MEETING . . Veteran ANC member Mr Harry Gwala, who was released from life imprisonment last year, at Victor Verster meeting with jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday. On the left is his attorney, Ms Linda Zama, and right is Ms Pain Mandi, a relative.

Picture ADIL BRADLOW

JANET HEARD

MORE than 100 South African political activists have been killed over the past 15 years — 47 of them within the borders of the country, says a report by the Community Resources and Information Centre.

The report states that it is often difficult to differentiate between those people who have been assassinated and those who have died from other forms of violence. The report therefore excludes victims of vigilante attacks — for instance, deaths related to the violence in Natal.

Prominent activists who were assassinated in South Africa prior to 1987 include:

- Dr Ric Turner, a Natal University political science lecturer (1978).

Death toll among SA activists in past 15 years has passed the 100 mark

● Mr Griffith Mxenge, a Durban civil rights attorney, who was found dead with 40 stab wounds (November 1981).

- The Cradock Four — Mr Mathew Goniwe, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, Mr Ford Calata, Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, all United Democratic Front (UDF) members (June 1985)

- Mr Mxenge's wife, Victoria, who was hacked to death by unknown assailants outside her home (1985)

- Dr Fabian Ribero and his wife, Florence, who were gunned down at their Mamelodi home (December 1986).

Between January 1987 and February 1989, 15 people were

from a cerebral haemorrhage as a result of a severe blow. Later, Ciskei security policemen were convicted for his death.

- The wife of Mr Reddy Mazonza, an ANC official — killed when her flat was blown up by a booby-trapped TV set in September. An alleged South African agent in custody in Harare confessed to supplying the TV.

- Mr Calphus Nyoka (23), student leader — shot dead at his home in September. He had 12 bullet wounds in his body. Police said they killed him during a follow-up operation.

- Samuel Siliso Ndlovu, SRC vice-president of the Dalwonga High School and executive

member of the Soweto Students' Congress — died from bullet wounds after having been shot in September.

- Mr Petrus Mnisi, the Vaal regional director of the Unemployed Workers' Co-ordinating Committee — stabbed and killed by unknown assailants in November

- Mr Amos Tshabala, a Tsakane Civic Association member and organiser for the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union — stabbed and killed in November.

1988

- Mr Charles Mokoena of the ANC — killed in a raid on Ga-barone, Botswana

killed on South African soil. This is the complete list for that period, including those killed outside the country.

1987

- Yvonne "Suster" Ntsele, a pupil at Senaoane Secondary School — shot dead in May

- Nkosinathi Solomon Shabangu, a pupil at the same school — shot dead in front of his teachers and fellow pupils in June

- Mr Moxolile Eric Mntonga (35), the Border regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — found dead in July.

The post mortem revealed that he had a knife wound in the heart, but Mr Mntonga had died

- Mr Jacob Molokwane, ANC member — shot dead in his car outside Francistown, Botswana

- Mr Siphon Ngema, ANC member — assassinated in Swaziland

- Mr Mazizi Magekaza, ANC member — shot by unknown gunmen while in hospital in Maseru

- Mr Linda Brakvis (24), UDF member, of Heldemoed township, near Allanridge, Free State — killed three days after his release from detention.

- Mr Michael Banda, of the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association — assassinated in January.

- Mr Sicelo Godfrey Dhlomo

(19) was taken in for questioning by the police on January 20. He was last seen four days later, when he visited friends in Soweto. The next morning two policemen informed his family that his body was lying in the veld and that he had been shot.

- Miss Dulcie September — assassinated at the Paris ANC offices in March. Belgian police subsequently named a South African sergeant major, Joseph Klue, as one of the suspected assassins.

- Mr Siphon Henry Tshabala (16), a pupil at Pimville Secondary School — shot dead by unknown gunmen.

- Mr Amos Boshomane, shop steward with the Steel, Engi-

neering and Allied Workers' Union — shot and killed in February.

- Mr Mthuthuzeh Payi, a Cape Youth Congress and Food and Allied Workers' Union member — disappeared during the three-day stayaway in June. His mutilated body was found in July

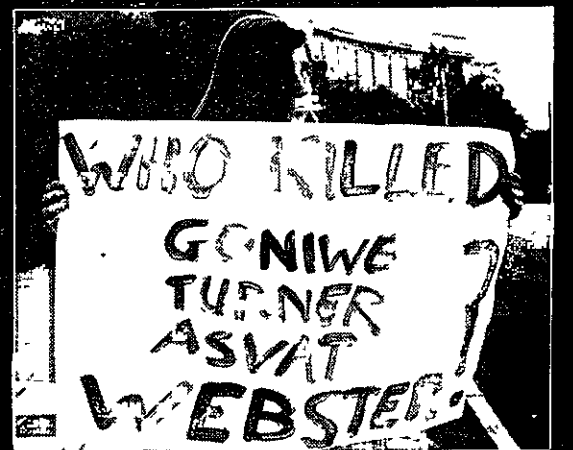
1989

- Mr Sawutini Boot, president of the Adelaide Youth Congress — died following a petrol bomb attack on his home in February.
- Messrs Derrick Mashobane, Thabo Mhalele and Porta Shabangu, members of the SA National Students' Congress — killed in February. Their bullet-riddled bodies were found in a forest in Swaziland.

- Dr David Webster, anthropologist — shot dead outside his home

GENTLE FIGHTER

Gutter murder dumbfounds a society in shock



■ Hit Squad Saga

By SELLO SERIPE and GABRIELLA BEKES

(11A) 7/5/89 C Press

THE assassination this week of David Webster has aroused anger and outrage from colleagues, friends and all sections of the anti-apartheid movement.

Described as "a compassionate, humane person" by the Human Rights Commission's Max Coleman, Webster was hailed as an unassuming person whose life had been totally committed to opposing apartheid.

Mike Olivier of the The Five Freedoms Forum said "David was the gentlest, most considerate and friendly of people. He gave immense amounts of his time to human-rights activities. He was particularly noted for his work in support of detainees and their families."

Cosatu's Chris Dlamini described Webster as "loved by us all". He was "not only a friend, but a true patriot and an important part of our struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

Said Actstop's Cas Coovadia. "David's humanity, love of peace and his humility were

evident to all who knew him"

Webster's girlfriend Maggie Friedman - who was with him when he was blasted by shotgun fire outside his Troyeville home - said "It is true of David, despite his gentle manner, that he never shrank from challenging those in authority"

The SA Musicians' Alliance said Webster was "a soft-spoken, gentle person with a strong sense of justice"

Wits University vice-chancellor Prof RW Charlton said "The warm tributes now paid to him by a wide variety of anti-apartheid organisations bear testimony to the high regard in which he was held"

Webster was not an obvious hero at 44, he was softly spoken, of medium height, slightly plump and balding with large spectacles perched on his nose

A close friend of his told *City Press* it was impossible to imagine Webster defeated, resentful or bitter. She said that because he loved life, he opposed anything which denied others freedom

"He was good, he was kind, he was gentle, and he believed passionately in the dream of a non-racial South Africa"

"Not a fiery orator, David nevertheless had the ability to get through to many different kinds of people at many different levels. He was as much at home in a migrant labour compound, or among Bucs supporters in a packed football stadium as he was in a university lecture theatre"

"In campaigning for detainees' rights he did not forget the smallest detail - initiating a campaign to collect running shoes for detainees"

"He got Johnny Clegg of Savuka and Comrades Marathon star Bruce Fordyce to donate their running shoes to kick off the campaign"

"He would drive regularly from Troyeville to veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph's Norwood home to take her dog for a run"

"David stuck with things. A passionate supporter of Orlando Pirates - 'the true people's

team', in David's view - he stuck with them even when the team collapsed to the bottom of the log. He would draw people into intense debates about the social forces at work in Bucs' many splits"

■ DAVID Joseph Webster was born on December 19, 1945 in Luanshya, Zambia.

He graduated at Rhodes University with a BA in English and Anthropology in 1967 and got his PhD in 1975

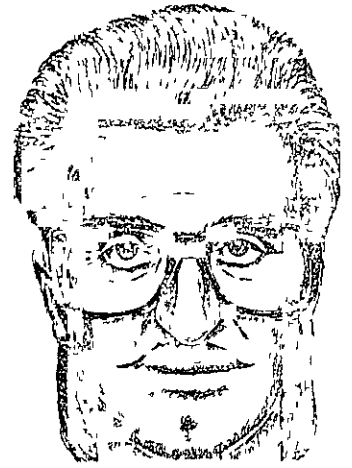
In 1979 he was a sub-editor on the *Daily Dispatch* in East London

In 1983, during Ciskei's Mdantsane bus boycott, Webster formed many friendships with Eastern Cape activists, among them the late Eric Mntonga, who was assassinated last year by Ciskei police

He was a founder member of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the first executive of the The Five Freedoms Forum, and was a mentor of Natal's Ingwavuma community

Hamba kahle, David

WE NAME SUSPECT



Mr X bears a striking resemblance to the suspect

Ex-con has shot before

By DESMOND BLOW

CITY Press has given the name of a suspect in the murder of Wits lecturer David Webster to Brixton Murder and Robbery squad head Col Floris Mostert

The suspect, Mr X, bears a striking resemblance to one of the three police identikit pictures of the men who gunned down anti-apartheid activist Webster outside his Troyeville home on Monday

Mr X, an active rightwing leader in the 1970s, was jailed about 10 years ago for violence against white anti-apartheid activists, including opposition MPs

His victims included white churchmen and student leaders

Among the charges against him and a companion was one of firing a gun at the home of a leading politician

Mr X and his companion were sentenced to more than 18 years in jail, but most of their sentences ran concurrently and they were released some time ago

The companion is alleged to have told Afrikaans writer Breytan Breytanbach, whom he met in prison, that Mr X had confessed to him that he had shot Durban lecturer Rick Turner in 1978

The prosecutor who sent the men to jail yesterday said "Mr X was a suspect for the Rick Turner murder. We established he was in Durban at the time of Turner's murder, but nothing further"

Since their release Mr X and his friend have not been openly active in rightwing circles.

Mostert refused to say whether Mr X was already on the list of suspects, but said "Don't worry, the police are on the ball"

It is understood Mr X is well known to Mostert.



Thousands thronged around St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg yesterday for the funeral of David Webster

10 000 pay respects to murdered Webster

By CONNIE MOLUSI and SOPHIE TEMA

ACTIVIST David Webster - who was shot dead by unknown assassins this week - was buried at Westpark Cemetery in Johannesburg yesterday after an emotional service at St Mary's Cathedral

The 44-year-old senior lecturer in social anthropology at Wits University was shot in the chest by a shotgun fired from a fast-moving car after he and his girlfriend Maggie Friedman, arrived at their Troyeville home on Monday

Police have issued identikits of three suspects and R20 000 in rewards have been offered for information leading to an arrest and conviction

About 10 000 mourners packed

the cathedral and spilled out across the entire central Johannesburg block as friends, activists and academics paid their last respects

The crowd was surveyed by security forces, some who also filmed chanting youths and workers from nearby buildings

Described as a gentle, modest and humble man, Webster was remembered as a founder of and tireless campaigner for the Detainees Parents' Support Committee

Activist Helen Joseph moved mourners as she described her association with Webster in a shaky voice

The acting general secretary of the UDF, Muhomed Vali, said it was significant that Webster had died on May Day while the labour

movement, in whose formation and development he played a major role, was celebrating the commemoration of the workers' struggle

At the time of his death, Webster had just completed a research project on the assassination of political activists, he said

The black, green and orange ANC flag was flown at the gravesite, and banners of Nusas, Cosatu and Jodac were hung from the trees or held aloft by members

Rev Paul Verryn warned Webster's "enemy or enemies God saw exactly what happened"

The crowd sang freedom songs as people heaped earth on the coffin

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Blow to black forum

JOHANNESBURG. — Efforts to establish a broad-based moderate black alliance to negotiate with the government were dealt a severe blow yesterday when United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) president Mr Tom Boya distanced his organisation from the latest initiative

Some 500 black community leaders, including members of the United Councils' Association (Ucasa) and Mr John Gogotya's Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) met near Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss forming a "National Forum".

Umsa, the largest representative organisation of black community councillors, was opposed to negotiating with the government until its preconditions were met, Mr Boya said. These included the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of outlawed organisations and the lifting of the state of emergen-

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Bush peace push poised to give ANC 'higher profile'

8/6/85
8/5/89

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo will almost certainly meet the new US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, and possibly even the President, Mr George Bush, the next time he visits the US.

The higher profile the Bush Administration seems poised to give its relations with the ANC could well form part of the President's strategy to forge a bipartisan policy on South Africa with the Democratic Party-controlled Congress, which favours a tougher line on South Africa.

The quid pro quo would be for Congress to go easy on the sanctions issue, of which the Administration is not in favour

Top-level talks with the ANC could also pave the way for the Bush Administration to have similar informal meetings with leading South African government members in Washington

Mr Tambo and the ANC were one of the issues touched upon this week during the Senate Foreign relations Africa sub-committee hearings on the nomination of Mr Herman Cohen as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

Sub-committee chairman Mr Paul Simon, who personally favours the virtual total economic and diplomatic isolation of South Africa, wanted to know from Mr Cohen whether he would be prepared to recommend that US Secretary of State Baker meet with Mr Tambo.

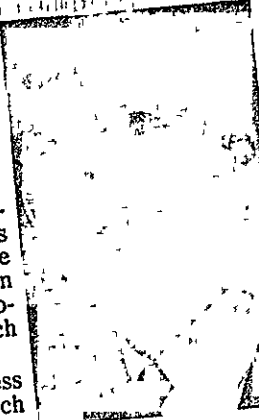
Mr Cohen said he would certainly recommend such a meeting, but it would depend on what the two men had to say to each other as to whether he would recommend a meeting with the President

Mr Cohen said the US government had told the ANC it denounced violent activities and it was because of these actions that it only had minimal contact

"But because of their importance we have to deal and talk to them"

Mr Cohen said the situation in South Africa was so bad and the need for peace so great that the US would talk to anyone to resolve it.

While Mr Cohen's remarks do not represent any departure from the existing State Department line on the ANC, which consistently has rebutted the Pentagon's view that the ANC is a terrorist organisation, they do indicate the Bush Administration is going to deal with the full range of South Africans in its efforts to bring about peaceful negotiation in South Africa



Mr James Baker

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Sisulu gets ovation at US Press banquet

The Argus Foreign Service

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts) — Zwelakhe Sisulu, the South African journalist who was recently released without being charged after nearly two years in detention, was given a standing ovation when he attended the 50th anniversary of the Nieman Fellows at Harvard University.

The Nieman Fellowship for Journalists was established at Harvard University 50 years ago and at the weekend nearly 400 Nieman Fellows, including 14 South Africans, gathered with their wives for the celebrations.

Mr Sisulu, who is editor of the New Nation, Johannesburg, and a Nieman Fellow, had earlier declined to accept a passport granted with certain conditions.

When the conditions were withdrawn, he decided to attend the reunion.

He made a late entrance at the dinner on Saturday night, and the people, among them many of the most distinguished names in American journalism, rose to their feet and applauded him.

Mr Sisulu was one of several speakers. He wore a yellow golf shirt as he had just arrived by air from Johannesburg.

Seven drown in bay

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — Seven people drowned when their small boat hit a rock close to the mouth of the Maputo River in Maputo

Black leaders meet on SA's future

More than 500 black community leaders, including representatives of the United Councils Association of South Africa, the United Municipalities of South Africa and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance met at Nasrec near Johannesburg on Saturday to draft and discuss a constitution for a forum of black leaders

SABC radio news reports that the gathering, which also included 206 black mayors, decided to name the body the National Forum

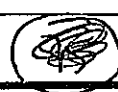
INVOLVEMENT

The group aims to involve black people in the constitutional process of South Africa.

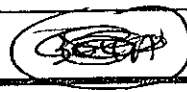
The meeting follows the announcement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis that a new comprehensive constitutional plan for South Africa was to be introduced

Mr Heunis said the plan was aimed at a distinctive democracy founded mainly on federal principles — Sapa.

Star 8/5/89



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Former SA poet's new book describes his 'betrayal'

Breytenbach faces poverty

By James Tomlins

PARIS — Afrikaans author and anti-apartheid militant Breyten Breytenbach is facing financial difficulties and has left his beloved France

He said during a lengthy television interview yesterday "I have been living temporarily for the past three months in Berlin on a three-month scholarship grant

"The fact is that it is not easy to earn a living as a writer and artist, so I have financial problems"

His third book in French appeared over the weekend It is called "Memoires de la Poussiere et la Neige" ("Memories of Dust and Snow")

His new book describes for the first time his "betrayal" which led to his arrest in South Africa and subsequent seven-and-a-half-years in prison

Although his first two books were well reviewed and catapulted him into the highest

ranks of French intellectuals, they were far from being money spinners

Breytenbach was appearing in a 90-minute state network programme on South Africa in which he appeared as the "main witness".

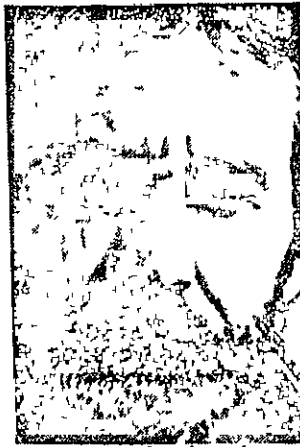
Surprisingly, despite his close ties with French leaders, he openly criticised the French government on two counts

Breytenbach prefaced his criticisms by noting his disappointment at the lack of interest in France over the fight against apartheid He said that the Nordic countries were much more sympathetic

Recalling the assassination of ANC representative Dulcie September here in March 1988 he said "I am profoundly troubled over the failure of the French authorities to make an arrest"

MISSILES

Turning to the recent Blowpipe missile affair, he commented: "This is not the first time that South Africa has used Paris as a base for its



Anti-apartheid militant Breyten Breytenbach: "It is not easy to earn a living as a writer and artist."

arms deals France could have stopped this a long time ago"

It is the first time that Breytenbach has publicly attacked the country which gave him political asylum and citizenship He was aware of this for he noted: "I speak as a Frenchman"

Breytenbach has been for several years a close confidant of France's First Lady, Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, and worked with her France-Liberte

Foundation

He also had close ties with Cultural Affairs Minister Mr Jack Lang and the Speaker of the National Assembly and former Prime Minister, Mr Laurent Fabius

DISSIDENTS

Breytenbach was last heard of politically in December when he attended a star-studded banquet at the Elysee Palace held in honour of Soviet dissident Andre Sakharov and Polish Solidarity leader Mr Lech Walesa

Since then, he appears to have been absent from anti-apartheid movement activities in France

Friends of Breytenbach were unable to explain why no scholarship was available in France, where he came to live in the sixties

But whatever the explanation, Breytenbach is still regarded as a major anti-apartheid force in Western Europe

"He has never tried to

use his top level government contacts to publicise, enrich or aggrandise himself in any way and has always remained a man of integrity and independence," a friend said

Breytenbach spoke several times about his Afrikaner culture and identity and hinted that his people, "the volk", were not altogether responsible for apartheid

"It is a logical conclusion of colonialism," he said

Breytenbach, in the interview, accused Pretoria of being responsible for forcing Pope John-Paul II's aircraft to land at Johannesburg last year The pilot and South African authorities said at the time that the plane had technical problems

Breytenbach said the Pope should have taken the opportunity of attacking apartheid while on South African soil but "he did not do so and this was a blunder"

81 Day 815784



About 10 000 people marched through Johannesburg on Saturday in the funeral procession of David Webster. Picture REUTER

10 000 join the Webster cortège

ADELE BALETA

MOURNERS' outrage and grief at the assassination of Wits University academic and anti-apartheid campaigner David Webster was given strong expression at his funeral on Saturday, which proceeded peacefully.

About 10 000 people, some on foot and some in cars and buses, joined the funeral procession from St Mary's Anglican Cathedral to West Park Cemetery about 10km away.

Police along the route maintained a low profile. Police helicopters circled above the procession.

SAP spokesman Col Frans Malherbe denied a report that some mourners had been detained briefly and that posters were confiscated.

Winnie Mandela, wife of banned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, attended the service, bearing flowers.

At the cemetery former SACC secretary-general Beyers Naude stressed that although a white man was being buried the majority of the mourners at his funeral were black.

Malherbe said police were investigating all leads including one provided by City Press newspaper, which had given police the name of a suspect they believed was also responsible for the murder of Natal University lecturer Rick Turner in 1978.

Top journalists Sturges 1989 applaud Sisulu

119

By Michael Green

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts) — Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was recently released without charge after almost two years in detention, was given a standing ovation when he attended the 50th anniversary of the Nieman Fellows at Harvard University on Saturday.

The Nieman Fellowship for Journalists was established at Harvard University 50 years ago and at the weekend nearly 400 Nieman Fellows, including 14 South Africans, gathered with their wives for the celebrations.

Mr Sisulu, editor of *New Nation* and a Nieman Fellow, had earlier declined to accept a passport granted with certain

conditions.

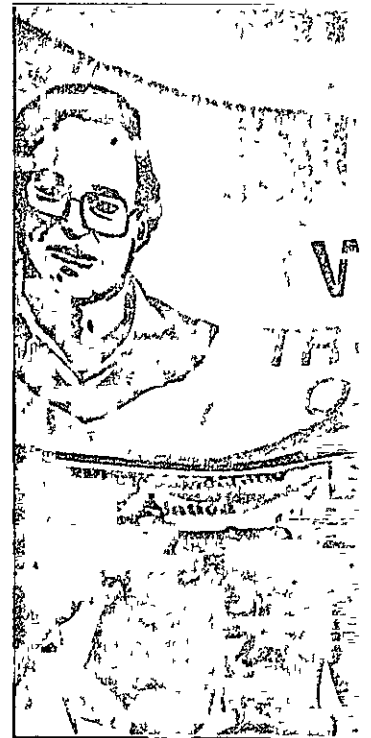
When the conditions were withdrawn, he decided to attend the reunion. He made a late entrance at the Fellows' dinner on Saturday night, and the company, among them many of the most distinguished names in American journalism, rose to applaud him.

Mr Sisulu was one of several speakers at the function.

He urged Americans to continue to oppose apartheid and acknowledged the help given to him by Nieman Fellows, who made representations to the Government for his release.

● Michael Green is editor of *The Daily News* in Durban and is also a Nieman Fellow.

Massive show of anti-apartheid



Ms Maggie Friedman (above) clutches the brilliant sprays of bougainvillea that she placed on Dr David Webster's coffin. On the right, the coffin is carried by a team of pall bearers. Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek and Sean Woods

Thousands fill streets at Webster's funeral

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Assassinated activist and academic Dr David Webster was buried in Johannesburg on Saturday with a massive demonstration of solidarity by anti-apartheid forces.

Thousands of mourners in orderly procession poured through Johannesburg's streets to West Park Cemetery, about 10 km from St Mary's Cathedral where the service took place.

Ms Maggie Friedman widely accorded the status of Dr Webster's widow, abandoned her vehicle to join the procession and so did Dr Webster's brother Gavin who had flown out from England. Hundreds of police lined the route but did not intervene.

There were many expressions of anger at the murder of Dr Webster, who was shot dead outside his Troyeville Johannesburg home on May 1.

Murder

SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said at St Mary's: "South Africa is an apartheid chamber of murder. All of us are exposed to that experience of murder, murder and murder."

He appealed to the international community to end this system — "this shame of our century." His plea was heard by diplomats of at least 15 countries including the US, Britain, Japan, France, Canada and West Germany.

Mr Chikane told how the qualities of men such as Dr Neil Aggett and Dr Webster held in check the dehumanisation of South Africans.

It was a point underscored by a resident of Kosi Bay, where Dr Webster did much of his anthropological fieldwork. The Kosi Bay representative, introduced only as Amos by Dr Webster's close friend, singer Johnny Clegg, said: "David was the first white man who showed and demonstrated such kindness. He wanted people to be happy."

I once asked him, "This fund of kindness and compassion you have — where did you get it?" I was confused because he had shown so much kindness to people in my area.

He first laughed and then answered: "Amos, my friend, what I do is part of my work and part of the organisation that I work with that is trying to make this country one nation. What I have in me you have in you as well. That is the organisation I now belong to."

Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa referred to Dr Webster as a "committed and loyal member of the United Democratic Front who helped to shape its policies and its programmes."

The services at both the church and the cemetery were interspersed with music by the Jazz Pioneers, Abigail Khubeka and Jennifer Ferguson.

Dr Webster's plain pine coffin was carried shoulder high from the gates of the cemetery to the burial place. As the grave was filled in, Dr Webster's former wife, Mrs Glenda Webster, passed beneath a banner bearing the dead man's likeness and the slogan "David Webster — a true son of the soil." She raised her fist in salute and the crowd broke into ululation.

FORBIDDEN SAVINGS MOTOR VEHICLE HOUSEHOLD INSURANCE

PHONE: JHB (011) 726-8951

Massive show of anti-apartheid solidarity



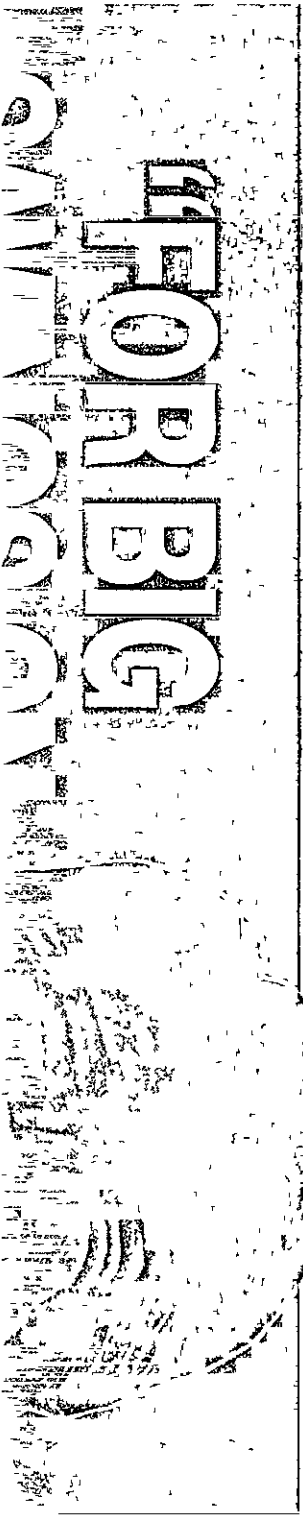
Marches the brilliant sprays of bougainvillea that
er's coffin. On the right, the coffin is carried by a
● Pictures by Ken Oosterbroek and Sean Woods



David Webster, president of the
South African Students' Organisation,
speaks at the funeral of Dr. Webster.

Thousands fill streets for Dr. Webster's funeral

It was a point underscored by a res-
ident of Kosi Bay, where Dr. Webster
did much of his anthropological field-
work. The Kosi Bay representative in



FORBIDDEN

LP: Don't ignore ^{ONE TIME} reality ^{9/5/89} of ANC ¹¹⁴

THE ANC was a reality and the sooner this was realised and accepted the better, because the organisation was not simply going to disappear, the deputy leader of the Labour Party (LP), Mr Miley Richards, said yesterday

Speaking during the joint debate on the Constitutional Development and Planning budget, Mr Richards said people should stop wishing that the ANC would evaporate, because it wouldn't.

Mr Richards said the LP condemned violence, from wherever it came — whether from the ANC or from the institutions of apartheid.

Apartheid, he said, was "violent", and people had suffered as a result. This was borne out by the people who had been removed against their will in terms of the Group Areas Act

Mr Richards said the group concept which existed because of legislation, remained the stumbling block to the future

The key to change lay at local government level.

ANC guerilla kills himself, girlfriend

CPC 7/1/89
9/5/89
11A

LUSAKA — An ANC member shot dead his Zambian girlfriend with an AK47 assault rifle and then killed himself, apparently after a quarrel, an ANC spokesman said yesterday

The ANC was investigating Sunday's incident, the second fatal shooting in a month involving members of the ANC, according to the spokesman

He did not give the names of the couple, found dead with bullet wounds in Mtendere, a Lusaka suburb. Neighbours reported hearing the two having a domestic dispute before three shots were fired

The ANC has its external headquarters in Lusaka and guerillas in transit through Zambia are permitted to keep their firearms

The Soviet-designed AK47 assault rifle is the weapon generally used by ANC guerillas

Police confirmed the incident

Last month, an ANC official shot dead two fellow members at an ANC farm outside Lusaka

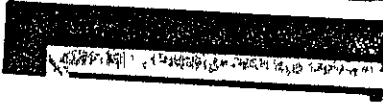
Money and possessions were stolen and the suspected killer was detained by ANC security officers

— Sapa-Reuter-AP

ANC man ^(11A)
kills friend,
^{5/1/87}
then himself

LUSAKA — An African National Congress guerilla shot dead his Zambian girlfriend with an AK47 rifle and then shot himself, police said yesterday.

Lusaka's police chief said neighbours in the capital's Mtendere suburb reported hearing the shooting on Sunday. He did not name the two people. — Sapa-AP.



Star 9/1/89

(11A) ~~SECRET~~

'Vital that ANC is brought to the negotiating table'

No amount of wishing would make the ANC disappear and there was no doubt solutions to South Africa's problems would not be found without including them in negotiations, said Mr Miley Richards, Deputy Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development and Planning budget vote, he said the ANC was a reality "The sooner this is realised, the sooner we will resolve our problems. It is important the ANC is brought to the negotiating table. Everybody must have a place in the process of negotiation," he said

The first step ought to be the release of Nelson Mandela

Mr Richards also called on the Government to appoint a commission to inquire into the "most suitable form of federation for South Africa"

He believed a federal system was likely to be the most viable, adding "I am sure it is not impossible to find a

federal structure to suit the requirements of South Africa"

In a sharp attack on the management committee system, Mr Richards asked "If we can all sit together in Parliament, why can this not happen at local government level?"

He described the system of local government for blacks, coloureds and Indians as "an absolute farce and failure" which was "more than duplication. It's a waste of effort"

The group concept was a reality only because it had been imposed. The natural pride of each group was sufficient protection, while legislative protection was unnecessarily divisive

He warned that until local government worked satisfactorily and was acceptable, reform would not be effective at higher levels of government

Effective reform was the easiest and cheapest form of security "That which is worthwhile protecting will be protected by all South Africans." — Parliamentary Staff

Repealing rights for educators

People should accept ANC as reality

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was a reality and the sooner people realised this the better, because it was not going to disappear, LP deputy leader Miley Richards said yesterday

Speaking during the joint debate on the Constitutional Development and Planning budget, Richards said the LP condemned violence, from wherever it came — the ANC or the institutions of apartheid

Apartheid was violent, he said, and that people had suffered as a result of it was borne out by those who had been forcibly removed in terms of the Group Areas Act

Richards said the group concept which existed because of legislation remained a stumbling block

He said that, as a Malay, his forbears had come to SA as slaves "We were not protected as a Malay group because we didn't need it"

The sooner people stopped worrying about protecting groups and got on with developing a common South Africanism the better it would be

He said the key to change lay at local government level. It was pointless talking about reform at central government level unless there were changes in local government structures, which were currently administered according to race, he said

HELP ZEPH CALL

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somehow
9/5/89

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Prisons service asked for medical records

A BRITISH hospital treating the president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, has requested his medical records — needed in order to continue "adequate treatment" — from South African prison authorities.



ZEPH MOTHOPENG

There is also concern that if the authorities delay submitting the records it could have serious repercussions on Mothopeng's health.

According to the Mothopeng Action Committee, established to take care of the ailing PAC leader following his release from prison in November last year, Charing Cross Hospital need his medical records and X-rays of the past two years

Mothopeng left South Africa for Britain for treatment of a malignant tumour in his chest early in April. He was granted a residence visa for three months by the British authorities for the treatment

An MAC spokesman said the hospital had informed his organisation of the request in a letter

"The hospital finds it difficult to continue with adequate medical treatment without Mothopeng's medical records."

His medical history would help doctors determine the tumor's degree of growth, he said.

While they await the medical records, doctors are treating Mothopeng for the side effects of his illness.

Guerilla, girl shot

LUSAKA — An African National Congress guerilla shot dead his Zambian girlfriend with an AK47 assault rifle and then turned the gun on himself, police said yesterday. Lusaka police chief Zunga Siakalima said neighbours in the capital's Mtendere suburb reported hearing the shooting on Sunday, evidently after a domestic dispute

He did not name the ANC fighter or the 18-year-old Zambian but said their bodies were found in a house occupied by the ANC

Last month, one ANC fighter was arrested on murder charges after two guerillas were killed in an attempted robbery at an ANC farm outside Lusaka

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Buthelezi hails concept of common representation

AGUS 9/5/89

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The possibility of a single legislative body representing all South Africans has been hailed as a step in the right direction by the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In an address to Parliament last week, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, sketched the outline of a policy which implied, among other things, a single legislative body representing all South Africans.

Dr Buthelezi arrived yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport from Portugal where he had addressed delegates to the third annual meeting of the International Academy for Development in Freedom.

He said the idea of a democratic government in which the responsibility of government was divided and shared by all was a major shift in policy, following the State President's announcement in 1983 that no such development would take place.

Must be encouraged

"I think this is more than an election talk. Whenever those in power do something right they must be encouraged," he said. "I don't mind whether the single legislative institution is based on federal or unitary principles."

● Speaking in Pretoria yesterday, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, criticised the newly formed National Forum, saying the most important political leaders had been left out.

Addressing about 200 students at the University of Pretoria, Mr Malan said the irony of the founding of the forum for blacks was that the most important political leaders were not encouraged to become involved.

"Never mind the extra-parliamentary leaders who cannot be involved since no provision has been made for them in discussions."

He said that the new forum gave the impression that the government had given up involving homeland leaders and national state leaders in further political processes.

The National Forum was established with an eye on the election and will apparently go ahead with the support of a minimum number of blacks, said Mr Malan.



Chief Buthelezi

City squatters
take stand in
chieftancy battle

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN squatters voted unanimously at the weekend to support Mr Buyelekhya Dalindyebo in his battle for the powerful paramount chieftancy of the Tembu people in Transkei.

A 56-strong delegation will travel to Dmtata today to express solidarity with Mr Dalindyebo at a court case there tomorrow.

More than 500 people attended the meeting to discuss the issue in KTC on Sunday and unanimously declared support for Mr Dalindyebo, according to Mr Gladstone Ntamo, secretary of Western Cape branch of the Sabata Dalindyebo Trust Fund Committee.

"We want him to come

back and lead his people," said Mr Ntamo.

Mr Dalindyebo fled the country in 1979 and is studying in Zambia.

He is the son of former Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who was deposed, fled into exile and linked up with the ANC after a long conflict with former president Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima

The other man in the battle for the chieftancy is Mr Zondwa Mtirara, son of Chief Dalindyebo's successor, Chief Bambilanga Mtirara, who died last year. He is backed by Chief Matanzima.

Chief Matanzima, Chief Dalindyebo and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela all belong to the Dlomos, the Tembu royal family.

Heunis charges DP, Idasa with backing ANC

Cart-Tints 9/5/89

NA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BOTH the Democratic Party and Idasa backed the ANC's constitutional proposals, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, charged yesterday

Replying to the debate on his budget, Mr Heunis said Idasa portrayed the government in its communications as an anti-social and inhuman suppressor of South Africans, while the ANC was characterised as a misunderstood and positive liberator

Mr Heunis said that as far as he was aware the only constitutional model Idasa was marketing in South Africa was the one proposed by the ANC

It therefore appeared that Idasa had already accepted the ANC's constitutional proposals as the so-called democratic alternative for South Africa's future, he said

Mr Heunis said the DP members' participation in Idasa forums and "Idasa safaris" showed that the DP also supported the ANC's proposals for a constitution

He said it appeared that DP co-

leader Mr Wynand Malan was claiming credit for the decrease in certain types of bomb attacks

Citing a report which appeared in the Burger on May 3, Mr Heunis said Mr Malan had stated that since talks had been held with the ANC, bombs in supermarkets and parking lots had ceased

The minister also said the government was committed to a process of negotiation and evolutionary change, but it would not reach this objective via Moscow, Sapa reports

He said those who were outside South Africa should abandon violence and come and take part in the process of reconciliation and change in their own country

"The instruments and the opportunities are there. If we are serious about democracy, human rights and negotiation, we must use them"

Mr Heunis said government policy made provision for groups which formed voluntarily and would be protected by the state. They need not be formed only on the basis of race

"Racism as a basis for a future constitutional dispensation is not acceptable to the government or to the National Party"

National Forum

slammed

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

THE newly-created National Forum has no right to call itself this.

It is a sham and does not represent the oppressed and exploited masses of South Africa, says Mr Lusiba Ntloko, spokesman for "the real National Forum."

"The new body is a pot-pourri of organisations known for collaborating with and who work as agents for the state," says Mr Ntloko.

"This new body had clearly been started to sow confusion and to water down the liberatory efforts of the people and is contrary to the manifesto of the Azanian people," he said.

Problems

The original National Forum was started on March 13, 1983, "to address the grievances and problems of the people under oppression," says Mr Ntloko.

Mr Ntloko's statement came as a result of a meeting at the weekend where it was reported that more than 500 community leaders and representatives of various organisations met to discuss and draft a constitution for a forum of black leaders.

● Addressing about 200 students at the University of Pretoria yesterday, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan voiced strong opposition to the newly-created forum saying it excluded the most important political leaders.

Irony

Mr Malan said the irony of the founding of the forum for blacks was that "the most important political leaders were not even encouraged to become involved."

He further said that the new forum gave the impression that the government had given up involving specifically homeland leaders and national state leaders in further political processes.

The National Forum was established with an eye on the forthcoming elections and will probably go ahead with the support of a minimum of blacks," he said.

'Umsa not involved'

Sowetan 9/5/89

TWO of the organisations reported to have taken part in the formation of the "National Forum" at the Nasrec Showgrounds at the weekend have denied doing so.

They rejected the forum as "collaborationist."

The president of the

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, yesterday said his organisation did not take part in the formation of the forum.

The meeting was chaired by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, MEC, Mr John Mavuso, on behalf of the Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Mr Boya said: "I concede that some Umsa members attended the meeting which discussed the formation of the national forum but they did so in their personal capacities. We are a

democratic organisation and could therefore not stop any of our members attending the meeting".

The president of Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), Mr John Gogotya, said his organisation was not invited and no one represented it at the meeting.

"Fida rejects the new forum and calls for a genuine platform where all the various political organisations will be represented. We reject the forum as 'collaborationist' because it does not address the national grievances of the people," said Mr Gogotya.

Richards urges talks with ANC

11A
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9/15/69

A SOLUTION for South Africa would not be found without consultation with the ANC, the Deputy Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Miley Richards, said yesterday.

He said in debate on the constitutional development and planning vote that the sooner it was realised that the

ANC had a constituency in South Africa, the sooner the problems of this country would be addressed.

One should be aware not only of the violence used by the ANC but also of the violence of those who governed the country.

Apartheid was violence because it violently attacked people.

Mr Richards also said that local government in South Africa was an absolute farce and duplication of local government authorities for the different races was a waste of effort.

11/11/89
**Passtoors
'freed on
probation'**

HELENE Passtoors was to be released on probation and handed over to the Belgian authorities, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Passtoors had signed an undertaking not to take part, encourage or execute any violent acts, nor to encourage such acts, and also not to enter the Republic of South Africa or any of its neighbouring states at any stage whatsoever, the Minister said in a statement released here.

Reinstate

The Belgian Government has agreed to permit the posts of the three South African diplomats expelled from that country, to be reinstated.

Passtoors was convicted for her involvement with her ex-husband, Klaas de Jonge, in establishing caches of explosives and weapons within South Africa.—
Sapa.

WOTROPENG

Guerilla, girl shot

LUSAKA — An African National Congress guerilla shot dead his Zambian girlfriend with an AK47 assault rifle and then turned the gun on himself, police said yesterday. (A) (A) Lusaka police chief Zunga Siakalima said neighbours in the capital's Mtendere suburb reported hearing the shooting on Sunday, evidently after a domestic dispute. He did not name the ANC fighter or the 18-year-old Zambian but said their bodies were found in a house occupied by the ANC. Last month, one ANC fighter was arrested on murder charges after two guerillas were killed in an attempted robbery at an ANC farm outside Lusaka.

2 Cape Times, Tuesday, May 9, 1989

UK hospital requests Mothopeng's medical records

JOHANNESBURG — A British hospital treating the president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, has requested his medical records — needed to continue "adequate treatment" — from South African prison authorities.

There is concern that if the authorities delay submitting the records it

could have serious repercussions on Mr Mothopeng's health.

A South African Prison Services spokesman yesterday said he would comment later on the Charing Cross Hospital request.

According to the Mothopeng Action Committee (Mac), established to take care of the ailing PAC leader after his

release from prison last November, Charing Cross Hospital needs his medical records and X-rays of the past two years.

Mr Mothopeng left South Africa for Britain for treatment of a malignant tumor in his chest in early April. He was granted a residence visa for three months by the British authorities for

the treatment.

A Mac spokesman said the hospital had informed his organisation of the request in a letter.

Mr Mothopeng's medical history would help doctors determine the tumor's degree of growth, he said —

Sapa



Passtoors to be sent to Brussels

JAILED African National Congress courier Helene Passtoors is to be deported to Brussels this week.

Passtoors, a Dutch-Belgian national, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for carrying arms for the ANC.

Government sources yesterday claimed that Passtoors signed a document agreeing to restrict her movements in Southern Africa and to renounce violence.

Diplomatic sources said a proposal for Passtoors' release was first discussed after she

was convicted of treason.

The Belgian Government continued its pressure for her release by expelling three South African diplomats — Miss A van Rensburg, Mr A S Redelinghuys and Mr A J van der Merwe.

It is believed that three South African diplomats will return to Brussels following her deportation tomorrow.

Passtoors is the former wife of Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge, who was released in a spy swap in September 1987 — Sapa

CLAMP DOWN ON ANC MEN

SOWETAN Wednesday May 10 1989

LUSAKA — Zambia vowed yesterday to clamp down on members of the African National Congress guerilla group who break its laws by carrying or using firearms.

"We cannot allow someone playing around with guns, even if he is a freedom fighter," secretary of state for defence and security Alex Shapi said.

He was commenting on an incident on Sunday in Lusaka

when an ANC militant shot dead his girlfriend after a quarrel and then killed himself.

It was the second fatal shooting in a month involving members of the ANC

The ANC has its headquarters in Lusaka and several thousand ANC exiles live in Zambia

Shapi said some ANC members were authorised to carry arms in Zambia to protect the group's premises and leaders because of

the threat of attack by South African agents and infiltrators

But this authorisation to carry firearms was limited "We don't allow any violations", Shapi added

Last month, an ANC official shot dead two fellow members of the organisation at a farm outside Lusaka in an apparent robbery attempt. The suspected killer was detained by ANC security officers and handed over to the Zambian authorities — Sapa-Reuter

'MEDUNSA STUDENTS NOT HAPPY'

THE Medical University of South Africa senate has not met the demand of the students who are presently on a lecture boycott, according to a student spokesman

According to Professor L T Taljaard, the university principal, the



Sowetan 10/5/89
By ALINAH DUBE

senate resolved at its special meeting on Monday that:

- The staff should continue to provide all possible assistance to students within the scheduled programme, provided that such assistance will exclude compulsory additional lecturers,
- Tests not written either be ignored or rescheduled if possible, rather than no marks be given,
- Each faculty should make its own arrangements regarding tests missed as well as the determination of year marks, provided that all

scheduled tests should be written once academic activities are resumed.

A spokesman for the Students Representative Council told *Sowetan* that the entire student body was unhappy about the university's stand. He said the students rejected

the senate's resolution. "We are prepared to go back to lectures but the administration is prolonging the boycott. We note that the response of the senate was just a reaffirmation of a resolution it took during the 1987 boycott of lectures."

Death of ANC man

A FORMER member of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Elliot Shabangu (62), died at Baragwanath Hospital this week.

Mr Shabangu of Dube Village, served three years at the Pretoria Central prison for furthering the aims of a banned organisation. He was also house arrested for 10 years. *Sowetan 10/5/89*

The funeral service starts at the Lutheran Church, Dube, at 9am. The cortege leaves for Avalon Cemetery at 12 noon.

Shabangu is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, three daughters, Ouma, Pinkie, Nono and the only son, Ali

announce it would move strikers to Bloemfontein. — Sapa

Zambian clampdown on ANC

LUSAKA. *AP 7-13 10/8/89* Zambia vowed yesterday to clamp down on members of the African National Congress who break its laws by carrying or using firearms.

"We cannot allow someone to play around with guns, even if he is a freedom fighter," Secretary of State for Defence and Security Mr Alex Shapi said.

He was commenting on an incident here on Sunday when an ANC militant shot dead his girlfriend after a quarrel and then killed himself.

It was the second fatal shooting in a month involving members of the ANC.

Mr Shapi said some ANC members were authorised to carry arms. But this is limited to protect the group's premises and leaders. — Sapa-Reuter

Dr. Rev. Billinasley

ON
**Swapo's
Sam
Nujoma**

LONDON — In a book to be published next month, Sam Nujoma is accused of complicity with South African forces in the killing of a former Swapo chief-of staff.

The book is written by Andreas Shipanga, co-founder of Swapo and a former senior member of its executive committee.

Shipanga also alleges that thousands of dissidents have "disappeared" in Swapo camps in Angola and Zambia, many have been summarily executed, and women and girls have been raped by Swapo leaders — Sapa.

**PAC popularity
peaking**

THE popularity, programmes and campaigns launched by the Pan Africanist Congress are on the rise in South Africa, the special United Nations' Committee against apartheid in New York was told at the weekend.

During the organisation's 30th anniversary celebrations, PAC said Africanism and the political outlook of the movement had become superior in South Africa.

PAC was founded in South Africa on April 6, 1959, but was banned shortly before its first anniversary

PAC said that because of this, many organisa-

By **JOSHUA
RABOROKO**

tions are adopting the organisation as a vehicle to liberate the masses.

It noted that even political observers, analysts and views of many people in South Africa agree that PAC is "capturing" the centre stage in the African people's opposition to apartheid."

Struggle

PAC also outlined the involvement and leadership of the organisation throughout the 30 years of its existence, and "in all events which stood out as landmarks in the

African people's struggle in South Africa."

It also pointed out the unconditional release last year from jail of the president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, as another factor that continued to consolidate and stimulate the organisation's happy development.

PAC also paid tribute to Mr Mothopeng's role in opposition to the system of education in South Africa. "He is an embodiment of service, suffering and sacrifice for a noble end," it said

PAC will mark its 30 years of "principled struggle" with other major rallies in Dar es Salaam, Zimbabwe and London

Inkatha instead...
Generalists such as Argon...
ANC stalwart Shabangu dies

11A

ANC 10/5/89

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — An African National Congress stalwart and former member of the South African Communist Party, Mr Elliot Goldberg Shabangu, 62, died at the weekend after a long illness

Mr Shabangu, of Dube, Soweto, was one of the first presidents of the United Democratic Front when it was formed six years ago

He was put under house arrest for 10 years and spent three years in the Central Prison in Pretoria for his activities in the early 1960s

He was also an executive member of the Garment Workers Union and an elder of the Lutheran Church

He was described by his Johannesburg employer as a loyal and dedicated employee

"To me he was my assistant, a brother and a respected citizen," said his employer.

"His death has left us baffled and it will take time to forget such a remarkable person"

A neighbour and colleague of Mr Shabangu described his death as a tragedy for his family

Hypocrites running black

DURING the past few years I've seen a disturbing emergence of cadres bent on criticising the status quo while seeking glory for themselves

They have no visible constituencies and they spend their lives jumping from one political meeting to another where they manufacture flowery political jargon which they use in condemning the system or "irrelevant" people

They have doubtful political credentials and one wonders where they get powers to ordain people as relevant or irrelevant and what criteria they use

Some are liars and hypocrites whose involvement in the struggle is motivated more by prospects of lining their political pockets than by concern for the interests of the masses

They say only those things they believe their audiences would like to hear, or which will enhance their images

Futile

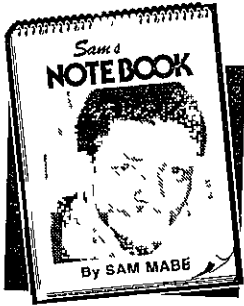
We have been in the struggle for far too long. That we have not made much headway is because we have become conservative in our approach to the struggle.

We believe that traditional methods of struggle are the only methods that should be used, despite the futility of some of them

We still cling to the belief that high-sounding rhetoric or well-articulated theories that are unaccompanied by action can free South Africa. We lie to ourselves and we don't want our lies to be corrected

While colonialism and apartheid are the cause of the oppressive system under which we live, we nourish that system through lack of sincerity in what we do

There are individuals and groupings who have the arrogance of assuming



that they have all the solutions to the country's problems and that anybody who disagrees with them is an enemy of the struggle

They spend time and energy condemning people for their political beliefs and antagonising potential allies in the struggle, instead of producing solutions

They won't do more than just point fingers. They wait for something to happen in Pretoria and they unleash stinging condemnations

They also watch out for those who oppose apartheid without conforming to conventional methods of the struggle or who do not wave party political flags. And they write them off as irrelevant

A point they miss is that people who they think are relevant are regarded as irrelevant in other quarters

Unity

Some adherents of the opposing ideologies do more in tearing each other to pieces than in fighting the system.

So, some people will oppose you not so much because they disagree with you, but because they perceive you to be representing the wrong ideological camp. That is why they clobber you if they disagree with you, but if they agree with you, they won't join you to solidify your initiatives in order to make progress

Some don't want to be involved because they hate to leave the comfort of armchair criticism where they don't have to make decisions which can open them to repudia-

tion. Unfortunately, they are the ones with the loudest voices and who attract more attention than a number of other people who are more on the doing than on the talking side

Some are gifted speakers who can move mountains with their oratory in condemning non-conformists or those they perceive as their political rivals. They are so good that they can talk you into retiring from the struggle if you are of a weak character

I subscribe to the theory that opposition and proposition go hand in hand. If you oppose anything, follow up by proposing an alternative

Counter

My analogy is that of a speaker moving a motion in a meeting. If you disagree with his motion, you don't only spend half your lifetime reciting your reasons for disagreeing with it; you move a counter-motion. If you don't, the motion on the floor will and must be carried

Direction

It seems some people don't understand what the role of leadership in the struggle is. If we believe that some people lack direction or are irrelevant, the duty of good leadership is to guide them and show them the way — not to denounce them. What is the point of preaching to the converted only and writing off people who need to be converted or enlightened?

Functions of doctors are to heal the sick, not to consign them to the morgue and to concentrate their efforts on healthy people. I thought it took commonsense for one to understand that political power will be more effective only if underpinned by a variety of other power

structures. This is the message we preach to 1,2 million people who read *Sowetan* every day

Nation Building is not an organisation. It can therefore not be equated with any political movement or

organisation. Once you do that, you will have all sorts of distortions in trying to measure its successes. We merely share ideas that can help in organising the community and in solidifying structures of re-

politics?

stance and of self-development

What we preach is only part of the solution. We are not re-inventing the wheel as some people have sought to suggest we are spinning it — setting it in motion

There is no programme in this country which on its own can be capable of solving all our problems. Hence, no programme should be viewed in isolation from all other initiatives

Cosatu: Peace talks 'urgent'

10/4/89
119
MARITZBURG. The need for a successful peace initiative in Natal is more urgent than ever, Cosatu said yesterday.

"We are still of the view that there is common ground for a peace initiative. In order to expedite this we have proposed a meeting with Inkatha to discuss how an initiative including various parties can be started," Cosatu said.

"We have no objection in principle to the ANC or church leaders being involved."

Cosatu said it had instructed its attorneys to suspend the processing of complainants and witnesses, after a complainant was shot dead days after reporting to the Complaints Adjudication Board. — Sapa

National Forum ^{10/15/89} urges Mandela's release

THE national executive of the newly-established National Forum (NF) yesterday requested a meeting with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to discuss the possible release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other security prisoners.

An NF delegation also asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Hennis, at a meeting in the city yesterday to arrange meetings with other ministers "for detailed discussions on matters of national importance."

A statement by Mr Hennis after the meeting indicated that he is satisfied that the National Forum has got a power base in urban black communities.

Executive members of the NF at yesterday's meeting were: Messrs P D M Nhlapo (chairman), B Z Ndlati, S M P Msibi, M Sili (vice-chairman), D M Modiba (secretary), J S A Mavuso (Transvaal MEC), F W Nyati (Cape MEC, ex officio) and E K Motchang (publicity secretary).

The delegation requested a follow-up meeting with the executive on May 15 in Johannesburg. The leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has accepted an invitation to be present

NP 'elevating' ANC - Swart

Parliamentary Staff 11A

The National Party, by refusing to negotiate with the the African National Congress, was elevating the position of the organisation in the eyes of the masses, Mr Ray Swart (DP, Berea) said in the constitutional debate yesterday.

He told Parliament that NP tactics in dealing with the ANC were increasing the perception that it was an organisation "which is feared by the white minority".

Mr Swart said Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis and South Africa faced two choices - negotiation or conflict. *Star 10/5/59*

Estimates of ANC support were given as between 20 percent and more than 50 percent.

This could not be accurately determined, but its support would increase if the ANC were dragged into political debate for cheap political gain in white politics.

If the ANC were allowed to be perceived as the only instrument for the liberation of the masses from the oppression of white minority rule, its significance and power would be considerable, Mr Swart said.

"The DP's view is simply that it must be recognised as a factor in any negotiation"

Tribute to Webster

Dr DAVID Webster's "courageous and internationally respected work on human rights violations" formed part of a living tribute to his memory, Wits vice-chancellor Professor Robert Charlton said at a memorial service on campus yesterday.

^{South African} (11A) Paying tribute to the social anthropology lecturer Charlton said Webster had seen his academic career in a broader context — as a means of exposing injustices in our body politic

He said it was especially his work and

concern for the plight of detainees that would continue as a living tribute to his memory

"As the academic year continues, we will realise fully the extent of our loss — and will cherish the memory of David Webster and his work at Wits," said Charlton

House gives Heunis thumbs down on vote

CML links *US/89* *119* *3/2/89*

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**
Political Correspondent

THE House of Representatives made history yesterday by rejecting Mr Chris Heunis' constitutional development and planning vote of the budget on the grounds that he was entrenching apartheid

This marked the first time since the introduction of the tricameral parliament in 1984 that a House has rejected a minister's budget vote

President P W Botha now has the option of dissolving the House and sending MPs to the polls — despite the fact that an election for all three Houses is scheduled for September

However, observers rated the chances of Mr Botha sending coloured MPs to the polls twice in the next few months as slight

An extra election might necessitate the postponement of the tricameral election — something which the NP caucus would not tolerate

But it appears Mr Botha will be compelled to refer two versions of the budget to the Nationalist-dominated President's Council for a decision

The one version would be the original bill likely to be passed in its entirety by the white House of Assembly and the Indian House of Delegates, while the second version would exclude Mr Heunis' budget vote

The PC would be compelled to pass the original version — otherwise Mr Heunis' department

would be without the roughly R9 billion its needs to carry out its operations

Motivating his party's decision to reject the vote, Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said his party's intention in joining the tricameral parliament had not been to perpetuate "separateness and apartheid"

He said his party — which holds the overwhelming majority of seats in the House of Representatives — was opposing the vote because there had "not really been any constitutional development"

The vote in the House of Representatives was 49 against and five for, while in the House of Assembly 101 voted for and 28 against. In the House of Delegates the tally was 20 for and seven against

Mr Hill, a well-known businessman

Anyone with information on Mr Hill's whereabouts should contact the Commercial Branch at (011) 838 8363.

ANC move to end Natal unrest

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday threw its weight behind moves to end political violence in Natal's townships. It also offered to play a direct role in the process.

The ANC statement came barely 24 hours after the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) declared its readiness — and that of United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates — to meet all organisations whose follow-

ers are involved in the fighting. Attempts to stop the violence, which has claimed more than 1 000 lives in the Maritzburg area, appeared to flounder two weeks ago when Inkatha, whose members are involved in the conflict, rejected a call by Cosatu and church leaders for a peace conference.

Inkatha insisted instead on a meeting between its president and those of the ANC and Cosatu.

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A 'dress rehearsal' for Delmas

A CASE argued in the Appellate Division this week could prove a "dress rehearsal" for the Delmas treason trial appeal.

Both appeals require the AD to consider the circumstances under which an assessor may be discharged or dismissed by a judge, an issue which has not been canvassed before under the present Criminal Procedure Act.

In the Delmas trial, Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst dismissed one of the two assessors, Professor Willem Joubert, on the grounds that he had signed the Million Signature Campaign of the United Democratic Front.

The discharge of Joubert, described by a defence advocate as "a great legal controversy", will be one of the grounds for challenging the outcome of the trial, in which 11 accused were

convicted and sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to 12 years

This week's appeal in Bloemfontein — which also raises the question of the discharge of an assessor — involved a challenge to the conviction and sentence of seven people convicted for the "necklace" killing of Nosi-pho Zamela, a young woman from Queenstown, murdered in 1985.

Zamela was killed because she was believed to be consorting with "Inkathas" — the local name for Zulu-speaking members of the South African Police sent from Natal to help deal with unrest in Queenstown!

Altogether 15 people were charged with her murder, seven of whom were eventually convicted. The controversial common purpose doctrine was applied by the court in finding the seven guilty — none of the accused was proved to have been directly linked to the death of Zamela.

Six were sentenced to death while the seventh, who was 17 at the time of her murder, was sentenced to 20 years.

When the appeal was heard in Bloemfontein this week, their advocate, Kessie Naidu, argued that the judge who tried the case committed an irregularity when he discharged an assessor during the trial.

The assessor, D van Rensburg, had asked to be discharged on the grounds that his daughter was seriously ill with cancer.

However, Naidu argued that the law gave the judge the power to discharge an assessor if he was unable to act.

In the case of Van Rensburg he was unwilling rather than unable to discharge his duties.

This point was argued before the AD on Tuesday but the appeal on conviction and sentence was adjourned to later this month.

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

State acts



Andile Jonas

against 'Mr X'

11A
Smith

11-17/89

By HENRY LUDSKI

AN ANC commander given star treatment by the state while preparing to testify in a major political trial in the Supreme Court, Cape

Town, has since been stripped of all privileges.

The relative comfort accorded to Abednego Bongani Jonas while being held under Section 31 of the Internal Security Act as a state witness ended

abruptly after he refused to testify in the case of Tony Yengeni and 14 others in the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

"After my brother took this decision, they stopped the hotel food, took away his radio and all the clothes they had bought him, and refused to allow him any further contact with his family," said Andile Jonas this week.

He said his family was concerned about his brother's welfare, as he had been in detention since September 1987.

Jonas, 30, could face a sentence of up to five years for refusing to give evidence.

When he stepped into the witness box for the first time on April 18 to give evidence against Tony Yengeni and 13 others facing charges of terrorism, Jonas wore a new blue suit.

Unlaced shoes

But when he next appeared in court after his dramatic announcement that he was no longer prepared to be a state witness, Jonas wore a T-shirt, shorts and unlaced shoes.

The state had collected the two new suits and other items of clothing they had bought him.

"I had to go out and buy him a suit, shoes and other clothes, to wear to court," said Andile Jonas, a teacher at ID Mkize High School, where his brother studied 10 years ago.

In a letter to Jonas' lawyer, a spokesperson for the Attorney-General's office explained that while being held under Section 31, "certain privileges", to which he was otherwise not entitled, had been granted to Bongani Jonas.

"When your client (Jonas) refused to answer any further questions in court the privileges were withdrawn," said the spokesperson.

Meanwhile, the trial continued this week with Captain William Liebenberg, head of the terrorist detection unit, denying that Yengeni had been tortured and assaulted by security policeman W/O Jeff Benzien.

Cross-examined by Mr D P de Villiers, for the defence, Liebenberg also denied that during the four hours of interrogation Benzien had tightened a wet rubber bag over Yengeni's head until he had lost consciousness.

Liebenberg also denied that a colleague had stepped on Jonas' injured leg.

Mandela visits fuel release rumours

SEVERAL visits in recent weeks by senior ANC members to Nelson Mandela at his Victor Verster prison "home" have renewed speculation about his and other releases

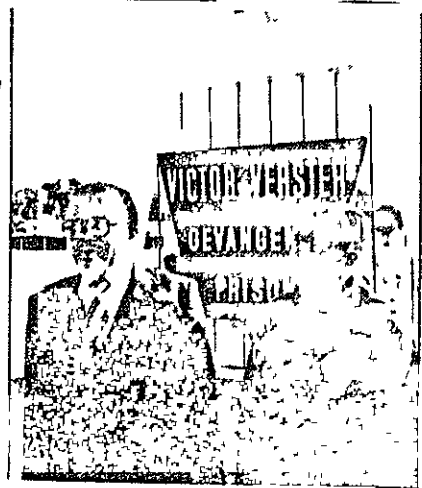
Veteran ANC leader Harry Gwala, released last year, spent five hours with Mandela last week. The visit was reportedly arranged at the request of Mandela

Jailed ANC leader Wilton Mkwayi also visited Mandela at Victor Verster last month, after being transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison to join the other Rivonia trialists being held there since 1982

Mkwayi's transfer is believed to be a prelude to his release

Former ANC general-secretary Walter Sisulu also visited Mandela about three weeks ago, according to reliable sources

Sisulu, who is being held in isolation at Pollsmoor, is expected to be among the first of the Rivonia trialists still jailed, to be released



Harry Gwala and a relative, Pain Mandi, outside Victor Verster Prison

South 11-1-87

Star 11/5/89

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Bid to beat new boycott drive in US

Poll finds most in SA reject sanctions

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An overwhelming majority of South Africans say sanctions and boycotts used to bring about an end to apartheid are unwanted, according to a new Gallup poll, described as the most comprehensive survey undertaken on the issue.

New campaign

The study, sponsored by the Chamber of Mines, shows a majority of blacks oppose moves towards disinvestment and sanctions, even if they can cause the South African Government to resign within five years and do not harm South Africans personally.

The release of the survey in the United States has been timed to pre-empt a major public rela-

tions boost for the pro-sanctions campaign next week, when a delegation of South African church leaders under Archbishop Desmond Tutu visit Washington to plead for more sanctions.

The full results of the survey, which has been called "Voice of the South African People", are to be released at a press conference next Tuesday, the day the Tutu delegation arrives in Washington.

Its findings were based on a survey of 2 000 South Africans, 1 400 of whom were black.

It was conducted by Markinor, the South African affiliate of the Gallup organisation.

The Chamber of Mines, which commissioned the survey, has described the poll as the most careful, comprehensive study of what South Africans want.

According to sources, about 85 percent of the respondents of the survey rejected sanctions.

Case Files 1/5/89
**Assaults, death:
Councillor accused**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Soweto City Council is conducting an investigation into the alleged assault of five youths, one of whom has died in hospital, following reports that their assailant was a Soweto councillor.

And Sofasonke Party president Mr Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala said he was "shocked and upset" by the incident and said his party was also investigating the matter.

Andrew Peace Montsho, 16, died on Monday at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital after allegedly being assaulted by the unidentified councillor at the weekend.

Two other youths are still in hospital, while the other two have been discharged.

The Sowetan newspaper says it knows the identity of the councillor, who is apparently a member of the Sofasonke Party. The man told the paper the youths were rapists and robbers and members of the "Ma-Kappa" gang. — Sapa

Mandela
11/4/89 *11/5*

letter
11/4/89

confirmed

LONDON—The British Foreign Office has confirmed that on March 6, Nelson Mandela wrote to the British Ambassador in South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, thanking him for his government's support in the fight against apartheid.

The message, which has been passed on to Mrs Thatcher in her capacity as head of government, was full of praise for development aid provided by the British — and for Mrs Thatcher's calls for the ANC leader's release.

Foreign office sources said the one-page letter pointed out that differences on sanctions still remained, but made it clear that Mrs Thatcher was providing vital moral support to those in the forefront of the war on apartheid.

1/A

CRISIS IN RED CROSS

Official's plea for harmony

IT is now up to South African Red Cross workers to outline their proposals for a more representative and racially integrated organisation, says the head of the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross for South Africa.

Mr Dominique Dufour said his meeting with 35 community organisers from Red Cross House in Johannesburg on Tuesday had clearly shown that the South African Red Cross (SARC) had hit a crisis

Last week assistant regional director for the Southern Transvaal branch, Mr Bongani Khumalo, was dismissed, raising allegations of

SOWETAN Reporter

racism.

"We cannot exaggerate the seriousness of the crisis. We want a fully multiracial society, but now we have a racial clash on our hands

"This is the worst thing we must try to make creative and imaginative progress out of this situation"

"As part of the process it was necessary for

people to voice their frustrations with attitudinal and structural problems within the organisation

"But now the second page must be written. People must outline constructive solutions to the situation," said Dufour

"The international committee has no power or authority over the SARC. We cannot give orders or directives. All I can do is suggest, give

advice and make recommendations"

He added dialogue must be established between the mainly white leadership of the SARC and black staff

Students back


MEDICAL University of South Africa students returned to lectures yesterday after the authorities undertook to reschedule tests and practicals missed during the boycott.

AWB boss is freed

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche was acquitted on charges of malicious damage to property and crimes

injury in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court yesterday

Magistrate Mr S W van Niekerk found part of the testimony heard in



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MANGOPE'S OFFER IS REJECTED

THE African National Congress has rejected Bophuthatswana's offer to host talks between itself and the South African Government.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope could

rule out recognition of the homeland's "puppet status internationally"

Bophuthatswana had last year made overtures to the exiled ANC and the South African government about a face to face meeting in Bophuthatswana for negotiations

But, up to now, a response to Mangope's invitation has not, it is believed, been forthcoming.

However, foreign minister Solomon Rathebe recently intimated in parliament that the invitation had not been revoked

But the ANC is adamant that it will not accord respectability to what it says is a "puppet" government

"It is a wild dream to think the ANC will expect Mangope to organise a summit," an ANC spokesman told the *Africa News Organisation (ANO)*

Eager

"As far as we are concerned, Bophuthatswana is a definite part of South Africa. Most people in the bantustan still see themselves as being citizens of South Africa," he said

Recent reports have suggested that Bophuthatswana, in its quest for international recognition, would be only too eager to play host to any meeting between the ANC and Pretoria

Postponement

THE case against the director of the Northern Transvaal Advice Office, Mr M Khangale Makhadu, was yesterday postponed to July 7 in the Pietersburg Regional Court.

ANC man's son
becomes chief

UMTATA. ^{11A} The Dalindyebo Regional Authority yesterday unanimously voted in favour of the son of a former ANC member taking up chieftainship of the Tembu clan in Transkei. Twenty-eight councillors voted in favour of Mr Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo's taking over paramountcy of the Tembus after his father, King Sabata Dalindyebo, died in exile in Lusaka four years ago.

The decision ended the nearly two-year battle over the question as to who was the rightful heir to the throne, a matter which saw numerous litigations shunting along the corridors of the Transkei Supreme Court. — Sapa

Officer taken off probe into deaths

By Therese Anderson
Highveld Bureau

MIDDELBURG — A senior detective is to replace the security policeman investigating the deaths of four suspected African National Congress members near Piet Retief after it was disclosed he was involved in the shootings.

Inquest magistrate Mrs H Wilkens has adjourned the inquest indefinitely to enable Lieutenant-Colonel John Ras, assistant divisional criminal investigating officer for the Eastern Transvaal, to familiarise himself with the case.

Colonel Ras replaces Warrant Officer Frederick Johannes Pienaar, after counsel for the families applied for an independent investigator to be appointed.

The four suspected ANC members killed after entering South Africa from Swaziland on June 8 last year are. Mr Surendra Naidu (30), Miss June-Rose Nontsikelelo Cotoza (25), Miss Makhosi Nyoka (25), and Miss Lindiwe Mthemba (21).



Budget for PC after rough ride in Repts

M665
11/5/89

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By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

IN an unprecedented move, this year's main budget will have to go to the President's Council to be passed.

This follows the House of Representatives' rejection of part of the budget yesterday.

The Labour Party rejected the constitutional development and planning vote as a protest against the government's "lack of constitutional development"

The constitution allows President Botha to dissolve a House of Parliament if it rejects the budget or part of it

But Mr Alex van Breda, chief whip of Parliament, said this was unlikely to happen as Parliament was due to be dissolved soon because of the September 6 general election

He said his reading of the rules of Parliament was that by rejecting one vote in the budget the House of Representatives had in effect passed an

amended version of the budget.

He believed the budget would go into its second reading in two different forms — the full Bill as passed by the House of Assembly and Delegates and the amended version, without the constitutional development and planning vote, as passed by the House of Representatives

The two versions would then go to the President and he would probably refer them to the President's Council to decide which should be passed

Appeals

As the President's Council is dominated by National Party members it will undoubtedly pass the full version of the budget

Mr van Breda said he did not think this procedure would necessarily delay the rising of Parliament, expected in a few weeks

There was other business to

occupy Parliament while the budget was passed

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse told Parliament his party rejected the bill because there had "not really been any constitutional development"

The government's policy still amounted to a perpetuation of apartheid and separate development and the Group Areas Act were still a reality

He said the government had done nothing about his party's constant appeals for the Group Areas and the Separate Amenities Act to be reviewed

"We have no other means of objecting, in the strongest terms, against apartheid than by rejecting this budget"

The Democratic Party and Conservative Party in the House of Assembly also opposed the constitutional development and planning vote

© More Parliamentary reports, page 7

The following month it received a favourable notice in the authoritative Lloyd's List certificates," he said

Buthelezi gets letter on peace moves

15/05/84 113
ULUNDI — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday acknowledged receiving a letter from the UDF and Congress of SA Trade Unions inviting his organisation to a meeting to end violence in Natal.

His Press office gave no indication of whether Inkatha planned to accept the UDF/Cosatu peace initiative.

The letter, dated May 9, and circulated in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Wednesday night, suggested an urgent meeting of the three organisations' heads.

It added they shared common ground and added: "The need for a successful peace initiative is now absolutely critical"

Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu supporters have clashed in Natal, mostly in the Maritzburg region, for almost two years with the loss of hundreds of lives

The UDF and Cosatu leaders suggest it would be necessary to discuss how the ANC and other organisations should be involved in the peace initiative. — Sapa.

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Buthelezi gets letter on peace moves

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The UDF and Cosatu leaders suggest it would be necessary to discuss how the ANC and other organisations should be involved in the peace initiative. — Sapa

UQID

Pretender held but never wore crown

FOUR months ago Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis was a man who would be king. Yesterday he announced he was quitting active politics. After suffering a string of setbacks, and having gone as far as he could, Heunis, aged 61, reached the end of his political road.

News of his retirement came just two years after things started going wrong.

Heunis, after a steady 44-year rise through NP ranks, saw his star wane dramatically in just 24 months.

In January he stood for leadership of the NP and finished third in a caucus vote which was, in effect, to determine the next State President.

He might have become Prime Minister had government been able to persuade the coloured Labour Party to allow it to recreate the post. Heunis, having carved out

PETER DELMAR

the NP's tricameral constitution, was a serious presidential candidate — until Denis Worral.

Heunis's former aide and ambassador picked on his Helderberg constituency to challenge directly the minister's greatest monument — the three-chamber system and lack of concrete reform.

Heunis scraped home by 39 votes but the damage had been done.

Last week he implicitly acknowledged the tricameral Parliament would have to go by accepting all groups should be in a single chamber.

Jan Christiaan Heunis was born at Umondale, in the Cape, in 1927 and obtained a BA and LLB at Stellenbosch University. He practised as a lawyer in George and became a town councillor.

In 1959 he became a Cape provincial councillor, later an MEC and in 1970 was elected to Parliament. Two years later, as MP for False Bay, Heunis became Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs.

(118) W. Mail 12/18/87

New political feuding between UDF and foe

INTER-ORGANISATIONAL conflict is on the increase again in Uitenhage's townships, with the Ama-Afrika group labelling local United Democratic Front affiliates as "criminals, hooligans and liars".

There has been a long-standing feud between the self-styled "Africanists" of Ama-Afrika, and "Charterists" in the region. Several people in both camps died in battles in kwaNobuhle township in 1987. It was alleged at the time that Ama-Afrika members were collaborating with police in attacks on houses of UDF supporters.

Conflict has erupted once more in recent weeks, and members of UDF-aligned community organisations allege they have been the victims of several attacks.

Africanist leader Timothy Jantje dismisses the claims, but says renewed tension is a result of Africanist gains in the area. Jantje, who served a 20-year sentence on Robben Island, says recently-released UDF leaders have been shocked to discover how much Uitenhage has changed its political allegiance.

"The area is now Africanist," he said. "Those recently released are upset that we have taken the ground from under them. They are now trying to recover that ground."

Limekhaya High School, situated in Ama-Afrika "territory", has been a focal point for conflict. Members of the Uitenhage Students' Congress (Usco) say Charterism has majority support among pupils — a claim which Jantje hotly denies.

He says trouble began when Usco chased members of the Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) out of the school. "We went to plead with those hooligans not to chase Paso students out," he said. "But when our members got there, they were chased away."

"Our aim is to convince UDF members to join our ranks. We convince our opponents — we do not kill

Conflict between rival political groups in the Eastern Cape, which reached a peak with bloody battles two years ago, has started again.
By KAREN EVANS and JUSTICE SIGONYELA in Port Elizabeth

them. We therefore have no argument with the police or the UDF."

Sources in the community dispute this, however, accusing Paso of intimidating Usco members and applying pressure on them to join Paso. It is believed a member of a local community organisation was assaulted.

By contrast, Jantje claims an Africanist youth, Mthetheleli Ncozazi, was killed recently while on his way home from work. "He had recently converted to Africanism and was killed following a fight between him and his UDF friend," he said.

"The UDF ran to the police and said they were not involved. They were scared, but no Africanists retaliated."

Late last month a scuffle broke out at a local hotel where members of the rival ideological tendencies were socialising.

Members of the UDF-supporting groups declined to be interviewed this week, saying they did not want to jeopardise a new peace initiative.

Ama-Afrika was launched in December 1987, with the controversial Reverend Ebenezer Maqina as leader. Maqina was notorious because of his anti-UDF statements.

Ama-Afrika's current leaders distance themselves from Maqina and his followers.

It is rumoured in the townships around Uitenhage that Ama-Afrika is divided between pro-peace and pro-conflict elements. For example, supporters of the Azanian National Youth Unity, a national Africanist organisation, are thought to be in favour of an end to violence — Pen

APARTHEID BAROMETER

EMERGENCY DETENTIONS

About 50 detainees are still being held without trial under the Emergency regulations, according to the most recent estimate by the Human Rights Commission.

DETAINEES' HEALTH

More than 3 000 visits were made by state doctors to detainees last year, the Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said in parliament.

OVERCROWDED JAILS

Fourteen prisons in South Africa are overpopulated by 80 percent or more as of January 31 this year, the Minister of Justice, Koble Coetsee, said in parliament.

He said the ideal number that could be accommodated in the country's jails was 83 895, but the daily average for December last year was 109 924. A total of 151 prisons are overpopulated. This means that on average prisons hold 26 029 (31 percent) more prisoners than they should. Among the overcrowded prisons are Pollsmoor Maximum Security (99,6 percent) overpopulated, Helderström (91,9 percent), Worcester 91,8 percent, Victor Verster B (87,2 percent), Alandale (85,2 percent), Brandvlief (84,9 percent), Warmbokkeveld (84,7 percent), Victor Verster Maximum Security (84,2 percent), George (83,4 percent), Obqua (83,0 percent), Buffeljagrivier (81,9 percent), Victor Verster A (80,4 percent).

ANC ATTACKS

The following figures compiled by Brigadier Herman Stadler, of the South African Police, were released in the annual review of the Rand Afrikaans University's centre for the study of revolutionary activities between 1977 and 1985: there were 52 attacks against police targets and six against military targets while between 1985 and October 1988 there were 243 attacks on police targets and 48 against military targets. Therefore in the latter period there were 6,33 attacks a month on security force targets compared with 0,557 a month in the earlier period — an increase of 1 097 percent.

The corresponding figures for attacks against economic targets were 36 in the earlier period and 170 in the latter period.

He said there were 25 attacks against civilian targets in 1985, 82 in 1986, 69 in 1987 and 73 in the first 10 months of last year.

DEATH ROW PRISONERS

There were 275 prisoners on death row in Pretoria on April 24 this year, Coetsee said in parliament. Of these 256 were black, 202 African men, one African woman, 51 "coloured" men, one "coloured" woman and one Indian and 19 were white (all men).

POLICE COMPENSATION

There was an 85 percent increase in compensation to victims of police action during the 1987/8 financial year. This involved "nearly R3,5 million in settling claims, many through out-of-court settlements, as a consequence of allegations of torture inside police stations and elsewhere", the Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Helen Suzman, said in parliament.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

NAT RAMOKGOPA, Soweto Civic Association treasurer and Soweto People's Delegation leader, was detained under the Emergency regulations on February 12 this year.

He is one of nine Emergency detainees at Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison who resumed their hunger strike on Monday. In a press statement they said "Vlok will have to release us alive or as corpses, but he will have to release us."

The release, in the form of a letter to Vlok, says "Your failure to create charges against us is testimony to this."

Ramokgopa has served as the Soweto Civic Association treasurer since 1983. He has also played a prominent role in the Soweto People's Delegation, which has been involved with establishing links between community organisations and the Soweto Town Council to come up with a solution to the rent boycott.

This is his third period of detention. He was held for several months in 1986 and again in 1987.

Ramokgopa is married with four children.

BANNED BOOKS, OBJECTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Banned for distribution and importation.

Fact Paper on Southern Africa no 16 (IDAF Publications Ltd, London), Audio Visual catalogue 1989 (International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London), Unfundel vol 2 no 1 May 1989 (MSA, Cape), Summer 1989 mail order catalogue (AA Enterprises, London), Living and Loving no 241 (Republican Press (Pty) Ltd, Mobein).

Restricted

Sex and Your Body (WH Smith and Son Ltd, London — not to be sold, hired or lent out by libraries to children under 18 or to be displayed in public), Femme no 17 (Femme, Benmore — only to be displayed with sealed plastic wrapper on), Searchlight no 2, February 1989 (BCM, London — legal deposit and university libraries only).

De Waarheid 9 February 1989 (a newspaper banned for all future editions).

THE WEBSTER FUNERAL CROWDS SWARM THROUGH JOHANNESBURG ...

A protest of a kind we've not seen in years

A MOOD of open defiance of Emergency laws has emerged in the wake of the assassination of Dr David Webster, according to academic and legal observers

Over the past week scenes of mass open air protest of the sort not seen since the declaration of the State of Emergency nearly three years ago, have been witnessed in Johannesburg and around the country

At Webster's funeral, attended about 10 000 people last Saturday, the black, green and gold flag of the African National Congress was carried by mourners, while thousands of copies of a pamphlet by the South African Communist Party were freely distributed inside and outside of St Mary's cathedral. Two activists who were briefly held by police for distributing the pamphlet, were released without charge after intervention by organisers

At an open air assembly at Wits University, attended by about 5 000 students, staff and alumni, an ANC statement was read out and the ANC flag was again displayed. A similar gathering was held at the University of Cape Town yesterday

Saturday's funeral attracted a wide spectrum of anti-apartheid figures, including several activists who defied Emergency restriction orders and others who emerged from long periods in hiding

Also present were numerous diplomatic representatives and several Democratic Party members, including Zach de Beer, Helen Suzman, Tony Leon and Jan van Eck

On the day of Webster's murder the Detainees Parents' Support Committee spoke in its own name for the first time since being restricted last year

In the wake of continued and frequently expressed accusation of police complicity in Webster's murder, the security forces have been markedly muted in their response to the wave of protest

According to Mark Phillips, researcher at Wits Business School's Centre for Policy Studies, the eight kilometre Webster funeral march was the first "legal, public, through-the-street demonstration by supporters of the mass democratic movement at least since the early 1970s"

He said the decision to allow the fu-

The response of the state to the David Webster funeral protests was remarkably muted, despite the presence of a brazenly paraded ANC flag and of 'banned' activists openly defying their restriction orders. Is the Emergency becoming increasingly unenforceable? By GAVIN EVANS

neral to go ahead without restrictions could be explained in part by government sensitivity to accusations of a police role in Webster's murder, but also by renewed internal and international pressures being faced by the government

The survival of extra-parliamentary opposition and its growing pulling power on the black middle ground, the worsening economic situation and changed international climate, are together putting increasing pressure on the rigid counter-revolutionary warfare policies of the security establishment

"For the first time in years the government is being forced to look over its left rather than its right shoulder"

He said this situation had produced anomalies like the sight of acting-United Democratic Front national secretary Mohammed Valli shielding a police video team from possible crowd anger at the funeral

"Scenes like this contradicted all police claims of UDF leadership being dangerous and revolutionary agitators who needed to be 'taken out' in the interests of law and order"

Earlier Valli, who three months before had been in detention, delivered a speech in which he set out the priorities of the mass democratic movement, and repeated suspicions of police involvement in Webster's assassination

According to a Johannesburg lawyer, who asked not to be named for professional reasons, the government's concessions around the funeral and subsequent protests, were a result of a "de facto legal space" which had been opened by the success of the hunger strike, the consulate sit-ins and the state's growing sensitivity to



international opinion.

"In many ways the Emergency has become a dead letter which the government is finding increasingly difficult to enforce. It's there for show, and if it wasn't for the elections in September I'm sure they would end it

next month," he said

But, he warned, this was leading to "growing frustration and anger by members of the security forces responsible for the administration of the Emergency", and a backlash was possible.

Colleagues and compatriots pay tribute to David Webster. Researcher Amos Ngubane delivered the funeral oration. Johnny Clegg translated

Picture GISELLE WULFSOHN, Afrepix

... BUT POLICE KEEP THEIR DISTANCE

IN the last year of his life David Webster presided over at least three tea parties for ex-detainees which were cut short by the security police.

At one of these, in Alexandra township, a Captain van Haystings told Webster that "you will not have any more tea parties", according to detainee activists who witnessed the incident.

Webster, a founding member of the banned Detainees' Parents Support Committee and a commissioner of the Human Rights Commission, was assassinated nine days after a tea party was broken up by the police.

"More than once, David was told he would be held responsible for anything that happened at the parties," Max

Tea parties which enraged police

By ANDREW CLARK

Coleman, of the HRC, said at Webster's funeral at the weekend.

Webster's last tea party, at St George's Church in Johannesburg on April 22, was disrupted 15 minutes after it began by Captain van Haystings and two dozen security policemen during the singing of the anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

When the singing started, Van Haystings announced through a bullhorn that the meeting was being suspended because it was a "threat to law and order" under the Emergency regulations.

"To say that the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was the reason for the termination of the meeting would be totally incorrect," a police public relations officer later said. "We are sure that the officer who issued the instructions did so after assessing the situation existing at the time."

Van Haystings later said that the meeting had not been banned because of the singing. He refused to say what aspect of the meeting had contravened the emergency regulations.

The security forces took an even tougher line at a tea party presided over by Webster at the NG Kerk in Alexandra last August.

Shortly after the meeting began, armed soldiers surrounded the church, and security policemen called the meeting to a halt. "Van Haystings closed the doors and refused to let anyone enter or leave," said Steven Goldblatt, a lawyer who was present.

All those at the meeting, with the exception of foreign diplomats, were photographed and had their names

and addresses taken.

The meeting was dispersed, and witnesses say Van Haystings told Webster "you will not have any more tea parties". According to another lawyer, Thabo Motswa, he was told that if he organised another party in Alexandra he would be detained.

Contacted for comment this week at John Vorster Square, Van Haystings said he had no problems about discussing the tea party issue. However, a superior officer would not allow him to comment, and would not comment in his own right.

A tea party in Webster's honour is planned for Johannesburg on May 27.



Defiance and mourning at the funeral of David Webster ...

Left: Youths brazenly fly the black, green and gold colours of the African National Congress over the coffin of the assassinated academic.

Top right: A rare display of township anger fills the streets of white Johannesburg as mourners march to the cemetery.

Bottom right: The Jazz Pioneers blow a sad farewell to a friend.

Pictures by PAUL WEINBERG and STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix



A chilling new threat: The 'Webster warning'

TWO people have received death threats relating to the David Webster assassination.

On Monday University of the North SRC president Ernest Khoza was threatened by police "who told him he would end up like David Webster", according to National Union of South African Students president Lindsay Falkov.

Khoza confirmed the incident but the South African Police Public Relations Division denied he was threatened in any way.

Weekly Mail Reporter

And Durban lawyer Yunus Mahomed has been sent two more death threats, including one which implied he would be killed in the same way as the Wits academic who was murdered 12 days ago.

This is the third set of threats to Mahomed since he claims he caught two members of the security police searching the Kagiso Trust offices in March.

He has made a complaint and is to

initiate a civil claim against the police for the incident in which he was allegedly roughed up and ordered to accompany the police in a manner which he feared suggested he was being abducted. Police have denied his allegations.

The latest threats were sent by post, in two misspelt envelopes, addressed in an almost childish attempt to disguise the writer's normal script.

Both contained only newspaper cuttings. One was a headline reading "Date with the death squad". The other

was the report of Webster's death. Key words were underlined and the implication was that a similar fate was in store for Mahomed.

Commenting on the threats Natal Indian Congress executive member Farouk Meer said his organisation was taking them seriously.

They have approached the security police in Durban for discussions about the threats. They have also had talks with the British, American and German consuls to express their concern about Mahomed's safety.



Still defiant. Passtoors rips up pledge

●From PAGE 1

to Brussels on Wednesday, bringing to an end three years of negotiations between the Belgian and South African governments for her release. The three South African diplomats expelled by Belgium following an earlier breakdown in negotiations are now free to return to Brussels.

Passtoors was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for treason in May 1986 after being convicted of running arms for the African National Congress.

The agreement will be "enforced" by the Belgian authorities to the extent that the travel limitations will be placed in any Belgian passport she may use. However, Passtoors is a dual national — she was born and brought up in Holland — and no restrictions have been placed on the Dutch travel documents she may hold, as Holland was not a party to the agreement.

She leaves behind in the women's section of Pretoria Central Prison Barbara Hogan and Marion Sparg, who have both refused to sign pledges to renounce violence in return for the possibility of early parole, and Ruth Gerhardt who has signed such an undertaking, but has not yet been released.

Passtoors did not get on with her fellow inmates and thus did not help her persistent depression and faltering health (she developed epilepsy)

Her release on Wednesday afternoon was a cloak-and-dagger affair.

Apparently as a result of security concerns, she was freed into the hands of the Belgian consular officials and flown out a day early. So elaborate was the secrecy surrounding the operation that even her lawyer, Ismael Ayob, was not informed of the change in plans

Passtoors and her former husband Klaas de Jonge were detained after police observed and filmed them burying an arms cache near Halfway House.

De Jonge escaped his captors and took refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, where he spent the next two years.

Inspired by her relationship with Ebrahim, Passtoors converted to Islam while in jail. She assumed the Muslim name of Yasara and her only regular weekly visitor was Imam Usuf Mahomed Hassim, the chairman of the Muslim Board of Prison Welfare and State Institutions

"She is a very good and devoted Muslim. She is very intelligent and her mind absorbs the principles of her adopted religion very easily. I will miss her and our weekly discussions."

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ANC plans anti-Emergency campaign

THE African National Congress has begun urging activists in South Africa to more actively challenge the almost three-year-old State of Emergency with a co-ordinated campaign of defiance.

Encouraged by the success of the prisons hunger strike that led to the release of almost 1 000 detainees, the ANC is attempting to broaden the defiance campaign to challenge restrictions imposed on individuals and anti-apartheid organisations.

It also wants to encourage blacks to defy government curbs on the press and prohibitions against meetings, school and consumer boycotts.

"The time has come to challenge the state of emergency more forcefully — not to take the emergency as an act of God that there is nothing we can do about."

The ANC wants a head-on confrontation with Emergency regulations. WILLIAM CLAIBORNE reports from Lusaka

"We have come to the position where we can't accept being restricted, or where we can't accept a meeting being banned and we just fold our arms and accept that," a senior member of the ANC said this week.

He said the highly publicised prisons hunger strike showed the growing black resentment toward the Emergency.

"The fact that the Emergency hasn't been lifted says something. It hasn't broken the spirit of people opposed to apartheid," he said.

He noted that, since the government

banned dozens of anti-apartheid groups, church leaders have more actively defied the law by calling for boycotts and economic sanctions.

"It is time to escalate that defiance to the Emergency. To simply refuse to accept, for instance, that police have issued a ban on a meeting and to go ahead with the meeting anyway," he said.

He added that restricted organisations were expected to co-ordinate the defiance campaign until it reached the point where the Emergency decrees were unenforceable because of the sheer numbers of people the police would have to arrest.

The representative also said he believes the South African state is preparing a campaign of assassinations of senior ANC leaders in exile which it will attribute to rivalries between

radical and moderate factions.

The ANC leader said his fears were based on an increased number of public statements by Pretoria officials recently that there are divisions within the ANC between members of the governing National Executive Committee who favour an escalation of bombing attacks on "soft" civilian targets in South Africa and those who favour a negotiated settlement.

The ANC had recently uncovered pamphlets published in London under the name of the "ANC Support Group", which was unknown to the ANC. These pamphlets sought to promote divisions in the ANC by declaring that the movement's advocates of a negotiated solution were undermining the efforts of the military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. — Washington Post

ANC backs critical peace proposal

PEACE talks could take place in the next 10 days between Inkatha, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) if agreement can be reached on a venue.

Following a letter to Inkatha from Cosatu and UDF leaders this week, urging an urgent meeting between the organisations, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday suggested they should meet on May 20 in Ulundi.

There are indications that Cosatu and the UDF find the date acceptable but would prefer another venue

The prospect of peace in Natal received a significant fillip as the big three — backed by the ANC — agree to hold peace talks.
By CARMEL RICKARD

However given the commitment by all three parties to the peace process, it is unlikely that the question of venue will prove to be a major obstacle

It is understood that Ulundi may have been suggested as a meeting place because the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly is in session and is already behind schedule

Buthelezi's invitation came in a week which saw a number of significant developments in the bid to set a Natal peace initiative in motion.

Earlier in the week, peace prospects were given a major boost when the African National Congress agreed to play whatever role was decided by the other parties to the peace process

Another significant development was a letter by Cosatu and the UDF to Inkatha proposing an urgent meeting of all three parties.

They made it clear they believed the need for a successful peace initiative was now "absolutely critical" and

stressed they were prepared to meet as a matter of urgency at any "mutually acceptable venue"

In an unexpected intervention, the ANC, through its department of information and publicity (DIP), has given the organisation's clearest backing yet to a peace initiative

The DIP said the organisation supported the call "to convene a meeting of Cosatu, Inkatha and UDF affiliates to work out the practical mechanisms relating to the achievement of peace

"Such a meeting among the three organisations will help to harmonise their initiatives and set the whole process in motion"

One issue high on the agenda of any initial talks between Inkatha and the affiliates of Cosatu and the UDF will be the possible participation of the ANC in the peace process.

The ANC has made it clear that it is prepared to play "as direct a role as it possibly can given the conditions under which it has to operate"

This role, however, will have to be defined "jointly by the forces operating openly on the ground, in particular UDF affiliates, Inkatha and Cosatu"

The ANC also particularly thanked Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and other "eminent persons" who initiated the latest round of consultations.

The unequivocally pro-peace ANC statement follows the similarly conciliatory letter to Inkatha from Cosatu and UDF affiliates.

However, Cosatu also said that it had decided to suspend the submission of complaints to the adjudication board, set up by Inkatha and Cosatu last year as a mechanism to deal with allegations of violence from either side.

Dealing with the question of the peace initiative, the letter, distributed to members of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly by Buthelezi, noted that Cosatu and the UDF had no objections in principle to Inkatha's peace proposals

They suggested an urgent meeting between delegations of Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha

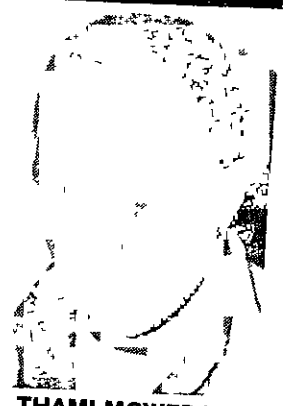
The letter continued: "Time is of the essence and these issues cannot be dealt with in an exchange of correspondence or through the press"

It concluded: "A face-to-face meeting will in our view advance our common commitment to ending the violence in Natal."

Concern over missing activist

11A

Soweto 12/5/84



THAMI MCWERA

By LEN MASEKO
POLITICAL activist Mr Thami Mcwera has disappeared, giving rise to fears that he may have been kidnapped or detained.

His family and the Food Beverage Workers' Union (FBWU), where Mr Mcwera worked as a legal co-ordinator, were

yesterday involved in a frantic search for him. He was a member of the restricted Azanian People's Organisation

FBWU's general secretary, Mr Leonard Skhakhane, said Mr Mcwera was last seen leaving a meeting in the city on Tuesday night. The meeting, organised by Action Youth, focused on "working class unity and the

struggle for socialism"

"We have searched for him everywhere in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vaal area, including at hospitals, without success," the FBWU official said

The union has consulted its lawyers with a view to lodging an enquiry with the police. FBWU officials and the Mcwera family had not yet established whether the

activist was in detention by late yesterday

Mr Mcwera has been detained several times over the past four years. He is former president of the Azanian Students' Movement

SOWETO

VIP status for SA delegation in India

5/2/5/59

By Sally Sealey

(11A)

Members of the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses and the Congress of South African Trade Unions on a trip to India have been accorded VIP status normally reserved for representatives of foreign governments.

The delegation, which includes the Transvaal Indian Congress president, Mr Cassim Salojee, Mr Fred Gona, the second vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), and Mr Shan Govender, who is on the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) executive, hope to meet Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

NOTHING TO CHANGE

India's Foreign Minister, Mr P N Narasimha Rao, told the group that Indians in South Africa should not be part of the tricameral system.

He told the delegation: "You can't change the system from within. There is nothing there to change."

He also said that India wants to see Nelson Mandela released and the African National Congress unbanned.

Star 7/2/89

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Hints of flexibility on sanctions

SA churchmen to unveil peace plans in US

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu leads a high-profile South African church delegation to the US next week with a set of proposals for ways in which Americans can facilitate peaceful negotiations in South Africa.

In spite of widespread expectations that the pro-sanctions lobby in the US will use their visit to boost their campaign, there are indications that the church leaders may show a degree of flexibility on punitive measures, choosing instead to stress the need for peaceful negotiations and the creation of conditions to make them possible.

New peace plan

Archbishop Tutu, leader of the Anglican Church in South Africa, will be accompanied by Dr Beyers Naude, the Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Allan Boesak. All four are noted for their advocacy of sanctions against South Africa.

According to the American organisers of their visit, they will unveil a new peace plan designed to bring an end to apartheid.

The plan will be revealed at a forum on May 17 which will bring together members of Congress, governors, mayors, foundation heads, university presidents, and civil rights, business and media leaders, billed as the most influential gathering of US leaders specifically to focus on South Africa.

The church leaders have also asked for an interview with President Bush in order to present their proposals to him. US sources say the meeting has been confirmed.

Mr Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, an African-American lobby on Africa and the Caribbean, conceived the forum.

He said yesterday the peace plan to be announced by the South African church leaders "provides us with an opportunity to engage all of our political resources in the US to move the South African Government towards negotiations that can lead to democracy. It is one final opportunity to avoid bloodshed."

Among the Americans taking part in the forum are Senators Edward Kennedy, Paul Simon, Carl Levin, Jerry Sandford, Tim Wirth, Barbara Mikulski, David Boren and Frank Lautenberg.

The nine Congressmen taking part include Mr William Gray, Mr Stephen Solarz and Mr Ron Dellums.

Other prominent Americans who will be present include Mr Herman Cohen, the new US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mrs Coretta Scott King, the Rev Jesse Jackson and a range of senior representatives of various organisations, including Coca-Cola and Reebok.

There are indications that the church leaders will not have a specific plan so much as proposals which will stress the need for peaceful negotiations.

The church leaders have recently held successful negotiations with the South African Government on the issue of hunger strikers, and the feeling is that real negotiations can be made in South Africa if the conditions are right.

There is no hint that the church leaders have reversed their stance on sanctions, but the indications are that this issue will be played down next week.

Inkatha proposes date for Natal talks

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has suggested to the leaders of the United Democratic Front and Cosatu that a meeting be held between himself and themselves at Ulundi on May 20 to discuss the violence in Natal.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi referred to a letter from the UDF and Cosatu leaders this week proposing an urgent meeting of the heads of the three organisations at a mutually acceptable venue.

In the letter, dated May 9, the leaders, Mr Archie Gumede, a president of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the organisation, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu thanked Chief Buthelezi for his letter of April 29 and copies of the resolutions of a meeting

of the Inkatha central committee held on that day.

"We remain of the view that we share common ground. We have no objections in principle to your proposals," they write.

"The need for a successful peace initiative is now absolutely critical."

The leaders suggest that the purpose of the initial meeting should include the full motivation of the various proposals of the parties concerned on a face-to-face basis.

It will also be necessary to discuss how the ANC and other organisations will be involved in the initiative, they state.

The leaders will also have to discuss and find solutions to the practical and logistical problems of any joint meeting between the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha that might be agreed upon, the UDF and Cosatu spokesmen point out.

Reform: SA sees a new vision for the future?

SOUTH Africa's Government has sketched a new vision of the future — a federation in which all races would be represented in one parliament and people could refuse to be classed by race.

But the proposals, which were outlined to Parliament this month by Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, are so vague that commentators differ widely over what they mean.

Some see Heunis' speech on May 5 as an important ideological step away from apartheid. Others dismiss it as a gesture to win over reform-minded whites before general elections on September 6.

One thing is clear. Heunis may offer the blacks some representation in a future parliament but he is not proposing to concede rule by the

black majority, who form 75 percent of the population and still have no vote above local council level.

"We will not achieve our goal through the so-called Western democratic traditions," Heunis told Parliament. "I am sure we can reach consensus through negotiation on a system and on mechanisms where numbers will not be decisive," he said.

The new proposals are unlikely to lead to talks with the outlawed African National Congress which enjoys widespread black support in its fight against white rule.

The ANC demands that all adults should have an equal vote in a unitary state. It says whites and other minorities should be protected by guarantees for the rights of individuals rather than of races.

SECRET
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12/5/87

'Satan's work'

RAFIQ Rohan, says Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, had to commit acts of terror in return for information from the so-called inner circle (of the ANC) which he could then use in his newspaper to improve the image of the terrorists and to enhance his own career "

Acts of terror carry the maximum sentence in South Africa Since Vlok has already prosecuted and convicted the news editor of Post Natal the next logical step would be to execute Mr Rohan

Thank goodness we have not reached that stage yet Whether Rohan is indeed guilty of what Vlok claims he is, will be determined in court If the Minister already possesses the evidence, then one expects that Rohan will be speedily charged in court

Look at these gems from the Minister

- Rohan was not the first journalist "who has been bribed or misled to do the work of Satan "
- The police were aware of "other journalists who are deliberately or otherwise working for the ANC "
- "The question arises what promises have been made to other safari-goers who tread through the ANC doorstep "

Smear

Scores of "safari-goers" have met the ANC in recent years They include churchmen, South African business leaders, politicians, Afrikaner students, respected academics, diplomats, Danie Craven and Louis Luyt

In one sentence, Vlok smears them by implying that they are not capable of thinking for themselves or making their own decisions

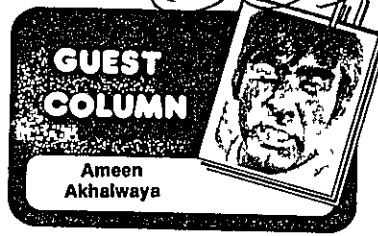
It is true that there are journalists who have been jailed for pro-ANC activities But if as Vlok claims there are others who are deliberately or otherwise working for the ANC why does he not prosecute them?

Then there is Vlok's claim of doing the "work of Satan " Looking at it from the other side to whom do these Satanic verses apply?

Let me relate my own experience about being "bribed or misled to do the work of Satan "

Sometime in the mid-1970s when Jimmy Kruger was Minister of Police and Justice I was with the *Rand Daily Mail* Whenever it came to getting police comment on crime in the Lenasia area I had to contact the Kiptown police

Seldom would the station commander give information Then one day, I was invited by police to go to the



Kiptown police station where a black officer was being given an award for long service

I went along During the course of the function an Indian man said he wanted to see me outside He gave his name

"I suppose you hate me," he said I asked him why

"Because I'm a security policeman "

I shrugged my shoulders, muttering something like "I don't despise the individual but the system he represents "

"Well," he said, "I've got an offer to make to you You help us and we'll help you "

"How? I asked

"You know give us information about the politicians "

I said I wasn't interested The policeman talked about making it financially worthwhile for me I reiterated I wasn't interested

He asked me to think about it and he would contact me again I asked him not to bother

I wrote a memo to my editor outlining the incident

Two days later, the policeman phoned

asking if I had made up my mind I told him I would not dream of being a spy He again talked about money When I stood firm, he started to get angry

Then he said I should think properly about it The threat in his tone was unmistakable

The next time he spoke to me I recorded what he said I told him what I'd done He was furious "I'll get you he warned

The policeman phoned me a couple of times again to threaten me I would rather die than be bribed or deliberately misled into doing anyone's dirty work

BCMA slams fake document 117

FAKE pamphlets purporting to be the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania were distributed in Soweto yesterday

The four-page smear pamphlets condemn the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and African National Congress for "ignoring the functional

**SOWETAN
REPORTER**

existence" of the BCMA and Pan Africanist Congress

"We have on record the blunders which organisations and individuals, politically, economically and culturally, have been relentlessly committing since the

beginning of the year by choosing (sic) to have talks with the ANC only as if the ANC is the only liberation movement of the oppressed masses of Azania," the pamphlet claim

The pamphlets also cautioned the AAM, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Danie Craven and Mr Solomon Morewa on

their "partiality in acknowledging, directly or indirectly, the ANC as a more influential (sic) representative of the struggling masses"

The BCMA has dissociated itself from the pamphlets, saying the documents were the work of "the system and its agents"

Killed by what he loved most

AP/19 Soweto 2/187

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

THE Wits University flag hung at half-mast above the institute's Great Hall on Wednesday. On the lawn almost 5 000 people came to say their last farewell and pay tribute to a man who fought a cause so valiantly; a cause that led him to his death.

David Webster was many things to the people who knew him. To his colleagues he was thorough, professional and an inspiration to the underprivileged, among whom he did most of his work, he was a righteous person whom they could trust.



Eastern Cape college town that David was first exposed to and entered the mad world of South African politics.

Sincerity

A community leader, from a settlement where David did research, summed the Wits lecturer up in a laudation. "David's sincerity and commitment was what made his research a success."

The success story started in 1964 when the young Webster arrived in South Africa from the Zambian Copper Belt where his father was an engineer on the mines.

David described himself then as a political conservative. He had little faith in Kenneth Kaunda and arrived here with no hope for Zambia where he was born, in December 1945.

Upon his arrival in the country, David enrolled at Rhodes University where he completed a degree in anthropology. It was in this small

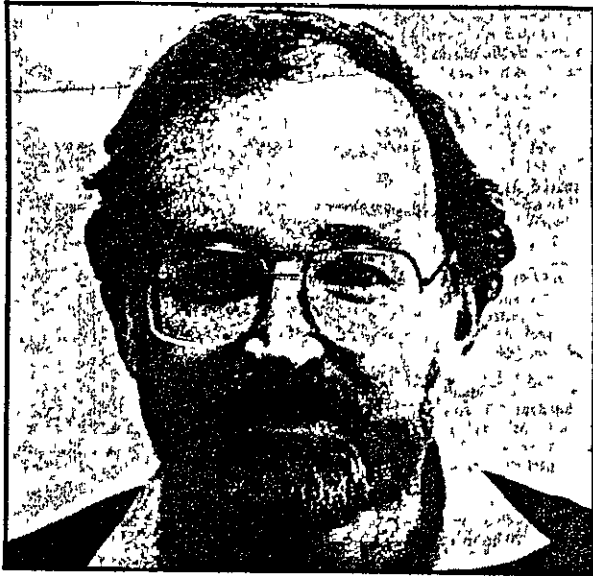
He joined a dawn-till-dusk sit-in protesting a Grahamstown City Council decision which prohibited blacks from attending rugby matches at Rhodes University. Thereafter he involved himself in the activities of the National Union of South African Students.

Prohibited

After graduating with honours in anthropology in 1969 David set out for southern Mozambique to do research — partly because of an interest he developed in Chopi music.

He spent that year living in a hut and immersed himself in village life. He attended all the activities of the community and studied the local politics of this village in the then Portuguese colony.

In an interview before his death, he said of this experience "I turned out



DAVID WEBSTER

at everything that happened during those formative years. I attended funerals, weddings and celebrations. He helped them build huts, went fishing, made pots, went hunting, went to court cases — everything."

Grasp

"The system was so fascinating," recalled David, "I began to realise, these people were intelligent and had a grasp of the subtleties of politics. This was something quite out of my ordinary experience. I began to realise that having an education and being literate has nothing to do with intelligence." And so, by this empirical way, David discovered "the link between mining in South Africa, the exploitation and Portuguese colonialism."

These formative years laid the foundation for the almost twenty years that followed and ended in his assassination on Workers Day.

David returned from Mozambique and lived in East London where his father had retired. He worked on the Daily Dispatch as a sub-editor until 1971 when he went to Johannesburg to teach

anthropology at Wits.

He felt that the courses he taught were conservative and that his professional development was mainly due to outside influences. One such influence was a conference in Amsterdam where he met Dutch anthropologist Klaas de Jonge who was later detained in South Africa.

Webster went on to spend a sabbatical year at the University of Manchester where he found his sentiments were "far to the left of most his contemporaries at this institute".

David explained that this was "as a result of his different experiences, which made for more commonality with fellow Africans". He returned to South Africa with renewed interest in the plight of the people under oppression. He started research in Soweto looking at the informal sector with a racially mixed team of researchers.

The detention of one of his students Barbara Hogan and the death of Neil Aggett, drew David's attention to the horrors of detention without trial. He then became involved in the initiative which led to the

founding of the Detainees Parents Support Committee and the Detainees Support Committee.

"Up until then it had been a rather abstract kind of game," David explained. "Suddenly it was the real thing."

Abyss

"By working in the detention field one learned in a very empirical way what you were up against," David told his interviewer.

David realised that the only way to end detention was to end apartheid. Here he sank deeper into the abyss. His support and work with detainees intensified and he was drawn into countless confrontations with the security police. He had clearly become a thorn in their flesh.

After his assassination, a close friend and fellow anti-detentions campaigner, Dr Max Coleman said it was clear that David had been assassinated by a "highly professional hit squad. There may be no more profitable place to start than within the ranks of the police themselves."

As the news of his death sent friends and supporters reeling, speculation grew that David's death was a consequence of the victory of the recent detainees' hunger strike. Whatever the reasons for his assassination, his death follows a grim pattern of assassination of activists.

In a paper he wrote only days before his murder, David noted "a steady tempo of kidnappings and assassinations of anti-apartheid activists".

• Police are investigating



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

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Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha who holds the other key to peace.

Inkatha—UDF talks

Sowetan 12/5/89

A MEETING of leaders of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to try and end the violence in townships in Natal and KwaZulu may be held on May 20 at Ulundi, SABC radio news reports.

11A

The KwaZulu chief minister and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in the legislative assembly at Ulundi he had suggested this date after receiving support in principle from UDF and Cosatu leaders for peace proposals made by him and Inkatha.

ANC SENDS PLEA TO END KILLING

LUSAKA — The African National Congress on Wednesday appealed for an end to fighting between rival black groups in South Africa's Natal province and said it supported the idea of peace talks.

"We reiterate our call that the carnage must end," it said in a statement issued from its headquarters in Lusaka

"The energies of our people must be directed against the common enemy of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, the apartheid regime "

More than 500 people have been killed in the past 18 months in Natal in what has become known as South Africa's Zulu War, mainly between members of the Zulu movement Inkatha and supporters of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF)

The ANC said it supported the proposal by church and community leaders of peace talks between the parties — Inkatha the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) It called on church, business and youth groups to take part

"No one must be left out The ANC is firmly convinced that these forces share more common ground on this question than what might divide them," the statement added

It said the ANC was ready to play a role in peace efforts — Sapa-Reuter

11A

12/5/89

Executioners killed Webster, not his ideals

11A

David Webster has been laid to rest in a moving and dignified ceremony, attended by thousands of his mourning compatriots and commemorated in spirit by millions more. Eloquent tributes have poured in as testimony to his unswerving dedication to the ideal of a non-racial democratic South Africa, and I will not try to add to these

What I wish to do here is to turn the attention for the moment to the mind of his killer, or group of killers, and in this way possibly throw some light on the questions which are perplexing so many of us. Such as: Why David? Why now? Why at all? What is in the killer's mind that instructs his finger to pull the trigger and end the life of one so imbued with the love of his fellow-beings?

Deliberate killing

The careful planning involved, the precision timing, the choice of weapon and the deadly efficiency, all attest to a political execution carried out by a crack death squad.

Any deliberate killing requires three elements — motive, means and opportunity. In considering motive, we come back to the mind of the killer. Was it money? Improbable, because a hired assassin is unlikely to have the "professionalism" and resources in evidence here, and anyway that would imply someone doing the hiring, and having different motives.

Was it revenge? Possibly. There has been speculation about frustration and resentment in the ranks of the Security Police over the recent wholesale release of hunger striking



This was an address given at a memorial service at Wits University this week for the murdered lecturer David Webster by DR MAX COLEMAN of the Human Rights Commission

detainees. David Webster could have presented himself as a handy target of their anger through his high-profile involvement in detainee tea parties in recent months which were broken up by the authorities and which brought David into confrontation with the Security Police.

Was the motivation for the killing based on ideological grounds? Very likely. While David was not a high-profile political figure in the sense of commanding a national or international audience, nevertheless he was an effective and consistent adversary of the apartheid system, quietly chipping away at its foundations.

He could have been chosen for himself or as a warning to others. In regard to the second element of a killing, namely the means, there is abundant indication of an organisation with resources, access to information not available to the general public, skills, experience and equipment.

One has the feeling that this was not their first job, nor will it be their last, and that it is certainly not the only hit squad around if one judges by the litany of political assassinations, abductions, disappearances and mysterious unsolved attacks on anti-apartheid organisations, in recent times.

The third element, that of opportunity, derives from careful observation of the intended victim, as was evident in this instance, and careful planning around his movements, routine and habits. In other words, the opportunity was created, in a calculated way.

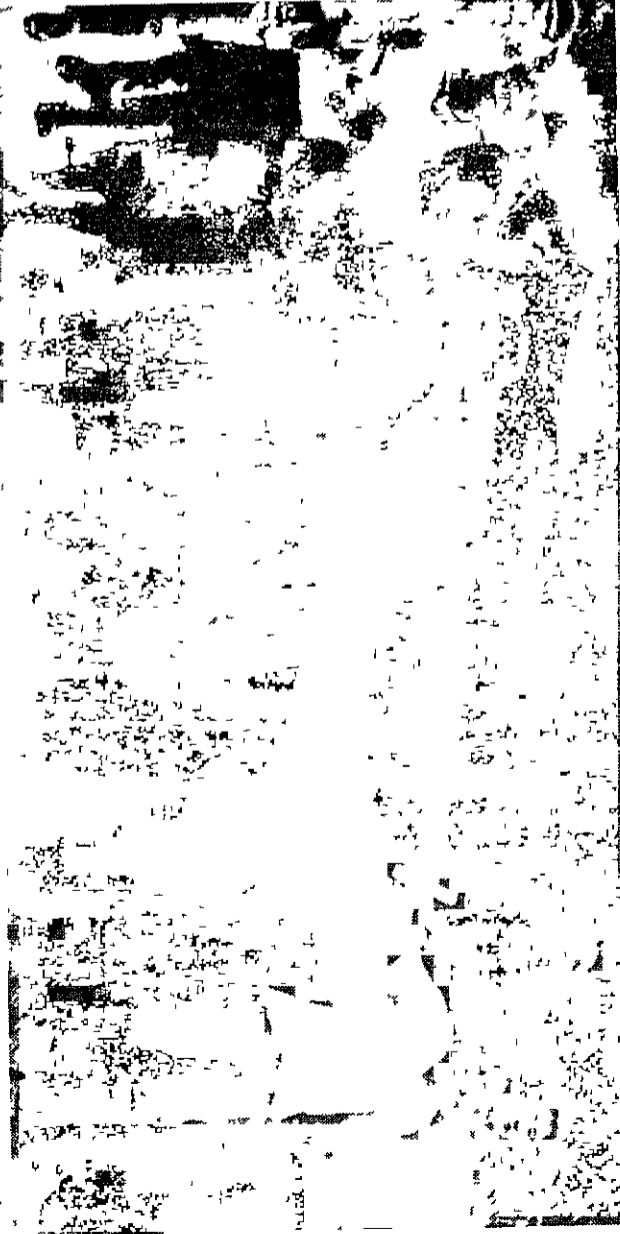
So, what is the psychological make-up of your pro-apartheid political assassin? How does he justify to himself (or anyone else) the taking of a life in this cold-blooded calculated manner?

Exactly the same kinds of questions arise when one ponders, as I frequently have over the last seven years, about what makes one become a torturer.

Sophisticated methods

Not ignorant brutes, not just an impulsive bully, but a systematic, deliberate torturer, using electric shock equipment, sophisticated suffocation methods and psychological terror, sometimes within the confines of a "waakkamer" (truth room), in order to extract information, confession and/or to intimidate.

There have been allegations in court proceedings that police, including security police, have been implicated in inflicting torture on persons in their custody.



The ANC flag is paraded at this week's memorial service at Wits University for murdered lecturer Dr David Webster. Picture by John Hogg

Those who torture in this way cannot simply be described as ignorant brutes. Admission to the ranks of the Security Police, for instance, requires minimum standards of education. Some are university graduates as we know.

Undoubtedly there are those who succumb to the temptation of using quick and easy routes to success in the interests of furthering their careers and chances of promotion.

But in the final analysis the motivation and the self-justification of the political assassin and the torturer alike, lies in their war psychosis. They are engaged in a war against a perceived enemy and it matters not

the enemy is engaged in peaceful, legal opposition to the apartheid system which they support.

And here we arrive at where the ultimate responsibility lies, the apartheid system, the system that constructs around it a welter of oppressive laws such as that providing for detention without trial and interrogation in solitary confinement, the perfect setting for the professional torturer.

It is a system that fosters and encourages a climate of hate, using the powerful media of radio and TV, against those who make their stand against injustice and so invite the assassin's attention.

Torturers and assassins are made, not born, and it is the apartheid system which has made them, as in all systems in history which do not have the assent of the majority and must rule by the force of a few.

In the end, what has been achieved for the perpetrators and their masters by the assassination of David Webster? Very little, I believe. Those who struggle for the ideals for which David died, are simply strengthened in their resolve.

Those who caused his death achieve the dubious distinction of taking their place in history beside the butchers of the gas chambers of Nazi Germany.



Passtoorsrips Up pledge to Pretoria

BRUSSELS — Belgian Helene Passtoors, released from a South African jail, returned home yesterday and defiantly tore up a pledge to Pretoria that she would renounce violent struggle against apartheid.

"I do not consider myself to be bound by the contents of this note which was imposed on me in a situation in which a real free choice was impossible", she said in a statement on arrival at Brussels Airport.

"I declare I remain totally dedicated to the

SAPA

struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa I intend continuing supporting the struggle in every possible way that I can until the day that the South African people will be free "

CHANTING AS CHIEF MTIRARA IS OUSTED

HUNDREDS of jubilant people danced, chanted freedom songs and called for the release of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, during a demonstration in Umtata.

Sowetan 12/8/84

The crowd marched through the streets of the city following the decision by the Dalindyebo Regional Authority to unseat Chief Zondwa Mtirara from

the position of Paramount Chief

The demonstrators carried banners showing the face of the late Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo and wore T-shirts of the National Union of Mineworkers and the United Democratic Front

Shouts of "viva Buyelekaya, viva Nelson Mandela and viva Sabata" were heard

during the march, which held up traffic in many instances.

(11A)

Similar chants were heard in the city hall where over 2000 Tembus witnessed the Regional Authority's decision. In an interview in his office after the meeting, Chief Mtirara said he regarded the procedure applied at the meeting as "unfair".
— Sapa

3rd death threat to rights lawyer

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — Civil rights lawyer Mr Yunus Mohamed has received yet another death threat — the third in six weeks — and now special precautions are being taken to safeguard him, according to Natal Indian Congress spokesman Dr Farook Meer.

The latest threat arrived this week by post and in the envelope was a message in bold print "Date With The Death Squad", as well as a newspaper cutting on the recent murder of Wits lecturer David Webster

Gallows drawing

On the back of the envelope is a badly drawn gallows and noose

Dr Meer said that the first death threat Mr Mohamed received was when a newspaper obituary notice appeared during the first week of April

"Shortly after that he received another death threat by post and now this is the third. We are concerned because

it looks like the work of professionals "

An -NIC delegation of Mr George Sewpershad, Mr Mewa Ramgobin and Professor Jerry Coovadia had taken up the matter with the Security Police

Dr Meer said that the Human Rights Commission reported that there had been 61 killings of anti-apartheid activists in South Africa since 1978 and that just one case had been solved

There were 61 killings of exiles outside the country and over the last four years there had been 113 cases where activists vanished without trace inside the country and abroad

"With this in mind we are taking the threats on Mr Mohamed very seriously and we have informed the British, West German and US consulates in Durban about the matter, in the hope that this will give Mr Mohamed some measure of protection," said Dr Meer

ANC may join peace initiative in Natal

By SHAUN HARRIS

THIS week's "peace meeting" between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF to try to end the Natal violence could be the prelude to a meeting between the "big three" and the ANC. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has made it clear he believes a meeting with the ANC is necessary if a peaceful solution is to be worked out.

There was a flurry of activity this week as the organisations set about clearing the ground for a meeting and smoothing over earlier antagonisms over the two separate "peace plans" put forward by Cosatu/UDF affiliates and Chief Buthelezi.

The ANC also issued a statement supporting a meeting between the three organisations and indicating it would do all it could, within the conditions it was forced to work under, to support peace initiatives.

May 20 has been agreed on as the date for the meeting.

Passtoors will not adhere to release terms

11A
Answers
14/5/89

BELGIAN ANC member Helene Passtoors – who was released from Pretoria Central Prison this week after signing an agreement on conditions for her freedom – said on her arrival in Brussels she did not feel bound by the document.

Passtoors, 44, was serving a 10-year sentence for treason, but was released after she signed a document renouncing the use of violence against the SA Government.

Passtoors, who is listed and cannot be quoted, made it clear she remained committed to the “struggle” and did not see herself bound by the document.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, responding to her remarks, said in Cape Town the terms of the agreement “do not depend on anything that Passtoors may say”.

“The Belgian Government has given an assurance that the agreement reached with the South African Government will be fully applied,” he said.

As part of the deal to release Passtoors, Belgium agreed to let three South African diplomats return to Brussels. They were expelled last year to pressure the South African Government to release Passtoors.

Belgium has worked for her release since she was convicted in May 1986 for running arms for the ANC.

Passtoors’ former husband, Klaas de Jonge, was allowed to return to his native Netherlands in 1987 after he had holed up for two years in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria to avoid facing charges of smuggling arms for the ANC. – Sapa



Helene Passtoors’ children, Brigitte, 18, and Yves, 11, are carried shoulder-high by sympathisers during their mother’s trial in 1986.

Over 14/5/85

11X

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

While the world watched with fascination the changes effected by the reforms of Soviet leader Michail Gorbachev, one group had reason for concern, *Beeld* political columnist Willie Kuhn wrote this week

This was the ANC, he said in a column headlined "The ANC's headache", with the sub-headline "Kremlin no longer prepared to accept it uncritically".

"While the Soviet Union still says the usual things about support for the organisation, it must be clear to the ANC that a sort of revolution is taking place which can greatly affect it"

Kuhn said that as well as this "external" factor in the ANC's future, there was the "internal" factor of a power struggle and differences within the organisation

"Thabo Mbeki is generally viewed as the leader of the 'diplomatic' wing, while Chris Hani represents the military wing that believes violence is the only way to gain power. Then there is also the traditional key role of the SA Communist Party, which at the moment is following the Gorbachev example and promoting the negotiation strategy"

Kuhn said the ANC had to realise that when its sponsor country landed at an ideological crossroads their relationship necessarily had to change.

"In the nature of things the ANC will not have much say in the matter, because ultimately it does not have much bargaining power"

Kuhn said the ANC had no choice but to

Shifting Soviet policy disrupts ANC

adapt the "new dynamic" in the Kremlin and that developing in terms of South Africa and the Soviet Union

Kuhn said observers had noted that the Soviet Union had ordered the ANC to limit its "acts of terror" and not to attack civilians "This would mean the Kremlin is trying to encourage the Mbeki faction at the cost of the Hani faction, and this can play an important role in determining the outcome of the power struggle in the ANC"

But, said Kuhn, the factor which would trouble or encourage the feuding ANC factions most was that the Soviet government was being seen to be having talks with South Africa, as this legitimised the SA Government's role in a future settlement

Die Burger said in an editorial early in the week that the "exceptionally strong" speech on reform by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, setting out the National Party's "new vision", ensured that the NP had grabbed the initiative early in the parliamentary election battle

Die Burger welcomed

the formation last weekend of the National Forum by "several hundred black community leaders, including a large number of mayors", saying its aim was to negotiate a satisfactory place for black people in the running of the country

"Hopefully other black leaders who until now have hesitated to come forward for talks will react and follow the example of the forum's founders

"These leaders, who desire a peaceful, negotiated settlement rather than conflict and bloodletting, deserve the support of all peace-loving South Africans," it said, "especially in the light of the resistance, intimidation and even worse that can be expected from radicals who want to see a bloody revolution."

Later in the week, after Heunis' announcement that he is to retire, *Beeld* said in an editorial that there would be several new faces in the Cabinet after the election

"The advantage of an election is renewal. Even if it does not place a new government in power, there is a chance of a fresh breeze of renewal and fresh talent in Parliament"

Beeld said new blood was always exciting and would create confidence that the NP was lively and would tackle the road ahead with energetic young people

A new, young team would be able to satisfy the country's need for imaginative initiatives and actions on reform

Anti-sanctions poll already under fire

NEW YORK — Even before it was released publicly, an authoritative Gallup poll showing that black South Africans overwhelmingly oppose US sanctions and divestment came under attack this week.

Senator Paul Simon said "I don't care how many polls you take, we know our duty and we will stand by it. All you have to know is who sponsored the study to know it is tainted"

Unbiased

The Chamber of Mines commissioned the internationally known Gallup poll organisation to conduct the most unbiased and statistically accurate sampling of the candid opinions of South Africans of all races and walks of life.

More than 2000 individuals were questioned, say Gallup officials. Of the 1400 blacks interviewed, samplings were taken in cities, small towns, villages and rural areas

An additional sample of 200 squatters or shack dwellers living near major cities was conducted. People were interviewed by someone of their own ethnic group and in their native language in the privacy of their homes and without any identifying record kept of who they were or where they worked

Tutu

What made the study controversial even before it was released was advance publicity quoting the report's main finding that South Africans of all races overwhelmingly opposed all kinds of sanctions and divestment.

Indeed, blacks say they believe foreign corporations can help to end apartheid quickly by helping to create jobs and improve education for them

"I'll believe it when I see it," said Mickey Leland, a Democratic Party black

By Jim Srodes

House member who helped to lead the congressional push in 1987 that led to the first hard sanctions being imposed by the US

The study will be released at a news conference which will be televised by satellite on Tuesday. It will feature statements by Gallup and Chamber of Mines officials in Washington and Johannesburg

The results are especially controversial because Archbishop Desmond Tutu is expected here in a week's time to help Senator Simon and Ted Kennedy launch the new legislative drive to impose even tougher sanctions and divestment requirements on the 95 US companies still in SA

Rob Jones, an executive with the American Committee on Africa, a leading protest group, said "There are

polls and there are polls and we will look at the Gallup sampling with interest.

"But we have to be guided in the final analysis by what the organised and recognised leaders of the anti-apartheid movement believe and they believe overwhelmingly that sanctions and divestment are successful

"After all, when Mobil decided to pull out of South Africa last week, the black union only protested against the company's failure to negotiate the terms of its leaving with them. They did not protest at the decision to leave.

"If you look across the rest of the landscape to Cosatu, to the ANC, to the Council of Churches and to the leaders of that movement, all of them are united in their backing for economic sanctions and divestment. So I really don't know what difference this poll will make."

ANC guidelines 'a starting point'

THE leadership of the ANC was not imposing their constitutional framework on fellow South Africans, but offering guidelines as a starting point for debate and discussion, Idasa executive director Alex Boraine told the Options for the Future conference.

He said the identity of participants in negotiations on SA's future was probably more important than the agenda of these negotiations.

Idasa believed that the ANC was "at the very least" one of three major actors whose absence from the negotiation table would guarantee the failure of those negotiations.

During Idasa seminars around the country, the Leverkusen conference

attended by Soviets, the ANC and SA academics, and the recent law conference in Zimbabwe which included the ANC's legal department and constitutional experts from SA, certain common ground had developed.

This included a growing consensus on the need for clear definition of a non-racial democracy, a growing acceptance of the idea of a united SA, and a deeper appreciation of the importance of a Bill of Rights protected by an independent mechanism.

Also accepted was the necessity for a mixed economy, and a system that attended to economic growth, job creation, and the reversal of historic economic exploitation of most South Africans — Sapa

Don't ignore force of black cash

119
16/5/87

JOE HLONGWANE, vice-president of Nafcoc

WE IN the black community believe political reform is necessary not only to unlock the doors to overseas capital but also to unlock wealth-creation potential among SA's black population.

Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock warned recently that no economic measures can replace political reform in achieving growth of more than 2% a year.

Black economic empowerment can make a huge contribution to improving SA's miserable GDP growth rate, which has averaged somewhere between 1% and 2% over the past eight years, compared with more than 8% in South Korea.

The Group Areas Act must go immediately. This call does not even have to do with discrimination any more — it's a question of economic

survival. Expansion of businesses in the townships is not possible, both through lack of physical space and the concentration of buying power in the towns.

Does government not realise that, if it stifles the business community among the majority of the population, it prevents us emulating South Korea, Singapore and Japan — where business people, not politicians, have created wealth?

In addition, blacks must be in a

position to pick up more than just crumbs, or a few Iscor shares, if privatisation is to be really meaningful. It's all very well to welcome the informal sector but — as Adam Jacobs of Volkskas has pointed out — that sector cannot ever contribute meaningfully to *per capita* income, being essentially a refuge of the unemployed in bad times. Black money makes SA's cities and towns viable, and black business initiative should have the opportunity to show what it

can do there.

Why should business franchises be awarded to blacks only in the townships? Why shouldn't they have them in the cities and towns, to serve their fellow blacks working there in their thousands? Nafcoc asks big business to join us in this plea.

A Nafcoc study shows that, while hair products for blacks may not make a very large dent in the balance of payments, there is a huge market here waiting for local explo-

tation instead of helping to make certain American blacks even wealthier. Pharmaceutical companies have been approached on the subject. We can emulate the black American I met recently, who is the only producer of railway-wagon shock absorbers in the State of Missouri, selling to a number of operators. His story is an inspiration.

Until quite recently, few blacks had the yen to enter business, seeing it rather as a recourse for the elderly to augment their income after receiving lump-sum pension payouts. Today many younger blacks are keen to make business their career. Government should take its cue from that.

This is an extract from Hlongwane's address to the Bophuthatwana Chamber of Commerce last weekend.

REVIEWS

Afrikaner rule 'no longer an option'

MAINTAINING undiluted Afrikaner rule was no longer an option for government, and SA was now faced with a choice between an NP or ANC constitutional vision or negotiated compromise, UCT politics head Prof Hermann Giliomee told the Idasa conference at the weekend.

Giliomee said prospects for negotiated power-sharing had improved only slightly in 10 years

The ANC today was expecting to at least be senior partner of any power-sharing government. The NP took the same stand and for this reason negotiations still seemed unlikely.

The NP's search for a black political formation prepared to "act as pliable junior partner" was unlikely

3648 PETER DELMAR *(10)*

to be successful "Politicians tend to forget that political solutions are rarely available at yesterday's prices".

Giliomee warned that the "Jacobin" proposal — contained in the ANC's new constitutional guidelines — of "rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth" would trigger an "horrendous civil war" if implemented by an ANC government. Democracy would almost certainly be the first victim

Negotiations would not be advanced by "guilt-ridden whites who have lost the capacity to be themselves and who are prepared to sacrifice everything for peace of mind"

15/11/82
B/Daw

Natal violence: Stalemate

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — A stalemate appears to be developing regarding the venue for Saturday's talks between the leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha to discuss resolving the violence in Natal

The leaderships of the UDF and of Cosatu have suggested Durban as the venue while Chief Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, was emphatic yesterday that the venue for the talks should be Ulundi

A week ago, Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu, and Mr Jay

Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu, wrote to Chief Buthelezi suggesting an urgent meeting of the heads of the three organisations at a "mutually acceptable venue"

The KwaZulu chief minister wrote back the next day suggesting Ulundi, and mentioned in support of his proposal, "some elements in the past which need to be woven into the fabric of reconciliation"

In his letter, released yesterday, the Inkatha president said he had written to Mr Gumede in November, 1983, inviting him to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi

However, the UDF president had criticised Inkatha's participation in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he said

"In all fairness, I think you will agree that the volleys against Inkatha on both

the launching day of the UDF and the launching day of Cosatu are problematic as we talk about the need for peace today," Chief Buthelezi said

"A meeting in Ulundi would be a demonstration of serious intent and would be greatly appreciated by Inkatha's leadership and our members and supporters, as a demonstration of your *bona fides* in this effort at reconciliation"

The reply from the UDF and Cosatu leaders, dated May 12, stated that they had no objection to meetings between the parties concerned being held in venues which were traditionally associated with Inkatha or with Cosatu and the UDF

"However, we believe it is necessary for us to approach this first joint meeting in a different manner," it said

May 16 1989

Protagonists under pressure

Blacks to back negotiations?

Star 16/5/89
By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

The black union movement is likely to support possible negotiations between the Government and representative black groups — negotiations which could result from international peace moves in southern Africa — while white workers can be expected to resist such talks.

This view was expressed by Professor Duncan Innes of the University of the Witwatersrand in a newly launched information service for business

Named The Innes Labour Brief, it has been set up by him and industrial relations consultant Mr Steuart Pennington.

Professor Innes said a combination of forces within and outside South Africa was forcing the main protagonists in the South African political conflict to the negotiating table.

White unions were unlikely to

welcome a new policy direction leading to negotiations between the Government and black organisations like the ANC, he said. They were likely to resort to strikes and other actions to prevent such negotiations.

Professor Innes predicted that black worker groupings, such as the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of SA, would support genuine negotiations about the future of South Africa.

This support would, however, be subject to whether or not unions felt they and their political allies would get a fair deal in any negotiations.

The Innes Labour Brief authors will provide information on issues including political developments in the unions and union campaigns, union responses to government and employer initiatives, as well as international developments.

ANC withdraws 1 500 members from Zambia

Argus Africa News Service

17/5/87 (114)

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has moved nearly half of its members out of Zambia, an ANC spokesman said

However, the spokesman denied that this was the result of growing tensions between the ANC and the Zambian government

He said 1 500 ANC people had been moved out of Zambia, leaving about 800 still in the country.

The ANC spokesman said here yesterday that the organisation had begun reducing its presence in Zambia last year at the same time it began withdrawing men from Angola

He said this had been done so that South Africa could not say ANC personnel from Angola had been transferred to Zambia where they would still pose a threat to South Africa and possibly use this as an excuse to derail the Namibian process

Recently the Zambian Secretary of State for Defence and Security, Mr Alex Shapi, spoke of a number of incidents of ANC personnel using their weapons illegally in Zambia, while a senior ANC leader warned that stricter control of weapons would be implemented

The ANC said because of Mr Shapi's high position in the Zambian government, his utterances had been taken as an official warning to the ANC over the misuse of weapons.

ANC-SACP BLAMED

114
17/5/84

A COMMISSION of inquiry into the ongoing violence in the Maritzburg area would not solve the problem at this stage and might become an additional cause for dispute.

This was said by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Parliament yesterday.

Replying on behalf of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to an interpellation question from Mr Pierre Cronje (DP Greytown), he laid the blame for the violence squarely on "revolutionary agents of the ANC-SACP alliance, namely

the UDF and Cosatu," ^{South African} who were engaged in a leadership struggle with the Inkatha organisation.

"There is absolutely no question of a breakdown of law and order in the greater Maritzburg area.

"It is not the intention to institute a commission of inquiry at this stage as the main causes for the ongoing violence have been ascertained through thorough research and investigation," Vlok said.

there will be no water between 8,30am to 3,30pm.

Mandela release to be 'considered'

11A

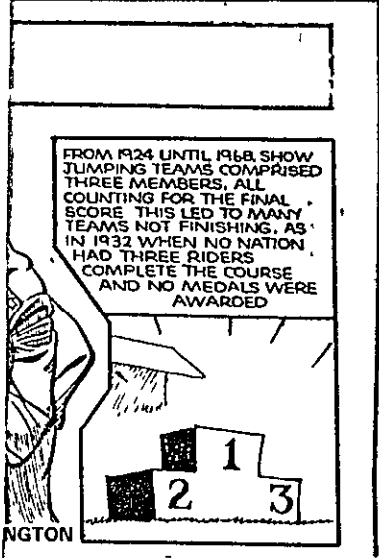
THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has undertaken to seriously consider the views of the KwaZulu delegation he met yesterday on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, a statement here says.

Issued after a meeting between Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr F T Mdlalose of the Kwa-Zulu delegation and

Coetsee and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, the statement said the KwaZulu delegation was hopeful that a positive outcome could be promoted by the discussion.

The delegation met Coetsee after saying in Durban last month that Mr Mandela's continued imprisonment was restricting it from full participation in the formal process of negotiations.

"After discussions pertaining to the attitude of the delegation towards the position of Mr Mandela and his colleagues in prison, Coetsee undertook to consider seriously the views expressed by the KwaZulu delegation."



Mandela to receive law degree 253

By Sue Valentine (17) 117
Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who already holds several honorary legal degrees, will receive his BA LLB degree *in absentia* during a Unisa graduation ceremony in Cape Town tonight

Former leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, MBE, will

receive an honorary PhD at the ceremony

Mandela was awarded a BA degree from the University of Fort Hare in 1942 and although he was a registered law student at the University of the Witwatersrand, he did not complete his LLB degree

He ran a legal practice in Johannesburg from

1952 and was on trial for treason from 1956 to 1961 before being acquitted

In June 1964 he was sentenced to life imprisonment

Among the many prizes, awards and honorary citizenships awarded him, Mandela was given an honorary LLD by the University of Lesotho in 1979 and in 1983 the City College of the City University of New York also awarded him an honorary LLD

The former leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers, who has practised as an advocate in the Supreme Court, obtained his BA degree from the University of Cape Town with distinctions in history and constitutional law

He also has an honours degree from Oxford University and has done post graduate study in Leyden

Star 12/1/89

Coetsee 'will consider request'



Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee yesterday undertook to seriously consider kwaZulu's request for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela

The undertaking was given at a special meeting with kwaZulu Cabinet members Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Frank Mdlalose

Also present were the Natal National Party leader and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer

This follows an undertaking by Mr Coetsee to meet a kwaZulu delegation after the position of Mandela was identified as a major obstacle "restricting kwaZulu from full participation in the formal process of negotiations" with the central Government

The issue was discussed last month at the joint committee of kwaZulu and the Government established earlier this year to resolve differences preventing negotiations

The committee, co-chaired by Mr Stoffel and Dr Dhlomo, will meet again in Pretoria on June 15

Low pay overshadows apartheid as the major gripe among blacks

WHAT troubles people in the workplace? Responses to the Gallup/Markinor poll show that only 16% of blacks specifically said apartheid, although related issues like job reservation, unequal pay and mistreatment by whites received 11% each. By contrast, 60% complained about low salaries.

What would people most like to see changed? Of blacks, 27% did answer "apartheid" to this one. However, the next four most favoured options — better salaries (25%), job creation (15%), equal pay (14%) and improved education (10%) garnered a total of 64%.

Considering that of the 39% of black respondents who had jobs just 5% worked for non-South African companies, it was perhaps not surprising that 64% against 32% said they would prefer to work for a locally owned firm. Among those who opted for a foreign company, Americans were favourite choice as employers (54%), trailed by British (13%) and West Germans (12%).

All respondents were asked what they thought would be the pluses and minuses of working for an overseas company. On the plus side, 31% of blacks said higher pay, 16% less discrimination, 10% housing subsidies and 30% didn't know. On the other hand, 27% saw no minuses while 17%, the next largest bloc with an opinion, worried about being thrown out of work if the company disinvested. Only 3% complained that foreign companies "also practise apartheid".

To a series of questions specifically about US companies, blacks gave answers that should make Mobil's board cringe.

By 59% to 8%, black respondents said the US presence weakened rather than strengthened apartheid. Another 73% said the departure of US companies would have a bad effect on their lives. More than 70% agreed either mostly or completely with the propositions that the companies provided good jobs which would otherwise not exist, and contributed to a higher standard of living among blacks.

Reactions to the statement, "American business activity helps to continue racial segregation and discrimination", were more equivocal: 45% tended to disagree, 17% to agree, and 28% were unsure.

Of those surveyed, 49% thought worse of companies that pulled out, 17% thought better and the rest were undecided. Paradoxically, 69% did believe disinvestment would "seriously hurt the strength" of the SA government, and more thought it would have a positive effect on ending apartheid (49%) than did not (32%).



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The directors of Santam audit, from the operating

Profit after provision for tax

Earnings per share

Dividend per share

Dividend cover (Times)

Gross premium income

Net premium income

Underwriting result (before

Investment income (before

Insurance funds

The directors wish to pay a dividend of six months of the financial year

DIVIDEND NO 70

An interim dividend of 10%

the close of business on 31/12/1989

The transfer registers will be closed from 1/1/1990

CH J VAN ASWEGEN
CHAIRMAN



RI

CHAMBER OF MINES POLL

The new Gallup/Markinor opinion survey is more than just another attempt to show that a majority — in this instance around 85% — of black South Africans think sanctions and disinvestment a bad idea. SIMON BARBER reports from Washington.

Sanctions survey set on defusing critics

ONE OF the chief purposes of the Gallup/Markinor poll is to defuse criticism levelled at previous surveys that have reached similar conclusions on sanctions and disinvestment

The Chamber of Mines, which sponsored the poll, unveiled the findings in Washington yesterday in the hope of pre-empting Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu as he tries to kick-start the dormant congressional sanctions engine at a highly publicised Capitol Hill forum today

The chamber clearly believes the findings are impressive enough to outweigh the inevitable baggage of its own involvement

Assuming US activists genuinely care about the views of 2 192 rank and file South Africans (1 400 blacks, 392 whites, 100 asians, 100 coloureds plus a separate sample of 200 squatters), the chamber may well be right

Trade unions

The survey powerfully rebuts most of the standard arguments deployed against those of its predecessors that have produced results which were ideologically "incorrect"

One common criticism has been that, thanks in part to censorship, black South Africans lack the information base on which to make a valid judgment

Therefore, it has been insisted, the choice should be left to better-informed and mobilised elites like trade unions which, the line goes, overwhelmingly support sanctions and disinvestment

In reality, labour's position is considerably more complex — and the survey helps explain why. Of the black respondents who said they were union members, 79% said they opposed sanctions and 81% were against disinvestment. Most were affiliated to Cosatu

Previous polls have also been rejected on the grounds that subjects dared not, under penalty of law, state their true opinions. On this occasion, 25% of the overall sample openly expressed support for the banned ANC, with the proportion significantly higher in urban areas

Of those who gave the ANC as their first choice of leadership, 65% opposed sanctions. The figure was 75% for those who said they considered the ANC their second choice

Tutu's flock, both those who named him as their preferred leader and black Anglicans more generally, gave similar responses. Altogether 67% of the former opposed sanctions, and 72% opposed

disinvestment. Of the latter, the percentages were three to four points higher in each case

It has been argued that most survey subjects have been relatively privileged urban dwellers with more to lose from sanctions than squatters and blacks in the rural homelands

Gallup/Markinor took a look, and among those sections of the population the proportions opposed to sanctions were 75% and 87% respectively

In fact, the survey should put to rest any residual belief that mass poverty renders desperate measures more popular

Of the blacks questioned, 61% did not have a job. This figure included students and housewives. Of those without jobs, 13% were not looking for a new one. Thirty-three percent were looking for work and of these, 33% had been seeking employment for between one and three years, and 32% for more than three years

Of all blacks questioned, 82% said foreign companies should not leave and 58% opposed sanctions even if they forced government to resign within five years and did not harm the respondent personally

Most outsiders naturally assume that apartheid and racial discrimination would head the list of concerns among blacks. According to the poll, however, only 21% of blacks concur with this assumption

The rest have more practical, if not entirely unrelated, worries: unemployment (55%), housing (21%), education (15%) and so on

Leaders

While economic issues predominated among black interviewees, politically their answers tended to wander all over the map

Asked which of a list of well-known leaders and organisations they supported most, 20% of black respondents declined to respond and 21% said "none of the above". Otherwise, 13% said the ANC, 11% Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 8% Tutu, 7% the UDF, Cosatu and the Zion Christian Church each received 6%

"None of the above" did even better as a second choice (56%). So did the UDF (16%), Tutu (16%) and Cosatu (15%)

President P W Botha also picked up on the second pass (from 3% to 5%), as did the Rev Alan Boesak (from less than 1% to 8%)

The ANC dropped a point to 12%, the ZCC fell to 4% and Buthelezi to 8%

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SPCA &



ANC suspect was ⁵⁻¹⁷⁻⁸⁷ shot in the back ^{11A}

Suspected African National Congress guerilla Ashley Kriel was killed by a shot fired at close range into his back, the Wynberg Inquest Court was told yesterday

This information was given in evidence by Warrant Officer Willem Visser of the Pretoria forensic department at the hearing on the death of Mr Kriel, who was shot in Athlone in July 1987

Earlier, Warrant Officer Jeff Benzien, who admitted killing Mr Kriel in a bid to arrest him, said his finger was on the trigger of the gun, but he did not pull it deliberately. — Own Correspondent.

ANC quitting Zambia, possibly for Uganda

LUSAKA -- The African National Congress (ANC) has moved nearly half its members out of Zambia, the organisation has disclosed.

However, it demed this was the result of growing tensions between the ANC and the Zambian government. About 1 500 ANC people had been moved out of Zambia, leaving about 800 still in the country.

Recently, a Zambian Cabinet Minister, Mr. Alex

Shapi, spoke of a number of incidents of ANC personnel using their weapons illegally in Zambia.

In one an ANC member shot his girl friend dead with his issued firearm before committing suicide.

In another two ANC men were killed on a farm, but the ANC claimed the culprit was a South African infiltrator. Some reports suggested the ANC was moving to Uganda. — The Star's Africa News Service

11/15
17/1/78

Ceapa launches history contest

Sowetan 17/5/89

11/8

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

YOUNG black people in South Africa have been found wanting when questioned about their history and the history of the country, says the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs.

Ceapa says the majority of them have a hazy idea about some important events that took place in this country in the immediate and distant past

This realisation has caused Ceapa to run a programme that will be part of the informal education of black youth in the country

Part of this programme is Ceapa's recent launch of the Youth History Competition. Participants are required to do drama, art or narrative presentations of events that took place in the history of South Africa

Presentations must be fully researched, as points will be awarded on how factual the storyline is. Ceapa is willing to assist the participants in obtaining relevant research material

Grappling

Futuristic presentations will also be considered as people in this country are grappling with the problem of what the future will be like in South Africa.

The competition is open to all non-professional artists and dramatists

For more information, you should contact Thabo Ndabeni at PO Box 31970, Braamfontein, or at telephone: (011) 403-2093

The centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs is an indigenous South African non-governmental, non-profit making, privately funded socio-educational organisation which.

- facilitates and encourages serious discussion and analysis of the South African situation so that knowledge and experience can be shared and learned,
- conducts research on current socio-political issues in South Africa so as to provide the community and non-governmental organisations, professionals, trade unions, workers, pupils and other individuals and organisations with information,
- it also provides analyses to help them widen their perspectives and help them tailor their strategies accordingly, and
- has established for the community a comprehensive reference and reading library specialising in modern and colonial African, Asian and Latin American countries

Struggle for chieftdom

A SAGA-FILLED battle for an influential chieftanship in Transkei took a dramatic turn last week when a Matanzima-backed man was ousted in favour of an ANC-linked challenger.

Former defence chief Zondwa Mtirara was forced to resign as paramount chief of Thembuland after the regional authority refused to confirm his position.

And at a public meeting in Umtata attended by 2 000 cheering Thembus, the regional authority called on Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo

to return to Transkei and take up the paramouncy.

Dalindyebo is the son of Sabata Dalindyebo, who fled Transkei in 1980 to join the ANC after a long-running feud with Kaiser Matanzima. Sabata died in Lusaka in 1986.

The battle over the Thembu paramouncy dates back several decades, and has pitted the Matanzimas against their relatives, the Dalindyebos.

Sabata Dalindyebo, a nephew of Nelson Mandela, was the original paramount chief of all Thembuland, and widely regarded as the King of the Thembus.

He was an outspoken opponent of the South African government's homeland policy and wanted nothing

to do with Transkei independence.

South Africa found Kaiser Matanzima, then a minor chief in Thembuland, far more pliant.

On what experts now regard as very dubious grounds, South African government ethnologists split Thembuland into two areas to create Emigrant Thembuland for Matanzima to rule over.

Matanzima's new paramouncy, which he took over in 1967, formed the basis for his claims to rule Transkei.

Sabata refused to recognise Matanzima's new status and continued to oppose Matanzima after independence.

He was finally arrested in 1980 and deposed by Matanzima, whereupon

he fled into exile.

Matanzima then installed an ally, Sabata's younger brother Bambilanga, as paramount chief.

When Sabata died in 1986, the Transkei government made arrangements to fly his body home for burial. But in a bizarre episode, the body was stolen from the Umtata funeral parlour.

And thousands of mourners who arrived at Transkei's border posts for the funeral were turned away.

Stella Sigcau, who replaced the disgraced George Matanzima as prime minister in late 1987, lifted all banishment orders imposed by the Matanzimas, which enabled many Sabata supporters to return home.

In 1987 Bambilanga died and his son, Zondwa Mtirara, took over the paramouncy.

However, his installation as paramount was delayed due to increased turmoil in Thembuland.

Supporters had begun to gather around Sabata's son, Buyelekhaya, who was studying in Zambia at the time, and the stage was set for a battle between Zondwa and Buyelekhaya.

Widespread support

By April last year, support for Buyelekhaya was so widespread that the Dalindyebo Regional Authority (DRA) decided that Buyelekhaya should be paramount chief.

A second DRA meeting was planned to ratify the move and inform the government, but Kaiser Matanzima stepped in quickly with a court order to prevent this.

This time Matanzima also had to contend with the new military government under Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Not only was Holomisa's father one of the chiefs who served under Sabata, but Holomisa had deposed Zondwa as chief of the army.

After several court cases, the Transkei Supreme Court referred the decision on the paramount to the DRA.

Last month the court ruled that the DRA decision would become an order of court and that both Buyelekhaya and Zondwa would have to accept the decision.

The final victory came last week, when the DRA called on Buyelekhaya, whose name means "come home", to return to Transkei.

Despite speculation that Buyelekhaya is closely linked to the ANC, Holomisa has announced he is free to return home.

"I am happy that the people have been able to decide," he said. "I hope the chieftanship saga has been solved and there will be stability in that area." — *CLNEWS*

Shooting — ANC man is held

LUSAKA — A member of the African National Congress yesterday shot dead an unidentified woman in a residential area of Lusaka, Zambia, police have said.

A police spokesman said the woman, aged about 24 years old, was allegedly shot dead in the early hours of the morning in the Bruma residential area by the unnamed ANC member who has been arrested.

It was not clear whether the woman and the ANC man were living

together.

In recent weeks there have been a number of shooting incidents involving ANC members which have, according to reports, resulted in growing tensions between the Zambian government and the ANC.

The ANC said yesterday it had moved nearly half of its members out of Zambia but denied that this was the result of growing tensions between the ANC and the Zambian government.

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(11A)

Baker's sanctions views 'encouraging'

Bush meeting Tutu and Boesak today

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The delegation of South African church leaders is meeting President Bush for 30 minutes at the White House today

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, here to raise support for further selected sanctions on South Africa, said yesterday if Mr Bush did not want to see his delegation, it would be "a very significant signal"

Word came late yesterday that the President would see him and two fellow-church leaders, Dr Allan Boesak and Dr Beyers Naude.

Archbishop Tutu said he had previously met the new US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, and he had come away impressed at what appeared to be a new openness on the position of sanctions

"Of course, we want to see

this translated into actions."

Dr Boesak told the press conference that it would not be worthwhile meeting Mr Bush simply to have his ear

He wanted to make use of the opportunity to inform the President of what was happening in South Africa, what was happening within the Government and what the Government should be doing

He said reports that the Bush administration was considering a quid pro quo for the release of Nelson Mandela would be raised, as such a thing was simply not acceptable

Mandela would be released "come what may", and the US President needed to be informed of what the people thought of quid pro quos

At a conference of the church leaders and leading anti-apartheid Americans in Washington yesterday, calls were made on

President Bush to see the Tutu delegation before he met Mr F W de Klerk, South Africa's next State President

● Plans are being made to organise a march of at least 100 000 Americans on Capitol Hill in Washington to mark the anniversary of Soweto Day on June 16

The goal of the mass demonstration would be to show the US Congress that the people of America were really concerned about South Africa, and that they wanted something to be done about it

● The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, is seriously ill in a Wisconsin hospital

He collapsed while visiting his wife in Wisconsin

Mr Chikane was to have taken part in the drive to exert increased pressure on Pretoria

Blacks in cleft stick, seminar told

MOST blacks at managerial level were forced to live a culturally conflicting existence — treated as and expected to function as equals to whites at work and becoming blacks in apartheid society at the end of the day, a black expert told a seminar yesterday.

Ali Mokoka, manager (training) at First National Bank Centre for Management Studies, spoke of this problem at a Unisa School of Business Leadership (SBL) seminar on "Black Advancement Strategies for Success" in Johannesburg. "Even within the workplace environment, however, the black

THEO RAWANA

manager faces a number of conflicts and inconsistencies. Top management might prescribe non-discrimination, but the black may still confront discriminatory behaviour from lower-level management which has adopted an attitude of malicious compliance.

Hostility

"Similarly, he might have had little previous exposure to white informal networks and could feel uneasy with the subtle political in-

terplays between interest groups at this level," said Mokoka.

The black man might be the victim of unwilling white secretaries and the target of hostility from the shop floor, Mokoka added. "Corporate SA needs to shift from being high on rhetoric and short on action as far as equal opportunity is concerned, and should start acting now."

He suggested that companies condition environments by adopting programmes directed at meaningful equal opportunities, and by pressurising government to speed up political reforms.

Woman shot by ANC member

LUSAKA — An ANC member was arrested by police yesterday after shooting a young woman dead in a city suburb.

In recent weeks there have been a number of shooting incidents involving ANC members. According to reports this has fuelled tension between Zambia's government and the ANC.

The ANC said 800 of its 1 500 members have left Zambia.

But an ANC spokesman denied there was tension with the Zambian government. He said the ANC was reducing numbers in Zambia and Angola so that South Africa could not use its presence as an excuse to derail Namibia's independence. — The Star's Africa News Service.

'Gandhi meeting was highlight'

11A

By Sally Sealey

12/5/89

African National Congress

A delegation from the mass democratic movement arrived back in South Africa yesterday after a 10-day visit to India where they were accorded VIP status

Representatives of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said at a press conference yesterday that the highlight of the trip was meeting India's premier, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who told them that nothing short of universal adult suffrage in a single parliament for all South Africans would satisfy India that South Africa has changed.

The delegation, which included TIC president Mr Cassim Saloojee, Mr Reggie Vandeyar, Mr Charm Govender, Mr Yunus Carrim and Mr Fred Gona, all from Cosatu, said talks with the Indian government were facilitated by the

Mr Saloojee said that India would deny access to people who participated in the tricameral Parliament and any other Government structures

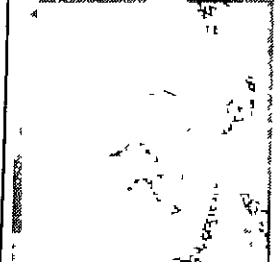
Mr Carrim said the Indian government was prepared to make exceptions to the cultural boycott so that people who are part of the mass democratic movement could benefit from an exchange of cultural and religious ideas

Mr Saloojee said they had visited a school in India and were surprised at the level of awareness among school children "Nelson Mandela was referred to constantly as Uncle Mandela. We received several poems written in his honour which we hope to pass on to him," he said

The delegation also met trade union federations, which were interested in knowing how best they could assist in the struggle against apartheid

Zeph's records have arrived

119



Mothopeng . . . cancer
treatment

LONDON — Veteran PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng is finally to receive treatment here for throat cancer after a delay in the arrival of his South African medical records *London 9*

The records of his treatment for cancer while still in jail only arrived at London's Charing Cross Hospital three days ago *18/5/76*

Mothopeng (75) is already receiving treatment for tuberculosis at Charing Cross.

A PAC spokesman said Mothopeng, who was admitted to hospital two weeks ago, was as well as could be expected and was responding well to the treatment for TB. Doctors were hoping to press forward with the cancer treatment immediately.

Province asks staff to stay at J G Strijdom

DIANNA GAMES

THE province has joined Wits University in urging staff not to leave the J G Strijdom hospital in view of Wits' decision to maintain all services until the year end, pending a government decision on whether to return it to a general affairs hospital. Transvaal Hospital Services Director Dr Henne Van Wyk said he was pleased with the university's urging staff to stay on but said he did not want to speculate on what might happen if government did not change the hospital's "own affairs" status, as requested by Wits.

The hospital's bed occupancy has been declining since 1985, when it was 73%.

In 1986/87 it was 62%, 1987/88, 56,6%, and so far this year it was 52,16%. However, the number of patient days dropped from 7,9 a patient to 6,9 last year, which brought down the occupancy, Van Wyk said.

A spokesman for the J G Strijdom said only three staff members had formally applied for transfers to other hospitals since the change to "own affairs" on March 31, and not 12 as has been reported.

She could not say if superintendent Dr Anette van der Merwe would be prepared to reconsider her resignation for the moment due to the university's stance.

Van der Merwe, who is on leave, resigned due to the hospital's change of status and is due to leave at the end of June.

UDF/Cosatu reject Ulundi as venue

COSATU and the UDF had rejected Ulundi as a possible venue for talks to resolve the ongoing factional violence in Natal, the two organisations said yesterday.

They said Cosatu and UDF affiliates had met in Durban for an urgent meeting to consider their response to the "insistence" of Inkatha that the joint meeting be held on May 20 in Ulundi.

"Regrettably we are unable to agree to the proposal of such a meeting taking place in Ulundi."

"We believe it is essential a non-controversial and neutral venue be found."

"We have indicated we are prepared to meet in any venue in Durban or any other mutually acceptable venue."

Cosatu and UDF also believed it all parties were serious about the peace process — "and we certainly are" — then "we will not let the issue of a venue degenerate into an insurmountable obstacle that creates any more delay to this meeting."

Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi released the text of a letter he had sent to UDF/Cosatu saying he had no intention of going to Durban "or anywhere else" for the talks.

He said he was sorry the UDF-Cosatu had "problems about coming to talk to me where I am located (Ulundi)" — therefore the ball remained in their court — Sapa.

10 years for ANC pair

TWO members of the military wing of the African National Congress have been sentenced to 10 years for terrorism.

Zolile Michael Dikiza, 28, and Ludwe Lemuel Lobese, 27, both of Port Elizabeth, were found guilty in the Kenton Regional Court.

They admitted to joining the ANC and receiving military training outside the country. They were then sent back into the country to establish underground structures for the ANC.

A clinical psychologist, Z Riordan, and an expert on the ANC, political science lecturer Dr Ian Phillips, testified on behalf of the convicted men.

The magistrate, C Meiring, said he did not agree with their evidence as it was based on statements by the accused. He called Phillips' evidence one-sided.

Meiring said even though no-one had been injured nor had any damage been caused, the accused were nevertheless guilty of a very serious offence.

He said he could not find any extenuating circumstances and therefore sentenced the two men to the maximum 10 years. The defence has indicated they will appeal. — Ana

(11A)

(S)

wmail

19-25/5789

More ANC-linked killings in Lusaka

By PETER MURRAY, Harare

A THIRD member of the exiled African National Congress community in Zambia has been involved in a murder incident.

According to sources in Lusaka an ANC member living in the city's Burma suburb shot dead his Zambian girlfriend on Wednesday with an AK47 rifle, in what has been described as "a domestic dispute"

The incident comes less than a fortnight after a similar murder, in which an ANC member used his personal rifle to kill a Zambian girlfriend before turning the weapon on himself

In both cases, neither the police nor the

ANC have issued names of those involved Wednesday's murder comes only a month after two senior figures at the ANC's Chongela farm 40km north of Lusaka were shot by another ANC member, Tax Tlhothalemajero. Along with two Zambians, he is currently on remand, awaiting trial for murder and armed robbery.

There are suggestions that if similar incidents continue, it could jeopardise the ANC's freedom to operate in the Zambian capital.

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HAVE YOU FILLED IN YOUR Weekly Mail SURVEY FORM?

Feedback please! If you haven't yet filled in the survey form in last week's issue, there's still time to do so. Postage is free, to Weekly Mail Freepost JH2146, Excom 2023

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(11A) (402) (20A)

Tutu urges Bush to take lead on SA

WASHINGTON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu urged President George Bush yesterday to "take the moral leadership" towards ending apartheid and said he was encouraged Bush had a "warm openness" to that cause.

"We do not want to be overly optimistic," Tutu said, adding he had been impressed that Bush appeared to genuinely abhor apartheid, that he wanted to be "a catalyst for change" and "a positive influence".

Tutu and two other anti-apartheid leaders, Allan Boesak and Beyers Naude, who met Bush briefly at the White House, did not disclose the specifics of their conversation. Tutu indicated, however, they did not ask for specific initiatives other than that Bush urge Pretoria to negotiate with its opposition.

blom
Press 19/5/89

Asked about the discussion, Tutu said "We said we wanted to help the US to take the moral leadership of the world in helping to end apartheid and bringing the SA government to the negotiating table, which is our primary end."

Although the White House said a day earlier Bush did not intend to back more sanctions against Pretoria to press for social change, in essence maintaining the policy of President Ronald Reagan, the leaders were upbeat after the meeting.

Under Reagan, whose veto of anti-Pretoria sanctions was overridden by Congress, "we had the idea that there was no possibility of discussing the issue. Here we have a feeling the President has not closed his mind to any possibility of how he could best be helpful in the SA situation," said Boesak.

"The fact that he values the opinion of those of us who represent blacks is a sign we did not get from the previous administration" — Sapa-AP

Govt must talk to the ANC Mombberg

IF government could talk to Cubans, Angolans and Russians why could it not talk to the ANC? Jannie Mombberg, a member of the national board of the DP, asked yesterday

Addressing a meeting in Cradock, Mombberg said SA today was polarised between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups. There was also polarisation between white fears and black mistrust.

"We need a government which will have the ability to cross the divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups and which will

11/10/89
Political Staff

address the real fears of the white people and mistrust of the blacks"

Mombberg said SA needed a government which was able to address the security situation, not only in terms of a state of emergency and of Press censorship. It was therefore time government talked to the ANC and it was "not being soft on security to talk to your enemies, and perhaps it is really being strong on security if you talk to your enemies"

Mombberg said the DP would talk to

anybody about the future of SA and would try to persuade those who believed in violence and terrorism to stop it for the sake of the country

The DP, he stressed did not believe violence was helping to solve the country's problems

Mombberg said the NP seemed to have decided that it would tell the voters to forget everything that had happened over the past 41 years and believe there was now a new NP

"The voters must not fall for this trick — there is nothing new about the NP"

A CALL FOR MORAL LEADERSHIP

WASHINGTON — Tutu appeals to President Bush

Nobel laureate Desmond Tutu urged President George Bush yesterday to "take the moral leadership" toward

ending South Africa's apartheid policies of racial separation and said he was encouraged Bush had a "warm

openness" to that cause

"We do not want to be overly optimistic", Tutu told reporters, adding he had been impressed that Bush appeared to genuinely abhor apartheid, that he wanted to be "a catalyst for change" and "a positive influence"

Tutu and two other anti-apartheid leaders, Revs Alan Boesak and Beyers Naude, who met briefly with Bush at the White House yesterday, did not disclose the specifics of their conversation

Tutu indicated, however, they did not ask for specific initiatives other than that Bush urge Pretoria to negotiate with its opposition

Asked about the discussion, Tutu said

"We said we wanted to help the United States to take the moral leadership of the world in helping to end apartheid and bringing the South African government to the negotiating table, which is our primary end."

Although the White House said a day earlier that Bush did not intend to back further sanctions against Pretoria to press for social change, the leaders were upbeat after the meeting.

"I think there is a very warm openness and we think the door stands ajar. No door has been slammed in our face," Tutu said

INVITE IS REJECTED

By ALIMPHAKI

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and UDF affiliates have rejected an Inkatha invitation to hold a joint meeting at Umtata on Saturday.

In a statement released jointly by Cosatu's secretary, Jay Naidoo, and UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, the two

said they were unable to agree to the proposal of such a meeting taking place at Umtata.

The meeting, among others, was to discuss the on-going "war" in the Maritzburg area between affiliates of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha, which has claimed hundreds of lives.

"We believe that it is essential that a non-

controversial and neutral venue be found. We have indicated that we are prepared to meet in any venue in Durban or any other mutually acceptable venue," Naidoo and Morobe said.

The two spokesmen indicated that if all parties are serious about the peace process "then we will not let the issue of a venue degenerate into an insurmountable obstacle that creates any further delay to this meeting."

SB cops raid Azapo offices

POLICE raided the offices of the restricted Azanian People's Organisation in central Johannesburg yesterday.

According to a spokesman for Azapo about seven security branch policemen entered the Wanderers Street offices at about 2pm and started searching their cabinets.

By MOKGADI
PELA

(11A) (15/6)
This was the fifth raid on Azapo's headquarters this year, the organisation said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Captain R A Crewe said they do not

comment on routine duties.

Azapo said its successes and extent of mobilisation at the height of restrictions surprised the state. Further, that the movement would not be intimidated in carrying out the mandate of the "oppressed and exploited people."

Moses Mayekiso opens congress

(11a) ~~(11a)~~
FRED general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, Mr Moses Mayekiso, received a standing ovation when he told workers that his acquittal was a "workers victory" because it was them that stood trial for waging the struggle against apartheid.

He was speaking at the opening of the second congress of Numsa at

Gosforth in Germiston last night.

The 744 delegates noted that the case of the president of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Peter Mokaba, be considered by congress as he was guest speaker at the first Numsa congress in Nasrec in Johannesburg in 1987. Mr Mokaba is detained in Pietersburg under emergency regulations.

ALLUS 19/1/87 (11A)

ANC in Soviet plane 'hijack' bid

DAR ES SALAAM — A Soviet airliner flying from Angola to the Soviet Union has been grounded here because of fighting on the plane, according to the Tanzanian Transport Ministry said here.

Sources close to the Tanzanian government said the plane was carrying 174 ANC members to Moscow for military training and the fighting was believed to have been a hijack attempt.

A spokesman for the Transport and Communications Minister, Mr Stephen Kibona, said two passengers began fighting shortly before the plane's scheduled stop at Dar es Salaam.

He refused to reveal the names or nationality of the men but said they were being questioned by Tanzanian security officials.

Soviet, Angolan and ANC officials were not immediately available for comment on the hijack speculation and the Transport Ministry spokesman gave no indication there had been an attempt to seize the aircraft.

The Aeroflot jet landed at Dar es Salaam at 1 46pm (South African time) yesterday and was still on the ground surrounded by uniformed security men six hours later.

The spokesman said the plane would be held until security formalities had been completed.

It is reported from Lusaka that in spite of an increase in shootings involving the ANC, the Zambian government said it had the situation under control.

Zambia's Secretary of State for Defence and Security, Mr Alex Shapi, said. "The aspect involving the ANC in Zambia is not getting out of hand. The police are very firm in handling the situation."

This week the ANC said that nearly half its members in Zambia had been moved out of the country.

A spokesman said 1 500 cadres had been moved, leaving about 800 still in the country.

Mr Shapi said the ANC was co-operating on the misuse of firearms.

Kidney-transplant 'broker' jailed

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The validity of sanctions probe to be doubted

THE South African Chamber of Mines has just released what purports to be a definitive survey on attitude to sanctions.

According to the study, released simultaneously in Johannesburg and Washington, at least 80 percent of South Africans of all population groups oppose sanctions and disinvestment as strategies for social change.

A close analysis of the version of the report printed in the latest *Chamber of Mines* newsletter raises puzzling questions on its validity, however. Not only are some of the survey questions obviously biased, the answers given by the respondents could be subject to different interpretations. Besides, an examination of the survey must be within the context of the prevailing state of emergency restrictions on pro-sanctions agitation, a fact that immediately favours those opposed

GUEST COLUMN by EUGENE NYATI

white suburb. There is no necessary contradiction in this attitude. Besides, even the pro-sanctions lobby have never had anything against continued foreign support for community programmes, even as they advocate for the isolation of the country.

Good idea

Question five of the survey questionnaire asks whether or not sanctions are a good idea. This is an irrelevant issue. Archbishop Tutu and others support sanctions, not because they are a good or bad idea. Rather, because they consider them an effective non-violent strategy to weaken the present Government's intransigence and ability to finance the undemocratic status quo and ignore the

owners would have little reason to dismiss the old and trained staff and hire afresh.

If any job losses did occur, they would presumably be influenced by ordinary profit logic that would have little to do with the fact of disinvestment. For as long as the business undertaking was profitable, the new owners would retain its staff. It's important to remember that foreign companies are in South Africa less to give jobs than make profit.

Question nine of the survey paints the possible scenario of job losses as a consequence of disinvestment without qualifying it with the observation above. An impression is created that disinvestment is of necessity followed by massive job losses. This is not always the case.

have acquired the effectiveness that they have over the years, less because of their numerical strength than effective link with the broader liberation movement and community. On the other hand, despite their considerable membership in Natal, the Inkatha-led trade unions have failed to have much impact precisely because they remain wedded to a dubious political ideology. It may be worth noting that unionised workers remain a numerical minority in this country.

Lobby

The pro-sanctions lobby does not deny that disinvestment and boycotts could lead to some job losses or even suffering. But this is explained as a regrettable and yet unavoidable sacrifice in the process of dislodging a particularly vicious and intransigent minority government.

Cyril Ramaphosa . . . his union (NUM) would not necessarily be weakened by disinvestment.

7 Press *Ins* to add the first command to the menu. Quattro prompts you for the name of the command.

8 Enter a command name. The command information for the new command appears in the menu.

9 Press *F6* to move to the top of the menu. Repeat the last five steps to insert a new command.

Adding Macros or Add-Ins

To add a menu command that will run

- 1 Use the arrow keys to display the menu command, then highlight the command by pressing *Enter*.
- 2 Press *Ins* and enter a name you want for the command.
- 3 Select Explanation and enter the explanation for the command (as it appears in the add-in list when the command is displayed).
- 4 Select Type of action, then select New Macro (N) from the displayed list.
- 5 Select Specific action, then select Attach (A) from the displayed list.
- 6 If you want Quattro to exit the command when it is executed, select What to do after item executed (W) from the displayed list.

Saving Your Changes

Once you've made changes to the menu, you must save the changes. To save the changes you made to the menu, press *Alt+Q* to open the Modify Screen, then select Save Menu (S) from the displayed list.

Quattro displays a submenu with two options: Main Menu Tree and Add-Ins. Press *Enter* to select the option you want to create or modify.

Support

Some of the conclusions drawn by the polling company Markins appear to be based on a selective understanding of what the pro-sanctions lobby stands for.

The "either/or" options given respondents on attitudes to sanctions can be restrictive. Studies over the last few years have revealed considerable support of the concept of "selective" sanctions against South Africa. Blacks may consider a foreign investor putting up a factory in Soweto in partnership with local residents while rejecting the same if relocated to a

white town. When you restore a backup System Disk to the current disk, you can restore the current menu tree, or you can restore an alternate menu tree, or you can restore the backup file (Be careful copying the backup file).

Such a conclusion comes only from knowledge of South Africa's foreign trade patterns.

An informed judgement on the country's vulnerability to sanctions must be based less on a simplistic issue involved. Unless the survey respondents had reasonable understanding of the subject about which they were being asked, any subsequent conclusion could be seriously flawed.

When a local company buys out a disinvesting foreign entity, the operation does not always lead to job losses. If Gencor, for example, buys out the American company Mobil the new

tool. As soon as it's loaded, it's in a file. It takes little time to load, but you'll hardly even notice it's there.

Subject

While on the subject of job losses it may be useful to correct another misconception. It has been suggested by various anti-sanctions advocates including John Kane-Berman of the SA Institute of Race Relations that any job losses resulting from disinvestment (which is a possibility) would undermine the power of the democratic unions. There is no necessary link between a trade union's numerical strength and its net effectiveness.

Let us suppose that post-disinvestment shrinkage were to lead South African mines to retrench half its staff. Regrettable as such a decision would be, it would not necessarily weaken the effectiveness of Cyril Ramaphosa's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). While numbers should not be ignored, South African trade unions

on a floppy-disk system, since

not a political strategy. Rather, a possible consequence of a political strategy

Liberation politics is based on sacrifice. This would have to be explained fully to respondents before asking them whether or not they could endure extra suffering for a cause.

Scenario

To selectively paint scare scenarios without explaining the socio-political context could be alarmist and fraudulent. Only a politically credible (as opposed to a merely technically trained) pollster could adequately handle this task. There is no evidence of this consideration having been made in respect of the people who conducted the survey.

It is one thing to speak several local languages, but quite another to be politically credible enough to elicit honest responses on issues of political importance. This is especially true under the prevailing oppression.

11/8 By Sue Leeman
The Star Bureau

Labour backs ANC, sanctions

LONDON — Comprehensive mandatory sanctions and support for the ANC are the cornerstones of a five-point Labour Party plan to eradicate apartheid and build a "non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa"

Unveiling Labour's revamped foreign policy yesterday, Shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kaufmann said the party stood firm in its hatred of apartheid and its belief that only punitive economic measures could bring about its end.

There had, he said, been "absolutely no change" in Labour's policy in the region. The party regards recent reforms as cosmetic, with the SA Government failing to address the question of black enfranchisement.

The policy document says the case for sanctions is strengthened by Pretoria's ongoing acts of oppression, including banings, detentions, torture and hundreds of killings, repeated military attacks on independent neighbouring states and obstruction of Namibia's independence

The party is hoping its policy restructuring exercise will win it enough votes to oust Mrs Thatcher at the next general election, which will be held before 1992

In Southern Africa, a Labour government would

● "Support vigorous United Nations, Commonwealth and European Community action against apartheid" — A Labour government would press the EC in particular to take a much tougher line, and accuses the Conservative Government of being "an all too supine follower of American policy"

● Support the Frontline States, "which have been victims of South Africa's military and economic destabilisation", including an emergency aid programme to an independent Namibia

● Ensure "the full and effective implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 to bring about an independent Namibia"

● Give assistance "to further the political and social objectives of the democratic movement in South Africa including the African National Congress"

● Support the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa

In short, Labour says, it will "do everything possible to help bring about a non-racial democratic and united South Africa"

Within South Africa, the document singles out Cosatu, the churches, boycott campaigners and the women's youth and student movements in the UDF as worthy of special support

Although the document lacks a specific pledge of support for Swapo — something which has been clearly spelt out in previous policy statements — Mr Kaufmann said Labour's support for the movement was unfaltering

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Star 19/5/89

(11A)

Offer to Mrs Sisulu after talks with clerics

Bush invites UDF leader to visit US

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President George Bush has invited the co-president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, to visit the United States

He has also been asked to meet the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo

White House press secretary Mr Marlin Fitzwater made an announcement about Mrs Sisulu's invitation shortly after Mr Bush met three South African church leaders — Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude

Abhorrence

Mr Fitzwater said that after the meeting President Bush shared the archbishop's abhorrence of apartheid

He said "The president promised to press his opposition in every way possible

"The US administration will be looking at ways to best use American pressure, influence and leverage to bring about justice and equality in South Africa. It was a very good meeting," said Mr Fitzwater

He said Mr Bush did not discuss sanctions with Archbishop Tutu

On the invitation to Mrs Sisulu, Mr Fitzwater said no date had been set

He described her as a patroness of the principal black opposition group in South Africa

Her husband was in jail and the group was banned in South Africa

Dr Boesak said in a television interview yesterday that he had asked Mr Bush to meet Mr Tambo, so that he could see for himself what kind of man he was

Dr Boesak said Mr Bush gave no indication whether he would invite Mr Tambo or not.

"But my feeling is that whichever way it goes, once President Bush has met with Mr F W de Klerk, then the question will arise, how can you meet with the leader of the minority white government in South Africa and you are not willing to meet with the acknowledged leader of the organisation that represents by far most South Africans, white and black," he said

● The White House earlier this week confirmed National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk would be invited to visit the US

He would meet the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, before the general election in September

There were no plans for Mr Bush to meet Mr de Klerk, the White House said

Tutu's peace plan for SA: more sanctions please

5 Feb 1985

WASHINGTON — The pro-sanctions lobby in the US is not in the least bit concerned about the economic hardship its actions would inflict on the poorest and weakest South Africans.

It is also not impressed with the so-called viable alternative to sanctions — economic empowerment of the black people, a concept frequently bandied about among moderates and conservatives in Washington.

This much was clear when about 90 prominent Americans who spearhead the sanctions drive in the US gathered this week to hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu's new peace plan for South Africa.

It turned out there was no peace plan, but rather a debate for more sanctions.

The only difference of opinion was whether the strategy should be to go for a full set of comprehensive sanctions, which would be difficult to achieve given the Senate and the Bush administration's opposition to such overkill, or whether a tactical move of incremental sanctions would be more successful.

No-one mentioned the possibility of lifting some of the existing sanctions.

Archbishop Tutu was careful to point out on a number of occasions he was not obsessed with sanctions, and that the measures he and his brother clerics now proposed should not be seen as punitive measures but rather as carefully selected items designed to achieve the main objective: forcing the South African Government to the negotiating table.

At one point, talking about rolling over South Africa's foreign debts, he said the emphasis need not be on refusing to

BY DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau

Prominent Americans who spearhead the sanctions drive in the US gathered this week to hear Archbishop Desmond Tutu's new peace plan for South Africa, but there was no peace plan, rather a debate for more sanctions.

extend repayments unless something was done. It could be on granting new loans in return for something being done.

For the archbishop, apparently, this was a subtle shift in his approach on sanctions, implying that there could be room for more flexibility on the issue.

Emotions ran so high that even conservative Democratic Senator David Boren, who until now has been leaning away from a fresh round of sanctions, enthusiastically endorsed the church leaders' carefully selected financial sanctions.

These are banning any further rolling over of South Africa's foreign debts, a complete severance of all air links with South Africa, and embargoes on South Africa's gold and coal exports and its oil imports.

The church leaders believe that if America implements these sanctions, and if it can persuade the rest of the Western world to do likewise, the South African Government can be brought to its knees.

They argued that the only reason why South Africa negotiated a settlement in Namibia and Angola was because of the pressure of sanctions.

More sanctions would force South Africa to its own domestic negotiations table.



Senator Ted Kennedy jokes with Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak when entertained them to dinner this week.

Natal peace talks in jeopardy

By Mike Siluma
Labour Reporter

The much-awaited weekend talks between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), Inkatha and United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates — to end political fighting in Natal townships — are in jeopardy, because of Inkatha's insistence that they take place in Ulundi.

Following a proposal by Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that the talks be held in the kwaZulu capital of Ulundi, leaders of Cosatu and the UDF affiliates yesterday suggested that the meeting take place in a neutral venue.

In a joint statement, Cosatu and the UDF affiliates said they were committed to the talks,

but were "regrettably" unable to accept Ulundi as a venue.

"We believe that it is essential that a non-controversial and neutral venue be found. We are prepared to meet at another mutually acceptable place," the organisations said.

They believed that all parties serious about initiating a peace process in Natal should not "let the issue of a venue degenerate into an insurmountable obstacle that creates any further delay to this meeting".

Chief Buthelezi said he was "sorry that (UDF and Cosatu leaders) have problems about coming to talk to me where I am located".

He said other prominent figures involved in the peace pro-

cess — Archbishop Denis Hurley and the Rev Athol Jennings — were prepared to meet him in Ulundi.

"It is for you to prove, by your conduct, whether you were serious at all about being involved with me and Inkatha in the peace initiatives. I have no intention of going to Durban or anywhere else in order to fulfil your wish to meet me," said Chief Buthelezi.

He added he would continue with his own efforts to secure peace in the area.

The proposed meeting comes after more than 1 000 residents died in fighting between the followers of Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha in recent months.

Boesak dismisses Gallup poll on sanctions

STW
19/1/89
By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

11A

WASHINGTON — World Council of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak has dismissed a recent Gallup poll of South Africans on the sanctions issue as the work of a white South African commercial concern

Dr Boesak is one of three clerics visiting the US in a bid to step-up sanctions

The Gallup survey, released in Johannesburg and Washington this week, found a majority of all South Africans were opposed to sanctions

The poll was commissioned by the Chamber of Mines and conducted by Markinor, an affiliate of Gallup. The Gallup organisation of the US sent

one of its most senior researchers to ensure the poll's validity. The US organisation has allowed its name to be carried on the survey.

Dr Boesak told the newspaper *USA Today* "People must be aware that the poll carries the name Gallup, but it is not the same Gallup corporation of the US, but a white South African commercial concern."

Asked if sanctions hurt only poor blacks, Dr Boesak said he has "evidence from other polls that more than 70 percent of the blacks supported sanctions"

Only 29 percent of the more than 2 000 people interviewed by Markinor thought Dr Boesak was in favour of sanctions. Only 1 percent named him as the leader they supported most

Azapo office raided by police

Police yesterday raided the Johannesburg offices of the restricted Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) for the fifth time this year and seized a number of documents.

Mr Jackie Hlapolosa, Azapo's spokesman, said the raid was conducted by eight security policemen and lasted for about 30 minutes. *was 19/8/84*

A liaison officer from SAP headquarters in Pretoria could not confirm the raid and said he would not comment on "routine duties".

Transkeians claim visits to Mandela

UMTATA — A number of Transkei government, tribal and church leaders have visited the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, since the beginning of this year

This was confirmed today by one of those who had visited him — Chief Vulindlela Mtirara

Chief Mtirara said he would visit Mandela again this weekend. He would be accompanied by the Bishop of the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Don Dabula, and an Anglican priest, the Rev A Nompuku

Mandela was also visited earlier this year by the acting Commander of the Transkei Defence Force, Brigadier Temba Matanzima

And while it could not be confirmed, sources said the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Chief Ngangomhlaba Matanzima, had visited Mandela

A former leader of the now defunct opposition Democratic Progressive Party, Mr A S Xobololo, said today that Mandela was interested in being briefed on current issues relating to the Tembu tribe, of which he is senior member

"It has been a great joy to be invited by Mandela at a time when the clock is turning in the house of Tembu and in Transkei in general," he said

Asked for comment on the visits to Mandela, a liaison officer for the South African Prisons Service, Major Dave Smith, said last night visits to prisoners were regarded as a private matter and to give details of them would be to intrude on the privacy of Mandela. — Sapa

Stompie trial: 9 bail applications

PAT DEVEREAUX *SAW 20/5/89*

BAIL applications for key suspects linked to the controversial murder of child activist Stompie Mokhetse Seipei, are expected to be made in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court next Tuesday, according to their legal representative.

The nine people expected to stand trial for the murder of the 14-year-old Tumahole activist include members of Mrs Winnie Mandela's soccer club. The accused have been held in custody since their arrest.

Their legal representative, Ms Cathy Satchwell, yesterday said bail applications would be made for her clients. Among the nine are the team's former soccer coach, Mr Jerry Richardson (41), the bus driver for the soccer team, Mr John Morgan (61), Mr Jabulani Khubeka (25), Mr Sibusiso Mabuza (18) and Mrs Xolisa Falati (35) and three youths.

It is not known whether the ninth accused, Mr Kaizer Cebekhulu (21), will appear with them on Tuesday as he is undergoing psychiatric observation.

The trial of the nine accused follows the murder of Stompie, the Free State child activist whose body was discovered on January 7 this year after he was allegedly abducted and assaulted by members of the soccer team at Mrs Mandela's Soweto home.

This incident created a political furore which led to anti-apartheid groupings, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, accusing the soccer team of waging a "reign of terror" in the townships and calling for Mrs Mandela to distance herself from the team's activities.

The trial is not likely to commence until further investigations have been completed, but it is believed that Mrs Mandela will be called as a witness to the events surrounding the death of the young activist.

ANC's 'wild men'

worry Zambia

Nov 20/5/87
AFRICA NEWS
SERVICE

LUSAKA — The African National Congress should ensure that only responsible members were issued firearms, Zambia Secretary of State for Defence and Security, Mr Alex Shapi, has said.

Mr Shapi reiterated that the Zambian government will take strong action against ANC members who violate the law.

He was commenting on the latest shooting incident involving ANC members in which a Zambian woman was killed in the Lusaka suburb of Burma.

Zambian police have arrested an ANC man.

Witnesses said this week that in the latest incident a woman was passing in front of a house used by the ANC when dogs barked.

An ANC member allegedly came out of the house with a gun, pursued the woman and shot her, the witnesses said.

Suicide

Last week, an ANC fighter killed his Zambian girlfriend and then committed suicide. Last month, another ANC cadre shot and killed two fellow guerillas in an apparent robbery attempt.

Reports said the killings had caused tension between the ANC and the Zambian authorities.

An ANC spokesman said this week that nearly half of its members stationed in Zambia had been moved out of the country. About 1500 had left Zambia, leaving about 800.

The spokesman denied that the departure was due to growing tensions between the government and ANC.

Mr Shapi said the situation involving ANC fighters in Zambia was not getting out of hand. "The police are very firm in handling the situation."

Hijack: SA 'not involved'

WHILE government spokesmen have rejected allegations of South African involvement in this week's Tanzanian hijacking episode, senior police sources in Pretoria say dissident ANC cadres may have been behind it.

Senior security sources said yesterday that there was clear evidence of dissatisfaction within ANC ranks and definite information that numbers of ANC exiles wished to return to South Africa in response to a government invitation to do so.

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzanian security officials were yesterday holding two men who Western and African diplomats say tried to hijack the airliner.

Medical sources at the Lugalo mili-

tary hospital said yesterday that one of the men was admitted with a gunshot wound in his right shoulder.

Sources close to the Tanzanian government said the aircraft was carrying 174 ANC members

Meanwhile in Harare, an ANC spokesman last night said it was "just a probability" the would-be hijackers were South African double agents posing as guerillas, reports Michael Hartnack.

The spokesman did not know who the Soviet aircraft's occupants were, or whether any ANC personnel had been injured before the flight made an unscheduled stop at Dar-es-alaam.
— Sapa-Reuter

11R (circled) ~~11R~~ (circled) *CPW 21/5/89*

Nelson graduates – in absentia

CP Correspondent

IT was a case of guess who did not come to Unisa's graduation ceremony at Cape Town's City Hall this week.

One of the 200-odd graduands was jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who was due to receive his Bachelor of Laws Degree. Though the name Nelson Mandela featured prominently on the pro-

gramme, it was not mentioned at the ceremony.

Mandela was not there to receive his degree, nor was any member of his family.

Their absence did not stop people from looking out for them. Police in two cars also kept watch.

Mandela never intended applying for permission to have his degree conferred on him, said his attorney Ismail Ayob, who visited

him at his quarters at Victor Verster prison on Monday.

"He said he had not applied for permission to attend the ceremony," Ayob said.

This was confirmed last night by Unisa spokesman Chip Ioubert.

"We invited him, but he filled in a form saying he wanted it in absentia. The degree will be posted to him," he said.

By LULAMA LUTHI

A LEADER of the restricted UDF, Mohammed Valli Moosa, has called for the rejection of the government's proposed welfare policy - At a social workers conference in Johannesburg this week, Valli Moosa speaking in his personal capacity - told delegates social workers would face an uphill battle rendering services for as long as apartheid remained in-

Call for single welfare system

tact - Said Moosa "Social workers more than any body else are daily faced with the painful effects of a system which is anti the welfare of the people" **UNJUST** "They are sensitised to the unequal, unjust and

foreign multi-national companies, he said "Without real change in the economic life of this country, the dream of meeting the welfare needs of the people will remain just that - a dream. The apartheid system and in their call for more benefits the Anglo-Americans of this country by making it possible for

conference to establish a programme which would serve as a basis for uniting the majority of social workers He urged social workers to improve their relationships with the people dependent on social services and appealed to them "to fight the tendency towards elitism which

is manifest among most professional social workers"

More than 200 delegates from different national welfare organisations attended the first session of the two-day conference Chairing the Social Workers' Association's Anne Lelsebe, who said the gathering was historic as it brought together a broad cross-section of organisations

(111) 18/5/80

South African motion picture

Tanzanians hold ANC plane men

21/5/89
FIA
COWS

TANZANIAN security officials are holding two men alleged to have attempted to hijack a Soviet airliner carrying ANC members.

Officials declined to disclose the names or the nationalities of the detained men

Medical sources at the Lugalo Military Hospital in Dar es Salaam said one of the men had been admitted with a gunshot wound to his right shoulder

However, government officials denied there had been an attempt to hijack Thursday's unscheduled flight from Luanda to Moscow via Dar es Salaam

Sources close to the Tanza-

man government said the aircraft was carrying 174 ANC members on their way to Moscow

ANC officials declined to comment on the incident

The government officials said they were unaware that one of the two men - detained for what they described as a scuffle on the aircraft - had suffered a gunshot wound.

The aircraft crew contacted Dar es Salaam air traffic controllers on Thursday night to say they had trouble on board

The jet landed in Dar es Salaam 40 minutes later, airport sources said

The plane left for Moscow on Friday morning

Six detained

119
Cape Times 22/5/89
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu police detained six members of the Kwa Mashu Youth League, including former hunger strikers Mr Bongani Phiri and Mr Mlungisi Shezi, in the township yesterday, according to the regional director of the Democratic Party, Mr Roy Ainslie

The six had been collecting statements from some of the 84 members of the league who were detained for three days last week in connection with the death of Cosmos "Scuta" Dlamini, 19, who was killed by KwaZulu Police on May 11



Some among the more than 700 delegates to the National Union of Metalworkers congress held in Germiston at the weekend. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Numsa wants SADF and police confined

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

South Africa's second biggest industrial union, the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), has called for the creation of "basic political conditions", including the confinement of the army and the police to barracks, before genuine negotiations between the Government and anti-apartheid forces can take place.

The call was among resolutions taken by 735 delegates to the 180 000-strong union's second

biennial congress, held in Germiston at the weekend.

Re-elected general secretary Mr Moses Mayekiso told reporters after the congress that delegates had "indicated strong opposition to any negotiations with the Nationalist regime before basic conditions of political freedom are established".

These conditions were

- The unbanning of political organisations
- The release of detainees and political prisoners, and the return of those in exile.

- The confinement of the South African Defence Force and the police to barracks

- The lifting of the state of emergency and the suspension of all security legislation

Other officials re-elected are Mr Daniel Dube (president) and Mr Percy Thomas (second vice-president). Mr Maxwell Xulu becomes first vice-president and former Robben Island political prisoner and ANC leader, Mr Harry Gwala, honorary president.

ANC silent over hijack bid by 'SADF agents'

South African Times 22/5/89 Own Correspondent 11A

HARARE — The African National Congress yesterday maintained its veil of secrecy over the attempted hijacking of an Aeroflot flight from Luanda, reportedly by two whites who had successfully posed as guerilla recruits

On Friday an ANC spokesman in Lusaka said in a telephone interview that there was a rumour the would-be hijackers were SADF agents who had infiltrated ANC ranks

Yesterday no ANC spokesmen were available for comment

There were sharply conflicting reports about the incident, with unofficial ANC sources yesterday saying only one hijacker — a lone white man with an Afrikaans accent — was involved

The source said he accosted the Soviet pilot when the aircraft was in mid-air between Luanda and Dar Es Salaam and demanded the flight divert to South Africa, saying there was a top ANC agent aboard

After he threatened to blow up the flight with a grenade, he was shot by a Soviet "sky marshal"

ANC under pressure on armed action

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The African National Congress (ANC) was under severe pressure from the Soviets and some African countries to suspend the armed struggle in favour of negotiation, political lecturer and author Dr Neville Alexander said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing a monthly forum on "The changing face of the Soviet Union" he said none of these countries would actually go all the way to cut off assistance to the ANC.

But even if the organisation did want to negotiate it would encounter resistance locally.

He said he did not believe real negotiations were going to take place in the country, because the Government had not yet seen the reason to negotiate.

Braklaagte 65

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JOSEPH HANLON is a researcher doing spadework for the new sanctions strategy Commonwealth heads of government are to discuss in Kuala Lumpur later this year. He clearly has a well-developed sense of mission. His problem is that many of those he feels should be grateful for his labours are starting to thwart him. The ingrates!

One such is President Joaquim Chissano, whose views on socialism, SA and sanctions have ceased to be exactly congruent with Hanlon's. Chissano has strayed beyond what he is permitted to think by the anti-apartheid movement. This has obliged the researcher to call him an expedient liar.

"We must accept that Pretimo has been forced into duplicity by the World Bank and the US, saying publicly that economic restructuring is good when plainly it is not," writes Hanlon in the current issue of *Caribbean* in the Southern Africa Report. "Similarly, we know Pretoria wants cringing statements on sanctions. If Pretimo feels that such duplicity will save the lives of tens of thousands of Mozambicans, we should accept that judgment. But I think Pretimo will also expect us to continue the fight for sanctions."

Can't have mere Africans disturbing our circles, now can we? Dear me, no. If they take decisions that interfere with our own agendas, we'll either dissembling or incapable of thinking for themselves. Or so, effectively, maintains the egregious Hanlon.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak have yet to step off the reservation quite as dramatically as Chissano, but in their visit here last week they left no doubt they were inclining just a little too close to the fence for the comfort of Hanlon and his ilk. Here is the nub of their message to the US Congress and administration.

"The methods which you use to put pressure on the South African government are secondary to the main issue, which is to get it to the negotiating table. If it can be done without sanctions, so much the better. Nevertheless, we reiterate that we remain totally convinced that the South African government will not be brought to the negotiating table without pressure and therefore the time is not appropriate to lift the campaign to exert such pressure."

Tutu and Boesak change tack on all-out sanctions

SIMON BARBER in Washington

That is what the clergymen said in writing. Orally, and perhaps in part to please their audiences, they were considerably more vehement. Boesak in particular — in their calls for specific sanctions on foreign credit, gold, coal and oil.

Nonetheless, their overall presentation was as "new" — to American ears, at least — as its advance billing suggested. It was the first time in many years that any South African of Tutu's and Boesak's foreign standing has made a proposal that does not back the US administration and other responsible Western governments into a corner.

This is because the proposal was couched in terms of achieving a reasonable end — negotiations — rather than as a demand for the application of irresponsible means — comprehensive sanctions and disinvestment.

The latter approach has been a blessing for US politicians and activists, in that it has provided a set of simple-minded objectives (the passage of legislation, the badgering of corporations and the coercion of college authorities) to sell "tainted" stock, for example) and a stick to beat up anyone who tries, for whatever reason, to stand in the way.

In short, it has turned common sense and an empirical appreciation of how things work into "racism" and "immorality".

It has also distracted South Africans on all sides from what actually needs to be done. For example, SA might be a lot better off if the Cham-

ber of Mines stopped trying to persuade the rest of the world that the majority of blacks don't want sanctions and put more effort into pressing for what blacks actually do want — which is first-class citizenship, economic opportunity and the right to express their opinions in a polling booth rather than to a pollster.

Let me note in passing how repugnant, not to mention childish, counter-productive, I found the manner in which the Chamber released its new Gallup survey last week.

However compelling the data, the fact remains that the spectacle of white mine-owners spending lots of money to generate evidence that backs their cause is seen over here as irretrievable testimony that sanctions are hurting the right people.

Secondly, the poll demonstrates something quite other than what its sponsors obviously intended. This is that when the state and a small number of giant corporations have their population by the short hairs — socially, politically and economically — most people's priority is simply to stay alive and protect what they have.

That priority must be respected, of course, but what must not be overlooked, which it often is, is that the majority desperately wants to be in a position to have other priorities to be reached. It is through negotiation in which all sides start out with a minimum of respect for each others' viewpoints.

Last week, I found myself having a lot more respect for Tutu's views as modified than for the Chamber with its arrogantly elephantine effort to show the Archbishop up. The Cham-

ber was still focusing on the means as if they were the end. Tutu, as noted above, had moved on.

The Chamber is not alone in being left behind. At last Wednesday's Capitol Hill love-in for Tutu, Boesak and the Rev Beyer's Naude, maximalist sanctioners like Congressman Ron Dellums also found themselves in the lurch.

Boesak publicly told him that his Comprehensive Sanctions Bill was no longer needed because no one had theretofore ceased to be credible. I thought it would pass and its threat Dellums was quite put out, especially when Senator Edward Kennedy, of all people, set on him as well.

Boesak continued that if there were to be new sanctions, which it would depend on the South African government's readiness to move to the negotiating table, they should instead be "incremental", starting perhaps with a threat to obstruct the rescheduling of debt.

For good measure, Tutu interjected that any new sanction should not be "punitive", a Talmudic distinction, perhaps, but also a clear dismissal of the Dellums blunderbuss approach.

Another sanctioner put in his place was David Dunkins, Manhattan borough president. A New York mayoral candidate, he has been attemping to win votes by calling for the expansion of the city's selective purchasing law to deny contracts to companies that maintain non-equity ties with SA even though they have pulled out. This would hit IBM, for example.

Dunkins asked for Boesak's benediction, but did not get it quite as fulsomely as he might have hoped. "Disinvestment is a second tier strategy," he was told, somewhat dismissively.

By contrast, Tutu urged his listeners to "invest in" black South Africans, though there is still some dispute as to exactly what he meant. All this was very good news for the Bush administration as well as the moderate majority of Democrats and Republicans in Congress, all of whom have come to the conclusion that it is time to speak with one voice on SA and elevate the debate above the coils of domestic racial politics. By stressing that the end, not the means, is what counts, Tutu and Boesak contributed to a workable script.

That script calls for, among other things, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen to repudiate President Ronald Reagan's policy and to declare that President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker are "very very angry" with what they see happening in SA.

Bush will make a point, as he is already doing, of seeing a broad cross-section of South African leaders. A non-binding condemnation may be required.

More certainly, there will a high-profile effort to rally allied support behind the possibility — and I stress the possibility — of financial sanctions.

As bona fides thus established, the US administration will then, with the help of Democratic Party intermeddaries such as Senator David Boren, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, work to make the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act a more flexible tool for promoting negotiation. This would include the possibility of "ratcheting down" pressures, as Boren put it last week, as well as ratcheting them up.

The deal between the White House and Congress, if it gets, will make a lot more sense for SA than what has gone before, but it will be fragile. Whether it holds and produces anything useful will depend very much on Pretoria and, in particular, on F W de Klerk living up to his early notices.

What should also be remembered is that Tutu, Boesak and other similar, if quieter, voices not only have helped make it possible but can help undo it as well.

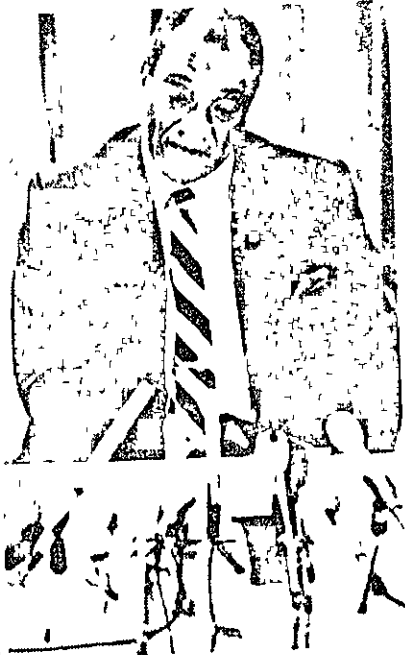
13/Dec 23/1987

CHANGES COMING — PERKINS

(115)
DIANNA GAMES

US AMBASSADOR to SA Edward Perkins yesterday told journalists he would not have come to SA if he had not believed change was coming to the country

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport prior to leaving SA, Perkins, 60, said he would probably not have stayed if he had not believed there was hope SA's people would find a way to change the system



PERKINS hope kept me here
Picture ROBERT BOTHA

No successor has yet been appointed, but the man tipped as the most likely candidate is career diplomat Bill Swing, 55, who has formerly held ambassadorships in Liberia and the Congo

Perkins, who has spent his two-and-a-half years in SA keeping a low public profile, making few public appearances and seldom granting Press interviews, is expected to be promoted to US Foreign Service director-general

Perkins said it was simplistic to say sanctions had not been effective. The issue had to be looked at in terms of its objectives and while the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act had not succeeded in releasing Nelson Mandela or having the ANC unbanned, it was a tool to remind SA it had to make changes to be seen as a responsible nation. Sanctions should be developed in concert with other foreign policy initiatives to achieve aims such as the elimination of apartheid

He had heard NP leader F W de Klerk say positive things about wanting to narrow the political gap between the races, 'but we will have to wait and see'. He believed whites would accept giving up control of SA and was encouraged to see more whites outside government trying to increase dialogue to find a solution to the country's problems

The most encouraging aspect of his tenure was the black majority's reaction to government's efforts to stifle overt unhappiness with the status quo. 'That tells me it is very difficult to stifle the desire of people to be free'

31 Dec 23/1987

Bishops see danger in laying off teachers

THE Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference has warned government that failure to solve the crisis in black schools would culminate in a disaster worse than the 1984-86 period

A statement called on government to

heed pupils' teachers and parents regarding the black education crisis, saying in response to reports of teacher retrenchments in Soweto, an inadequate supply of teachers 'could only aggravate an already inferior education system'

Move to save death row trio

AN urgent application is to be brought before the Pretoria Supreme Court today for a stay of execution against three political activists convicted of killing policemen and an informer.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for the Lawyers for Human Rights who said in two of the cases different arguments have since been brought to the attention of the lawyers

Sibusiso Senele Masuku and Oupa Josiah Mobonani, who are due

to hang tomorrow, were convicted and sentenced for the necklace murder of a Soshanguve policeman in February 1986.

The national director of lawyers, Mr Brian Currin said initial investigations indicated that the two men had exhausted all their legal remedies, but their attorneys were reviewing their case

Abraham Mngomezulu of Soweto was convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a police informer in Pretoria. He is also due to hang tomorrow

Meanwhile the Federation of Transvaal Women has joined several organisations in calling for a petition to protest the hanging of the trio

Apartheid is to blame for Strydom - Cosatu

The "sordid" sensationalism around the Barend Strydom trial should not allow us to forget what happened in Pretoria that day, and what has happened since

An armed man massacred peaceful bystanders in the city centre

It took an unarmed citizen to disarm the gunman and prevent further killings

That man now lives in fear of his life because of his heroic actions

The killer meanwhile has been able to propagate his views as to why the killing of innocent citizens was justified, and as to why further such killings should take place

Furthermore, supporters of the killer were able to demonstrate support for his actions and to act in an openly threatening way to the public at large

It is impossible to imagine this scenario being played out in any remotely democratic society

The killer genuinely believed that the authorities would protect him and the security forces who failed to protect members of the public have not even been called to account for their actions.

The State has failed to protect the hero who risked his life to save others, organisations and individuals are freely allowed to spread hate propaganda which has the aim of encouraging, and may foreseeably result in, further such massacres

It is only possible to understand this scenario in the context of the

MR JAY NAIDOO (below), general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, asks how many more killers like Barend Strydom are being created in classrooms, cadets and veld schools



sick racist society" which this Government is largely responsible for creating and sustaining.

Not only is Barend Strydom their product, but other Barend Strydoms are free to propagate their sick views and to exercise their power over millions of South Africans.

How many Strydoms are there in the SAP, the SADF, the civil ser-

vice, the SABC, the courts and parliament itself? How many more Strydoms are being created daily in the classrooms, cadets and veld schools?

There is no indication that this Government is able or willing to root out this disease, or is prepared to act against the neo-fascist organisations which openly preach and practise race hatred.

While racism in our society remains entrenched in all State institutions, the State is turning its attention to other "much more dangerous targets" - all those organisations fighting for democracy in our country

These organisations continue to be restricted, their leaders placed under house arrest and detained. Mr Adriaan Vlok has announced that he has no attention of lifting the emergency

His reason for retaining the emergency is not so that he can deal with the real threat to the people of this country - racism and apartheid

Rather he has to use the state of emergency because it is the only way his Government can survive in the face of the overwhelming opposition it faces from South Africa's people.

Death row

Let us not forget that it is the same police force to which Barend Strydom belonged that enjoys indemnity under the state of emergency

What if Barend Strydom had killed people in "township unrest" would he be on death row now?

It is no good putting a couple of psychopaths who go beyond the realm of what is "acceptable" behind bars. Others will take their place

The real culprit which should have been on trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court is the South African Government and those responsible for the crime of apartheid.

Strydom has just been a sacrificial lamb and has even been made into a hero for some whites. Meanwhile the crime of apartheid goes unpunished and is about to be given another lease of life by yet another state of emergency

Cosatu and the entire mass democratic movement shall not rest until the root cause of the Strydom massacre and all other forms of brutality which our people experience is eradicated from our country



PETER RAMOSHOANE MOKABA is out of prison — yet again

The South African Youth Congress president and former Robben Island convict, believed during 1987 to have been the security police's "most wanted" activist, has once more defied the state's attempts to lock him out of the anti-apartheid struggle

Despite his description on police posters as "Uiters Gevaarlik" (extremely dangerous), Mokaba walked out of the Pietersburg Regional Court on Tuesday a free man

The state unexpectedly dropped its charges of terrorism against the irrepressible activist who, in 1985, was released from Robben Island on appeal after serving a year of his sentence for "membership of the African National Congress' military wing"

Mokaba's life has been one of absolute, overriding commitment to the political tasks he has set himself. This has made his lifestyle unusual, to say the least

Flushed with his sudden freedom this week after another year in the cells, he told the *Weekly Mail* he had not slept at his home in Mankweng since 1980

Considering the fact that there have been 17 attempts on his life, this is not entirely surprising. He has been in only one of two places for the last eight years, he says — "in prison, or underground"

While on the "outside", Mokaba says he improvised accommodation, boarding with friends and living "anywhere else but home". Interrogating officers warned him to "either leave the country or stay and suffer", he says.

For many South Africans across the political spectrum, Mokaba became an especially potent symbol of the internal anti-apartheid struggle. In his "underground" role as Sayco president — he masterminded the successful secret launch of the massive but now-restricted organisation in 1987

The quiet smile of an activist who's slipped the police yet again

It's said that Peter Mokaba, president of the country's biggest youth organisation, is the activist police would most dearly like to see behind bars. But time and again, he's given them the slip. As he did this week, yet again ...
By MUSA ZONDI



Peter Mokaba: 'Vigilance became my priority, my watchword'

— he took on almost legendary status

He was the most important youth leader in the country, and admiring activists referred to him as the leader of the "Class of '87", comparing him and his colleagues to the ANC "Class of '44" youth leaders

He was seen as a "black pimpernel", dodging the clutches of the state in much the same way as Nelson Mandela had done some 30 years before

And at right-wing meetings in the Northern Transvaal, his was also a name to be conjured with. Mokaba recalls that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demagogue Eugene Terreblanche once threatened to "chase me up to Caro"

Terreblanche, he said, expressed outrage that "PW Botha could imprison an old man like Nelson Mandela, but let young ANC people move around"

Mokaba's experiences — chiefly the flurry of charges thrown at him which have not stuck — show no sign of persuading him to withdraw from politics, or leave the country.

"Police failed to criminalise my activities through the courts," he told the *Weekly Mail* after his acquittal. "They have fabricated lies, but still they have not succeeded"

He escaped Robben Island in 1985 on a technicality — the appeal court found that the magistrate who presided over his trial had acted improperly. He was tried again on similar charges in the same year, but received a suspended sentence

He found himself in prison again in 1988, detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. During this time, he hand-wrote a 26-page document recalling his experiences and setting out his vision of the activities of the security forces and the fortunes of resistance. He released the document to the *Weekly Mail* this week

In it, he wrote of his feelings after receiving the suspended sentence in 1985: "As I walked out of court free, there was nothing to conceal (the police's) bitter anger. I knew that far from being free I had actually moved onto a new terrain of struggle.

"I had entered another sector of concentrated enemy fire and defence and vigilance became my priority, my watchwords."

The manuscript details assassination attempts against Mokaba. After his

release from the Island, he "there were mysterious cars and drivers who were clearly watching my home"

In the third week after his release, he received a message to telephone "Jackie" in Johannesburg

"This person had asked that I call at eight o'clock, and I had to go to the post office about two kilometres from my home.

"On this particular night, the street was dark. The telephone booths were unlit. I was still wondering (why it was so) when suddenly there was a flash from a stationary car's headlights"

Mokaba ran on to the nearby campus of University of the North, but escaped the men — dressed in Zion Christian Church uniforms — who gave chase.

There were numerous other attempts by unknown assailants to abduct or assassinate him.

"There was a sudden heightening of activity by police and unmarked cars

The two who would not speak

THE sudden withdrawal this week of all charges against Peter Mokaba, president of the now-restricted South African Youth Congress, was a result of two key witnesses refusing to testify against the activist

It is believed the two, Malebane Elias Tswai, 28, and Sam Thabo Masemola, 29, were told soon after their arrest that they should testify against Mokaba in order to avoid being charged themselves

They gave the impression that they would co-operate on this basis, only to reverse the decision once court proceedings began. The two let the state prosecutor know at the last minute that they would not testify against Mokaba.

They were then charged alongside him and appeared with him in the dock of the Pietersburg Regional

By MUSA ZONDI

Court on Monday

However, without their evidence, the state's case against Mokaba collapsed for lack of evidence, and he was freed

Mokaba had been charged with "terrorism" and was accused of being a "supervisor" for the banned African National Congress in South Africa. He had been in detention as an awaiting-trial prisoner for the past 14 months.

Tswai and Masemola still face charges of membership of the ANC, and possession of arms. They have pleaded guilty to the charges

Both deny that they underwent military training on behalf of the ANC. Sentence is due to be passed today.

around my home," he recalls. On returning home one day he found a dog had been stabbed to death. "I saw that as an omen, a prelude to invasion. I spent less and less time at home and never once slept there. I could smell death in the air."

One would-be assassin confessed to Mokaba. Oupa Monana told him he had been made to join the security forces after being detained. "He told me his main objective was to assassinate me," says Mokaba, "but he failed several times and eventually said he had to spill the beans."

Mokaba says three attempts were made in Alexandra township within the space of three months: "Once they were armed with a rifle and hand grenades, but I confounded them."

Another was carried out by three people who beat him and left him for dead — but he survived.

"During subsequent interrogation," says Mokaba, "I was asked by security police how I had managed to survive the attack in Alexandra. I came to the conclusion that police had orchestrated it."

There were further attempts. Mokaba recalls a failed effort in Wolmarans Street in Johannesburg, for example.

"Then they tried in De Villiers Street, next to the Victoria Hotel. They also waited to ambush me in O'Reilly Road, where this Oupa had set up an appointment with me. I frustrated them."

Monana claimed he had been promised R60 000, a house and a regular salary if he succeeded in killing Mokaba.

Despite the almost unbelievable sequence of events, however, Mokaba has not been intimidated. He has had to resort to an air of fatalism: "I know I may not grow old. I know that they will never rest until they have achieved their objective, that of eliminating me."

"But I also know that not even death can persuade me to give up my love for my people, for democracy, equality and peace in a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

"I know that my death shall not be in vain. I believe that on the soil that is drenched with blood shall inevitably rise the tree of our noble endeavours."

ANC admits 'pressure to talk'

(11A)

SENIOR ANC sources in Lusaka this week confirmed that the outlawed organisation was under increasing pressure to consider a negotiated settlement.

Some of the pressure was coming from "friends", including several Frontline States, they said.

Some Western heads of state were using their relationships with African states to get those states to pressure the movement.

"We are in principle not opposed to negotiations, but the climate must be right for us to consider it," said an ANC spokesperson.

"In previous attempts the SA government's commitment to apartheid has prevented the possibility

"When the Eminent Persons Group visited SA, our preconditions were that the ANC and other organisations be declared legal, that all detainees and political prisoners be released and that the state of emergency be lifted. The government was not prepared to meet any of the preconditions."

Balance of power

Fundamentally, nothing had changed, so the ANC's preconditions would remain the same.

"A significant change in the balance of power is necessary for us to consider negotiations. In the Namibian settlement this was reached when SA's troops were defeated at Cuito Canavale."

But rumours that changes in Soviet foreign policy had provided a major source of pressure were completely unfounded, he said.

"When a delegation of the national executive committee visited the Soviet Union recently, we were assured of continued support for our stand."

The Namibian settlement had seen many expecting a similar situation in SA.

"A different set of dynamics with its own timetable is in operation in South Africa. We do not believe the SA government is committed to change."

The Swapo man who waits on death row in Pretoria

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wmail
19-25/5/88

By SHAUN JOHNSON

LATE last month Leonard Shiihama was transferred to death row in Pretoria Central Prison. However, he is different from others who face the noose — he is a Swapo guerrilla convicted for acts undertaken on behalf of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

After receiving multiple death sentences in Walvis Bay's supreme court on April 21 — he was found guilty of planting at least three bombs in 1986 — Shiihama was removed from the South African enclave to South Africa itself.

His eventual fate is an important indicator of a broader question which could bedevil the Namibian peace

process: Who will qualify for the amnesty provided to political prisoners by the settlement proposal?

In three weeks, the United Nations-imposed deadline falls due for the release of all Namibian political prisoners and detainees, so that they can participate in the electoral process.

According to Windhoek attorney Hosia Angula, who acts for Shiihama, there are several Swapo combatants in Namibian jails who he would classify as "political prisoners" and therefore be eligible for the amnesty.

However, he indicated that the South African-appointed Administrator-General, Louis Pienaar, may insist that they be considered common criminals.

If he is right, the discussions between Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari could be acrimonious.

The Untag media representative in Windhoek, Anouar Cherif, said the UN understood that political prisoners would be released "wherever they are being held."

"We hope this will happen as soon as possible," he said, adding that "each individual case would have to be looked at." If there were disputes over the status of prisoners, he said, the UN understood these would be referred to a nominated, independent international jurist, Professor Carl Norgaard of Denmark.

Speaking from Windhoek yesterday, the administrator-general's spokesman, Gerhard Roux, also expressed optimism: "The discussions are going on all the time regarding the amnesty and we believe it is still feasible that the deadline will be met."

"Most remaining issues have been concluded to the satisfaction of both (the administration and Untag) and the talks are in the final stages of completion."

According to Angula, it would be argued that the motive of each prisoner should be taken into account, and where they had been acting on behalf of Swapo, they should be classified as political.

However, Namibian police commissioner General Dolf Gouws said earlier this year that "there were no political prisoners in Namibia", adding that convicted Swapo members were "just people who have committed crimes".

Some observers view the removal

Wits in military research fracas

54 254 wmail 19-25/5/88

A ROW has flared over the alleged use of facilities of the University of the Witwatersrand for military research. The university has no stated policy against military research.

According to the article published in the campus newspaper, *Wits Student*, the research was being done at the Engineering Faculty and has been funded by Kentron, a subsidiary of Armscor, that specialises in missile systems.

Professor A Nurick, head of Aeronautical Engineering, is alleged to have received a contract from Atlas Aircraft to carry out research on helicopter rotor blades. Atlas Aircraft is an Amcor subsidiary manufacturing airplanes for military purposes.

Nurick told *Wits Student* that "it is accepted that the university does not support research for military purposes". He described research at Wits as being "of a generic nature" and said the work in question "could be used for a wide range of applications".

He told *Wits Student* that "the prime role of the SADF is to protect the country and all its people from external aggressors," adding that "it may be argued that the SADF has from time to time been involved in other activities. This is unfortunate but does not detract from the role it should and has played".

Asked to comment yesterday, Nurick said: "I have said all I need to say to *Wits Student*. There is nothing more I can say."

As the case with other private re-

Cohen encouraged by ^{Har 25/187} changed ANC attitudes ¹¹⁹

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress has taken several measures consistent with what was expected of it in US sanctions legislation, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, has told Congress

He was responding to written questions by the conservative Republican Senator for North Carolina, Mr Jesse Helms

In terms of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), which imposed a series of sanctions on South Africa, the US was to have encouraged the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to suspend terrorist activities, make a commitment to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa, agree to negotiations with the South African Government and other groups representing black South Africans, and re-examine ties to the South African Communist Party

Adjust its stance

The CAAA indicated the US would adjust its actions towards South Africa to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the ANC in meeting these objectives

Replying to a question from Mr Helms, Mr Cohen said the ANC had taken several measures consistent with the objectives in the CAAA

He said "It is clear, for example, that the ANC is evaluating and/or debating its position on a number of issues, including violence, its vision of a post-apartheid South Africa, negotiations, and its ties to the SACP, as evidenced by the public comments of ANC officials and official ANC statements

BY DAVID BRAUN, The Star Bureau

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen says the ANC is evaluating and debating its position on issues such as violence and its view of a post-apartheid South Africa

"These comments and statements have appeared widely and frequently in the Western press"

Asked by Mr Helms whether the ANC had suspended terrorist activities, Mr Cohen said numerous acts of violence had been committed in South Africa since the passage of the CAAA in 1986. By and large, the perpetrators of that violence had been anonymous

"Various observers have blamed the ANC, the South African Government, vigilantes, or other groups or organisations for certain violent acts

"The ANC has claimed credit for several bombings in South Africa. We have condemned all violence in South Africa and have urged all parties, including the ANC, to renounce it. The ANC has yet to heed our call"

Had the ANC made any commitment to a truly free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa?

Mr Cohen replied "The ANC has stated numerous times that it wants to see a democratic, nonracial South Africa. The organisation is now in the process of clarifying its vision of a post-apartheid South Africa

"The draft constitutional guidelines released by the ANC last year contained several provisions that suggest that the ANC is taking into account the desires of the vast majority of South Africans who want to enjoy equal rights in a fully democratic society"

Had the ANC agreed to negotiations with the South African Government, Mr Helm asked

Mr Cohen said "Although both sides embrace the objective of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's dilemma, neither side has agreed on conditions for convening such negotiations. The ANC, however, has held discussions in recent months with a number of groups of prominent and respected white South Africans in an effort to narrow that gap"

Debate constant

Had the ANC re-examined and severed its ties to the SACP, Mr Helms wanted to know

Replied Mr Cohen "The ANC's ties to the SACP have long been a topic of debate within the ANC itself. The debate has varied in intensity, but has been constant"

The organisation had not severed its ties with the SACP, he said

Asked by Mr Helms to what extent should US policy towards the ANC be adjusted, as provided in the 1986 legislation, Mr Cohen said the administration's policy had been to encourage the ANC to renounce violence, to clarify its vision of a democratic South Africa in constitutional terms, and to pursue a negotiated settlement in South Africa

"We should take advantage of any and every opportunity that would help us to achieve those objectives," he said



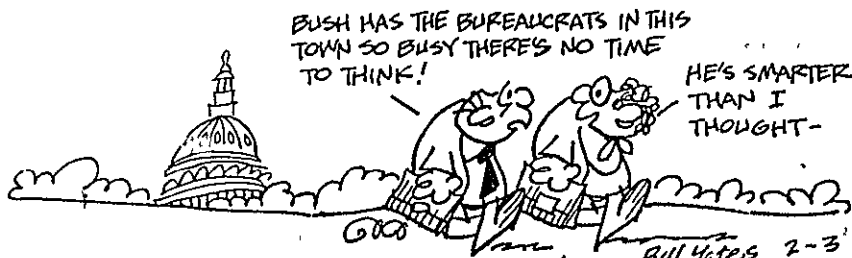
Mr Jesse Helms ... asked whether the ANC had suspended terrorist activities



Mr Cohen ... answered that the perpetrators of violence had mostly been anonymous.

the small society

by Bill Yates



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Hijack bid: ANC
members aboard

There were 157 members of the African National Congress aboard a Soviet airliner involved in an attempted hijack last week, in which the hijacker had hoped to make for Johannesburg, the Soviet ambassador to Angola said yesterday

Mr Vladimir Casimir told an international news agency the hijacker, carrying a homemade bomb, had been overcome by security aboard the plane, en route from Luanda to Dar es Salaam last Thursday - Sapa

Sanctions drive goes on, says the ANC

NAIROBI — The African National Congress yesterday denied it was dropping its campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

Associated Press earlier quoted a spokesman as telling a news conference in Lagos, Nigeria, that the ANC planned a new international campaign "which seeks to lift pressure on South Africa, lift sanctions and certainly not to impose further sanctions".

The agency quoted the spokesman as having said sanctions could lead only to modifications of apartheid, rather than to apartheid's destruction.

The ANC said in the Kenyan capital yesterday that its position remained that sanctions were needed both to get South Africa to negotiate and to end its apartheid policy. — Sapa.

Violent climate 'created by Govt'

Political Correspondent

The Government has been warned that its "hate-propaganda" against the ANC is creating the sort of climate which motivated the mass murders by "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, Democratic Party MP for Green Point, said at a meeting in Maritzburg last night that if the Government did not heed the warning, it should not be surprised if it was held responsible for further violence.

The Government's propaganda created a climate in which less intelligent and less sophisticated people gained the impression they could kill people because they belonged to a category named as enemies by the Government.

Prof Meer: Mandela is looking good

JAILED African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela was this week visited by Professor Fatima Meer and her lawyer husband, Ismail, at the invitation of the world's most famous prisoner.

The three-and-a-half hour meeting took place at the Victor Verster Prison, overlooking the Paarl vineyards on Monday. Prof Meer returned home satisfied that Mr Mandela was "looking youthful, dapper, debonair and sprightly of gait."

The Meers have become the first Natal couple to have

SOWETAN Reporter

visited Mandela since his imprisonment after the Rivonia treason trial 27 years ago.

They were also the first to personally congratulate Mandela who was awarded his LL.B degree (Bachelor of Laws) through the University of South Africa last week.

The visit followed a surprise call from prison authorities last week inviting the Durban couple to visit Mandela, who is a close friend of the Meer family

"We were left without a doubt that the Government recognises the jailed leader as a "very important person," said Prof Meer.

Since Mr Meer is a "listed" person who cannot be quoted, Prof Meer gave her impressions of Mr Mandela during their meeting with him.

She said she found Mandela was more youthful-looking now than during her last visit to him 17 years ago when he appeared "sallow and emaciated" through the glass screen which separated him from her.

ANC <sup>Cap-
Times
28/5/89</sup>
denies
shift on
sanctions

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The ANC office yesterday moved swiftly to diffuse the mounting international controversy over a report that it was about to drop its sanctions campaign against South Africa

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo had been quoted in Nigeria as saying that sanctions only helped South African reform apartheid whereas the ANC wanted the destruction of apartheid

An ANC spokesman said the press statements attributed to Mr Tambo were a "gross distortion" and that the ANC "reiterates its stand on sanctions"

"Mr Tambo's statements were misunderstood. There has been no change in our policy on sanctions"

He was unable to provide the exact text of Tambo's statements

The ANC rebuttal came too late to dampen speculation that a major policy reversal was on the cards

The Daily Mail ran a piece headlined "ANC drops sanctions on Africa" and stated emphatically that Mr Oliver Tambo had called for the change in policy

The news figured prominently on Channel 4's morning TV news bulletin and was also broadcast in a number of European countries

in the Cape Times

Hijack: ANC ¹¹⁰

were on board

APR 11 23 15 1977
JOHANNESBURG —

The Soviet ambassador to Angola has confirmed that there were 157 members of the African National Congress aboard the Soviet airliner involved in an attempted hijack last week, and that the hijacker had hoped to make for Johannesburg.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka has dismissed as speculation the report that the plane was carrying members of the ANC.

— Sapa

ANC calls
for harsher
sanctions

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — The African National Congress has dismissed as "a gross distortion" remarks attributed to its President, Mr Oliver Tambo, that the ANC was dropping its sanctions campaign against South Africa.

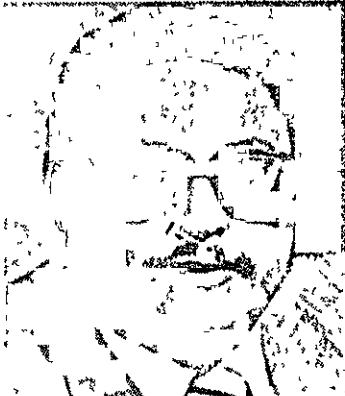
It also called on the international community to increase pressure and implement comprehensive and mandatory sanctions

In a statement issued here the ANC said that while organisations were banned and individuals detained, restricted and executed, the government was not seriously interested in creating a climate for genuine negotiations.



Scorn for call to make Cape 'coloured state'

MACUS 25/5/89 (11A) (11)



Mr Les Abrahams



Mr David Curry

Parliamentary Staff

A CALL to declare the Cape a "coloured state" has been rejected with scorn by Labour Party MP for Diamant Mr Les Abrahams

He challenged the Coloured Peoples' Foundation, who made the call, to state their views in public.

Mr Abrahams was reacting to a letter in the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley from the foundation which called on all coloured people over 16 to support a petition in favour of the proposal.

A MILLION

The letter, from a Kimberley address, said "We, the Coloured Peoples' Foundation, request from every coloured citizen over 16 a signature, address and indication of age with the words 'I support the foundation of a State which will encompass the entire Cape Province for the coloured people' "

The letter said that when the foundation had received a million signatures it would submit them to Parliament

The foundation said coloured people wanted to rule them-

selves and not be "led like animals to the slaughter house"

Mr Abrahams said "The day when South Africans of any colour are open to the Conservative Party's partition policy has long gone"

"One only has to look at the South African economy to see that there is total integration on this level and for any organisation to long for the Cape Province to be declared a coloured homeland can only be described as ridiculous

"One questions the motives of the Coloured Peoples' Foundation One wonders whether or not the Conservative Party is lurking in the background

"The chances of this organisation receiving the million signatures they desire are virtually non-existent

"I dare this foundation to come to Cape Town or even Kimberley for that matter and propagate its view from public platforms"

Earlier in the session Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had indicated that the Western Cape would be a coloured state under a CP government

Nat MP will not Boksburg: Bid to c

But the government struck back, at Budget

ANC men in hijack drama

THE Soviet ambassadors to Angola has confirmed that there were 157 members of the ANC aboard a Soviet airliner involved in an attempted hijack last week and that the hijacker had hoped to make for Johannesburg, SABC TV news reported in early bulletins last night.

The ambassador, Mr Vladimir Casimir, told an international news agency the hijacker had been overcome by security personnel aboard the airliner, en route from Luanda to Dar es Salaam last Thursday. He had been

carrying a home-made bomb

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka has dismissed as speculation the report that the plane was carrying members of the ANC

The Soviet ambassador said the hijacker, whom he did not identify, had been handed over to the Tanzanian authorities

He confirmed that the passengers had left the aircraft at Dar es Salaam, and the aircraft, an Ilyushin-76, had since returned to Luanda. Sapa

11/18

2018/169

70

Would-be hijacker set course for SA — Soviets

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An ANC spokesman in Lusaka dismissed as speculation the report that the plane was carrying members of the ANC. — Sapa

ANC tries to clear confusion

THE ANC yesterday flatly denied reports that it was ending its sanctions campaign against SA.

The ANC in London said the Press statements attributed to a senior ANC official were a "gross distortion" and that the ANC "reiterates its stand on sanctions".

Sapa-AP reported the official as saying he did not know the origin of reports which quoted him as saying in Lagos that the ANC was dropping its campaign and wanted existing sanctions lifted.

"I could never have said that," the official told AP in Nairobi. "I don't know where the story came from. If anything, we need sanctions more than ever."

Earlier yesterday ANC officials in Lusaka were desperately trying to resolve confusion surrounding the reports from various news sources.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka told Business Day yesterday the reported state-

PETER DELMAR and ADELE BALETA

ment contradicted current ANC policy and the organisation was trying to reach its office in Lagos to establish what was said and by whom.

Pretoria Institute for Strategic Studies director Prof Mike Hough said "Although violence and negotiation were being fiercely debated within the ANC there were no indications that sanctions were being widely discussed within the ANC's national executive".

Prof Wilhe Breytenbach of Stellenbosch University's Africa Studies department said an official had probably spoken out of turn. Sanctions remained a pillar of the ANC's strategy to isolate SA's government, he said.

The ANC official said that the ANC did not want people to believe sanctions were merely a weapon to force SA to negotiate.

The Bothas get police meritorious awards

CAPE TOWN — The awarding of police medals to President P W Botha, his wife and key members of his staff was slammed, by opposition parties yesterday as "Banana Republic stuff" and something out of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera.

The medals, the South African Police 75-year Memorial Medal for meritorious and exemplary service, were awarded yesterday by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, at the president's official residence Tuynhuys.

CP spokesmen described the awards as

Political Staff

"Banana Republic stuff", worthy of some South American countries.

One of the DP's police spokesman Ray Swart said "This could come straight out of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera".

"It really reduces the granting of a medal to the ridiculous."

"How come the chefs and housekeepers in the State President's establishment were left out of the list of those granted medals?" Swart asked.

Order against Michaels

SUSAN RUSSELL

SOWETO businessman Lucky Michaels was ordered by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday to pay R72 825 to Gilbey's Distillers & Vintners (Pty) Ltd.

Mr Justice Spoelstra granted a default judgment against Michaels in favour of Gilbey's for the amount plus interest and costs. According to court papers, Michaels is also known as Cecil Anthony Tandi and Leo Michaels trading as Club Pelican.

Gilbey's claim is for goods sold and delivered from July 1987 to March this year.

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11A

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Gilbeys' claim is for goods sold and delivered from July 1987 to March this year.



CURBS: ANC DENIES POLICY CHANGE

THE African National Congress headquarters is unaware of any change in the organisation's policy on economic sanctions against South Africa and is trying to reach a senior official to clarify comments he made on the subject, a spokesman said yesterday.

The official told

reporters in Lagos, Nigeria on Tuesday that the ANC plans a new international campaign "which seeks to lift pressure on South Africa, lift sanctions and certainly not to impose further sanctions".

He did not elaborate on the new campaign except to say that the focus of the international community should be

"getting the apartheid system destroyed" rather than getting "people to sit around the table".

He said, "the tendency is that sanctions serve as a means to bring South Africa to the negotiating table rather than getting it to abandon the apartheid system".

A spokesman at ANC headquarters in Lusaka, said yesterday "As far as I'm aware there has not been any change," and suggested that the official may have been remarking about "something that was on his mind".

The spokesman said ANC headquarters had been unable to contact the official in Nigeria.

"I'm not certain that he could have said that," the spokesman said. He said he was afraid to comment because it "would make it seem as if there are different opinions within the ANC".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Boesak were in Washington, DC last week urging the US Government to increase economic sanctions against South Africa.

Russia is 'ideally placed to act as mediator between SA and ANC'

NR 645 26/5/89
 (111) (252)

By Joao Santa Rita
 Argus Africa News Service

THE Soviet leadership is ideally placed to act as a mediator between the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC), one of South Africa's top experts on the Soviet Union, Dr Phillip Nel, has said.

SETTLEMENT

Dr Nel's state-ment was made in a paper delivered at a closed three-day meeting in London in March between Soviet and South African academics. The contents of the paper have only now been disclosed by the Stellenbosch-based Institute for Soviet Studies' magazine Soviet Review. Dr Nel is head of the institute.

The three-day conference was chaired by the former British ambassador to Moscow, Sir John Killick, and the Soviet delegation was headed by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, head of Moscow's Africa Institute, who is an advisor to President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dr Nel told the conference that provided the Soviet Union could provide clarity on some issues, Soviet diplomats could play a constructive role in promoting a negotiated settlement in South Africa "which will include, inter alia, the ANC and the South African government."

He said that although it was premature to talk about a possible settlement as both the South African government and some members of the ANC believed they could hold onto or take exclusive power, it was never too early to talk about ways of getting all sides to put negotiations higher on their agenda.

"If foreign governments can develop the wisdom to know when to punish and when to encourage the South African government (and to take leave of the silly notion that complete isolation will somehow make Pretoria change its mind), I believe that Pretoria can be nudged closer to a position of compromise. Accordingly, we need actors who

can do the same with the ANC, and act as mediators between the South African government and the ANC. The current Soviet leadership is ideally placed to play such a role in conjunction with other governments. To achieve this it is not only necessary for Moscow to maintain and strengthen its good ties with Lusaka, but also to extend informal contacts with decisionmakers in South Africa," he said.

Dr Nel said, however, that it was still necessary to reach clarity on a number of points regarding Soviet foreign policy.

He said the question still remained whether the Soviet Union's new policy of stability for the Third World was a goal in itself and not simply a means to achieve an ulterior goal, namely securing the inflow of western technology to the beleaguered Soviet economy.

Dr Nel said he was of the opinion that because of the structural requirements of the Soviet economy the need for western and Japanese technology would increase in the coming years.

"The basic interest in forming current Soviet policy will thus remain and Soviet policy will accordingly be more predictable," he said.

He also believed that many Soviet leaders had accepted international stability as a worthy and humane goal in itself.

The Soviet Union also had to make it clear that it was serious in accepting that there were local causes for regional conflicts. Although this had been acknowledged in the case of Afghanistan, in Angola this had not been the case.

"No one can expect Moscow to circumvent Luanda and talk directly with Unita, or whoever else. One can expect though that propaganda attacks on Unita as if it is really only a 'bandit' or 'puppet' organisation should cease, lest this leads to a hardening of attitudes on all sides and thus scuttle the whole drive towards national reconciliation on



DR PHILIP NEL: "Soviet diplomats could play a constructive role"

which stability ultimately depends," said Dr Nel.

The Soviet Union should also make it clear that the policy of talking to all sides in regional conflicts was "the only realistic way to proceed."

"Soviet commentators are correct when they argue that the basis of apartheid is crumbling. We will de-hide ourselves, however, if we take that as an indication that governmental power is crumbling as well. While some of us are trying to convince the government to take the ANC seriously as a future negotiating partner, we should also not forget to convince other actors to take the South African government seriously," Dr Nel said and added:

"If a settlement process in South Africa is ever to get off the ground, it will have to be premised on the

understanding that the incumbent government holds the biggest veto of all on peace and stability."

Dr Nel said the Soviet Union should also make it clear that it would respect the freedom of choice of what political system South Africa should choose and together with other powers should guarantee the legal and institutional channels through which that choice would be exercised.

It could, however, be difficult for the Soviet Union to provide clarity on those points not only because of negative reaction among some third world countries but also because unanimity might not exist among the Soviet leadership on those issues.

"I detect at least two strains in Soviet thinking. On the one hand a serious commitment to a negotiated settlement even if it means that the ANC will end up in a role subordinate to a true government of national unity. On the other hand there is a school of thought which also supports a settlement, but would still like to see the ANC as the sole future government in South Africa," Dr Nel said.

The existence of these two points of view did not mean that the Soviet Union could not take a role in mediating in the South African situation. "As long as there is ambiguity there is hope," he said.

There was also no guarantee that any mediation would work because even though, as in Moscow, South African diplomats seemed to be carrying more weight than before, "Pretoria has always reacted to a carrot and stick approach by breaking the stick and eating the carrot."

"Unfortunately, Mr P W Botha and his securocrats still seem to be thinking that they can neutralise the ANC completely, yet they have left a crack in the door open for talks with all organisations which renounce/suspend violence. Is it not time to call their bluff and force that crack a bit more open by means of the right mixture of pressure and prospects?" he asked.

11A
 20/5-16/89

Jail for constable who battered man to death

A FORMER Oudtshoorn riot policeman, sentenced last week to 12 years' imprisonment for bludgeoning a suspect to death, was part of a unit seconded to the Sandkraal — a "peaceful area", according to his commanding officer — at the behest of the local Joint Management Committee.

André Schutte, 19 when he killed Andile "Ace" Kobe in March last year, was also sentenced in the circuit court to six months for each of two charges of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, suspended for five years.

His former riot unit colleagues Piet-er Koen, 22 and Cornus Serfontein, 23, were each sentenced to seven years in jail for attempted murder.

The three convicted policemen were formerly constables attached to the South Western District riot unit based in Oudtshoorn.

Colonel GP Marx, the officer commanding the riot unit, told the court riot policemen had been seconded to Sandkraal following a JMC decision that people who moved there from Lawaalkamp required "protection".

He described the township as a "peaceful residential area" with no recorded "unrest incidents".

The three convicted men were each granted R1 000 to petition the chief justice after Mr Justice Hannes Fagan turned down an application for leave to appeal.

tion and sjambokked by Koen.

Schutte, whose basic training at the Police College in Pretoria had been interrupted when he was posted to Soweto for "riot duty" in mid-1987, was also found guilty of grievously assaulting Priscilla Jebese in the charge office by slapping her and grinding his boot against her ear.

"I noticed she was drunk, that she spoke English and incessantly asked me questions, I was irritated and slapped her."

Schutte, who joined the police straight after school because he "enjoyed working with people", was described by the judge as a "sadist" who took "apparent pleasure in hurting weaker people".

He, Koen and Serfontein were "poor witnesses" who often failed to stand up to cross-examination. They had all agreed to make false statements to the investigating officer about the use of the plank, which had been destroyed by Schutte and Koen.

Schutte, said Mr Justice Fagan, had shown no signs of remorse for the "sadistic deeds" recounted in court and possibly showed psychopathic traits. The judge, however, rejected a psychiatrist's argument that Schutte had acted in a state of "automatism".

Schutte's youthfulness, inexperience as a policeman, indiscretion and short temper mingled in his favour, the judge said.

Schutte, bitten on the left arm while struggling with Kobe, returned to the police single quarters in George.

Two other policemen who found Kobe two-and-a-half-hours later, still alive but unconscious, were ordered by their sergeant to wait until a senior officer arrived at the scene, at about 1 30am.

Kobe was admitted to the Goerge Hospital where he underwent emergency surgery for a subdural haematoma, but was certified dead by 8.30am.

A post-mortem by Tygerberg Hospital forensic pathologist Professor June Nel found that Kobe had died of a "tremendous blow to the head", which caused immediate concussion and fatal intra-cranial swelling. The body bore 25 to 30 bruises and grazes consistent with blows delivered by blunt objects.

The fatal assault followed several other incidents after the three men went on duty at 1pm on Saturday, March 19. During the afternoon, Schutte punched 57-year-old Kleenbooi Qatana and ground his boot into the man's ear, rupturing an eardrum, while investigating a complaint of assault. Qatana was later forced over the back of a chair in the police sta-

Three policemen jailed for killing a suspect by bludgeoning him to death with a plank were part of a unit sent to a township to provide special 'protection' for residents

Own Correspondent: George punched, kicked and fatally battered over the head in the Sandkraal police station after trying to resist arrest for brawling in public on the night of March 19 in Sandkraal township, near George.

He broke loose on arriving at the police station and ran into a nearby dam, but was caught and taken into a small back room of the police station and assaulted.

The court heard how Schutte used a plank to hit Kobe two or three times on the back of his head while Kobe was trying to stand up. Then Schutte climbed on to a chair, saying: "Now I'll show you how I jump on a kaf-fir's head." He was restrained by Koen and Serfontein.

At about 9pm a comatose and semi-naked Kobe was driven from the Sandkraal police station to an isolated beach 7km away by Serfontein and Koen, where he was dumped. The act, the judge said, displayed "an absence of basic humanity".

Their 23-year-old victim was

Stompie trial starts in camera

A BAIL application in the murder trial of nine members of Winnie Mandela's "soccer team" was withdrawn on Wednesday after fresh charges were put to the accused.

Each of the nine, who appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, now face three charges of abduction, three of assault as well as a charge of murdering James "Stompie" Seipei in January this year.

They were remanded until June 20.

Lawyers for the accused agreed to withdraw their bail application pending further consultations with their clients concerning the fresh charges

and allegations

The application, which began on Tuesday, was held *in camera* because three of the nine are under 18.

Before the court was cleared, several of the accused swore at a *Weekly Mail* reporter present in court, accusing her of "writing sh—t"

The accused are Jerry Richardson (41), John Morgan (61), Kauza Cebekhulu (21), Jabulani Kubheka (25), Brian Mabuza (18), Xoliswa Falatu (35) a 16-year-old girl and two 17-year-old boys

By GAVIN EVANS

26/5/81 11/6/81

26/11/89 wmail 26/5-11/6/89

A WEDDING IN THE SHADOW OF THE GALLOWS

ON May 10 Paula McBride got married. It was a quiet affair, as much tinged with sadness as it was joyous.

There was no fanfare, no lace, no weeping aunts, no reception.

Only six people were present: the couple themselves, the priest — and three prison warders.

Paula's husband is Robert John McBride, and the chapel where the ceremony was being held was at Pretoria Central Prison's death row, where Umkhonto weSizwe guerrilla McBride is being held awaiting execution.

Paula comes from a prominent Johannesburg family. Her father is a director of major companies. She is classified white where McBride, born into poverty in Natal's Wentworth township, is classified "coloured".

It would be hard to imagine a more unlikely union, as poignant as it is seemingly doomed as it is unexpected.

But Paula (she does not want her maiden name revealed for fear of repercussions against her family) sees it from a different perspective.

"Getting married is for us an expression of optimism and hope for the future," she said. "We think the case for clemency is good."

But even if McBride's sentence is commuted, there is little chance, failing a change of government, that the couple will ever live together as man and wife. On top of three death sentences handed down for his part in the bombing of Durban nightclub Magoo's Bar in 1986, 25-year-old McBride faces a 67-year prison sentence for other activities as a commander in the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

At the ceremony itself and during the 40 minutes they were allowed as honeymoon, the two were allowed to touch each other — as much as it is possible, to touch with wardens looming over your shoulder.

This is the only physical contact they have had since McBride's incarceration. Unless some special dispensation is granted, it may well be the last time they ever touch. The newlyweds were also given the opportunity of buying refreshments, but they declined.

For the rest, according to the special rules governing death row prisoners, Paula is allowed two visits a day. She speaks to her husband through a kind of telephone receiver and a guard is always present, monitoring the conversation, steering it in acceptable directions.

"You learn to ignore the guards," she

The wife is from a prominent Johannesburg family. The husband is on death row. They married this month, full knowing that the man is only the smallest chance that they will one day be together as man and wife. They did so out of hope.

By IVOR POWELL

is happening just down the corridor. That the next time it could be you, or your loved one. That other people have such utter control."

A good deal of Paula's anger and frustration is directed against this uncertainty. "Judges should be forced to go to death row, to see for themselves what it's like before they sentence people. Leaving everything else aside, it's unthinkable that people should subject other people to that kind of psychological pressure. It's barbaric. The whole system of hangings is barbaric."

But there are other worries too. "Everybody on death row ends up having to wear glasses. I think the fact that the lights never get switched off ends up damaging the eyes. Things like this also get to you."

For the moment though, McBride is safe. His evidence is required in a case Magoo's Bar co-accused Greta Apelgren is bringing against Natal Newspapers. *The Natal Mercury* published an editorial suggesting that she should not have escaped the death penalty herself.

Beyond this Paula hopes that clemency appeals will have some effect. One of the assessors in the original case was dissenting on the sentence handed down to McBride, arguing that extenuating circumstances should have been found. His voice has been added to the hundreds of others — including that of United Nations General Secretary Javier Perez de Cuellar, the president of the Anti-Apartheid movement Bishop Trevor Huddleston, and prominent political figures too numerous to mention — who are appealing to the state president for clemency. And the case has been strengthened by the fact that McBride has, since his imprisonment, renounced violent solutions.

She also hopes that her British passport will put some pressure onto the UK government to make some intercession.

Beyond this, in the opinion of many, the trial itself contained certain irregularities. Among these — as emerged in the trial — the chief instigator of the bombing at Magoo's Bar was allowed to turn state witness. Though this man had in fact been the prime mover in the outrage, and McBride had resisted the attack on civilians, he was allowed to walk out a free man.

"Meanwhile, we just take it a day at a time," Paula says. "Each day is a victory of a kind. Whatever happens, I believe, with every nerve in my body, that we have done the right thing."



Paula McBride ... "getting married for us is an expression of optimism and hope for the future"

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afpix

says. "You're never without them, so you develop a private language. Most of the time the situation doesn't even seem strange to me any more. It's amazing how you learn to adapt, how you learn to accept the weirdest conditions as a kind of normality. You learn a kind of cheerfulness."

However, there are times when the situation becomes all but intolerable.

"The worst is when other prisoners receive their notices of execution, when they get taken off to the pot, where they are held for a week before they are finally hanged. For that week a huge cloud of depression descends over the place," she says. "I mean how do you live with it? Knowing that (a hanging)

THE ODD COUPLE



Abe Berry

11A ~~20/11/89~~

tion His recent talks in Johannesburg with the newly formed National Forum (NF), headed by urban black leader Philip Nhlapo, were billed as "negotiations on a new constitution"

The NF has however met with resistance over the weekend, when the United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) announced that Umsa members who held executive positions with the NF have been suspended from all Umsa activities Umsa president Tom Boya said the NF was seen by Umsa as "yet another wagon pulling blacks into politics of coercion"

The De Klerk era is also likely to see a thawing in relations between government and KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and

Continued on page 52

NEGOTIATION 11A ~~20/11/89~~ Fmail

ANC keep out 26/5/89

The sudden fervour with which government is tackling its programme of "negotiations" with moderate black leaders suggests a new urgency in efforts to build a solid bulwark against attempts to push it into direct talks with the ANC

President-in-waiting F W de Klerk is repeatedly stressing the need for faster and more fundamental reform based on negotia-

11A ~~20/11/89~~

the Labour Party's Allan Hendrickse, which will give new credibility to the negotiation process And the replacement of Chris Heunis, Cape Administrator Gene Louw, at the coalface will add a fresh appeal to dialogue with the Nationalists

But the ANC, regarded by many as the key to a negotiated settlement in SA, will remain on the outside That is clearly where government wants the organisation for the time being Its long-term aim is apparently to establish some sort of nonracial power-sharing system which the ANC (so it is argued) will find increasingly difficult to boycott

UCT political scientist Hermann Giliomee says negotiation between government and the ANC is now an unrealistic option Both sides want to be senior partner, but neither can force its will on to the other "Therein lies SA's political dilemma," he says

Giliomee told a recent conference in Johannesburg on "Options for the Future," organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), that the new Nat strategy of pushing a policy based on "nation building" and pluralism, as opposed to old-style apartheid doctrine, is a formidable obstacle to government's external opponents.

But he argues that the strategy will fail if 90% of the "means of production" and political power remain in white hands He believes there is little room for compromise between



De Klerk ... a problem with "final models"

the constitutional guidelines of the ANC (Current Affairs May 12) and government's own proposals There must first be a settlement of "fundamental issues" before negotiation of detail can begin

De Klerk, in his recent wide-ranging TV interview, made a similar point He complained that a problem with SA's political debate is that it centres on "final models"

Fmail 26/5/89.

rather than on the immediate steps necessary to move towards negotiation He was, of course, not referring to talks with the ANC, but his comments must, nevertheless, be regarded as an indication that he at least understands the demands of true negotiation

Looking ahead, Giliomee believes a "buffer period" of seven to 10 years, during which political and economic power will be redistributed — and a "dual nation" approach will be adopted including two flags and two national anthems — will help ease the transition to democracy in SA He argues that there must be a move away from the concepts of "good and evil" in efforts to persuade government to relinquish power

Idasa executive director Alex Borame says the absence of the ANC or any other major player from the negotiating table will guarantee the failure of talks

The institute's director of policy and planning, Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, says negotiation is not a one-off affair Social, political and economic factors have and will continue to change people's attitudes Government's policy shift to a "single nation" approach will fundamentally affect the negotiation process

Slabbert also believes negotiations on a post-apartheid economy will take place sooner and be more wide-ranging than political negotiations and will profoundly influence the quality of the political negotiations ■

11 ~~Small~~ Small 26/5/89

Watching parliament's clock



Former *Sunday Times* editor Joel Mervis, a one-time MPC of the PFP, was a close colleague of Helen Suzman. He reflects on the political career of the retiring PFP MP.

Helen Suzman's political career cannot have been matched anywhere else in the world, or we surely would have heard of it. Her unique achievement can be divided into two main parts. First, her advocacy of liberal principles in the pursuit of civil liberties and justice before the law. Second, the tenacity and indeed the exhausting physical effort needed to sustain her prolonged liberal crusade.

Her zeal in fighting for the rights of the underprivileged, the downtrodden and the dispossessed are well known. In a sense, the government saw to that. In the 13 years she stood alone in parliament — from 1961 to 1974 — a flood of draconian, repressive laws changed the face of SA. Only one lonely voice spoke out consistently in denouncing the measures that were an affront to human dignity.

That brings me to the second facet of Suzman's achievement — her tenacity and physical endurance. As a close friend of hers during those lonely 13 years, I know what it entailed. In parliament she was isolated. The operative word is "alone." The Nationalists, understandably, would have no truck with a woman who was tearing apartheid laws to shreds, exposing their iniquity, cruelty and other imperfections.

Less easy to comprehend was the attitude of the United Party (UP), which treated her like a pariah. That meant she had no real or easy contact with the official whips. As a result she had to do her own detective work to find out in advance what the order papers were likely to contain, or whether an unscheduled matter was likely to come up.

The ostracism of Suzman went to the heart of the matter. That she would oppose, without exception, every discriminatory proposal was obvious. Her problem to make sure she was there when the item came up. If she was absent, the opportunity was gone beyond recall, and she would be seen not to have opposed the measure. That was an omission she could not bear.

The result was a hidden, unseen war. The government, sometimes with the collusion of the UP, would watch for an opportunity provided by Suzman's absence to put one across by slipping a contentious matter into the proceedings. It needed all Suzman's alertness to cope with that kind of ploy. "Eternal vigilance" was her watchword, and in that respect her performance was staggering. She was obliged to spend countless hours

in the House listening to boring debates lest something be sprung on her.

If she were away from Cape Town, even a hint that something was up sent her scurrying back to parliament. As for the massive scheduled programme of discriminatory legislation, only an event beyond her control would keep her away from the action.

Her work was marked by sincerity, an intensity of purpose undaunted by Nationalist jeers and sneers, and a deep abiding concern for the victims of apartheid — those forcibly removed, the detainees, the banned and the banished. Nor was it only in the limelight of parliament that she took up their cause. Behind the scenes she was a tireless worker on behalf of hundreds of individuals affected by discriminatory laws.

The members of parliament, to their eternal shame, treated Suzman with scorn and derision (no matter what they may say now), but in the end she is the victor with a conscience as clear as a crystal stream. I do not believe, however, that writing in the broad generality can convey adequately the immensity of Suzman's crusade in those 13 years, and the contempt with which it was treated by government and opposition alike. One event illustrates the trend.

For that purpose I take a single occasion, an afternoon in the House of Assembly on May 6 1964. It was motion day in the House, and Suzman moved "that all statutes, proclamations and enactments under which citizens can be deprived of their liberty without recourse to the courts of law should be repealed."

Suzman, in one of her finest speeches, and one of the best that had been heard in the House in years, was about to expose the entire canon of apartheid legislation as being, in itself, an assault upon the rule of law. It had been said often enough that many laws were discriminatory and imposed many restrictions purely on the grounds of race.

Some laws explicitly banned recourse to the courts, others did so implicitly with widely worded powers of delegation such as "in the opinion of the minister." This was in effect a total barrier against access to the court, because it would be impossible to prove that a minister had acted *mala fide*.

Suzman in her speech then developed the theme that though the restrictive laws of themselves constituted a massive assault on the rule of law, they did not spring from the government's love of despotism. On the contrary, the government was forced into irrational, arbitrary action because the only way it could enforce apartheid was by abandoning the rule of law.

Individuals were deprived of their rights by due process of law. There were laws for everything. Yet, said Suzman "While there is rule by law, there is no rule of law."

My brief summary cannot do full justice to a brilliant speech, but as plain as a pike-staff it called for an answer, in particular from then Minister of Justice B J Vorster, who was in the House. The sequel to the speech tells it all.

When Suzman ended her speech and formally presented the motion, the debate was scheduled to continue. The procedure, when Suzman sat down, was for the Speaker to say "I put the question." This gave the next spokesman his cue. He would immediately rise in his seat, the Speaker would "see" him, and the debate would continue. If there were no other debaters the Speaker would call for a vote. Other debaters were in fact waiting and the debate was due to end at 6 pm when parliament adjourned for the day. Things did not go quite that way. I quote from *Hansard*, from the moment Suzman resumed her seat.

Speaker I put the question. I put the question. Those in favour of the motion will say Aye, those to the contrary, No.

Mrs Suzman Why do you not get up? Are you not going to support the rule of law?

Speaker Order! Nobody rose.

Mr M L Mitchell On a point of order, the Hon Member for Germiston District (Mr Tucker) rose to address the House. May I ask you, sir, to exercise your discretion in this matter in the interest of affairs of the House and to see the Hon Member for Germiston District.

Mr Plewman On a point of order, I was watching the member for Germiston District and he was on the point of rising.

Speaker I put the question twice. Nobody rose. And the question now before the House is the motion by the Hon Member, and my ruling is that I am going to put the vote now. Motion put.

Mrs Suzman I call for a division.

As fewer than four members (Suzman only) supported the demand for a division, the motion was negatived. The House adjourned at 4 31 pm.

That ends the *Hansard* report. Note the time on the parliamentary clock: 4 31 pm. Still an hour and 29 minutes of debating time left on an issue of paramount importance.

Henry Tucker of the UP bungled his turn to speak (he was quicker on his feet on other occasions), and Minister of Justice B J Vorster, at the receiving end of a lashing from Suzman, sat tight.

Instead of discussing the Rule of Law Members had their eyes on the exit door, They trooped out to tea, their work undone, With the House clock showing 4 31

Helen's 13 lonely years are etched on that clock, symbol of a woman's gallant fight against smug, foolish men, politically insufferable, who did not deserve to sit in a legislature with her.

Not power, but justice

~~SA~~ 11



Helen Suzman's name is synonymous with the struggle for liberal values in SA. After 36 years as an MP she is bowing out of politics. She spoke to the *FM* about her career and views on the future.

FM With the birth of the Democratic Party (DP), the word "progressive" disappeared after 30 years from the name of an important political grouping to the left of the NP. How do you feel about that?

Suzman: I have an emotional attachment to "progressive", having been at the birth of the Progressive Party. I would have liked to see it retained in the name of the new party. It means a lot to many people. But I've been assured that the DP is not a step backwards from where the PFP stood in terms of basic principles and policy. It was said that a party with a new name would appeal to more people.

Some of the apartheid measures you opposed over the years have been abolished, but many remain. Do you foresee them going as well?

I think so, but it will take much longer than people believe. It will come about by the erosion of apartheid through economic demands on the one hand and the pressure of black resistance on the other. Even the Group Areas Act will eventually go as blacks just move in, as they are now doing.

What is your opinion of F W de Klerk? Is it a good thing that he is to be the next president?

He's better than P W Botha, but I wouldn't say his emergence as leader is a "good thing". A "good thing" would be for the whole lot of them to go. It's difficult to say if he understands the nature of the change necessary in SA. Botha didn't suddenly change, the changes came about willy-nilly due to various factors. But I must concede that during his 10 years as leader there

were many changes, some of which, such as the abolition of the pass laws, improved the lives of millions of people. I must grant to Botha that he didn't try to stop the changes as Verwoerd and Vorster would have.

I believe De Klerk is anxious to project a more enlightened image than he has up to now. He wants to be more flexible on issues that don't undermine basic segregation. He will also make a better impression on world leaders than Botha because he has a more pleasant personality.

The Houghton constituency can be regarded as a symbolic bastion of liberal thought. Is it important to you that someone in your "mould" succeeds you as MP?

I hope that my successor adheres broadly to my views. The two potential candidates (Irene Mennel and Tony Leon) are like-minded on basic principles, so I'm sure that what I've stood for will be retained. Irene has worked with me for years and she was a very competent MPC. I hope she will succeed me as Houghton's MP.

A commentator recently wrote that you are not liberal, in the true political sense, but a conservative fighting for age-old liberal values against revolutionary change. Do you agree?

I do. I am just that. I'm also not radical and I'm not sentimental about blacks. But I hate bullies. I stand for simple justice, equal opportunity and human rights. They are indispensable elements in any democratic society and are well worth fighting for. Which black leaders, apart from Nelson Mandela, do you believe government should be talking to?

The representatives of the urban activists such as Nthato Motlana and Albertina Sisulu, who have the confidence of the black community. They should also talk to Mangosutho Buthelezi. But sooner or later — and it's not a question of if, but of when — to the ANC leaders.

Do you still feel bitter towards Frederik Van

Zyl Slabbert for abandoning the PFP?

I wouldn't say I was ever bitter. I was very upset. What he did was a bad thing and I told him so and he knows it. I saw him in Bermuda (at a recent conference) and we discussed things fully. I like him as a person, he is very intelligent and a great loss to parliamentary politics. His leaving contributed to the PFP doing so badly in the 1987 election.

You've been in opposition for 36 years. Would you have liked to have been in power?

I would have liked to have been in a position to remove the laws I oppose. To do that I would have needed to be in power — but I have never set out to gain power per se, not even in my own party.

Which world leaders have most impressed you during your years in active politics?

Everyone has to be impressed by Margaret Thatcher. She has a keen mind, asks relevant questions and listens to the answers. Julius Nyerere (former Tanzanian leader) was impressive to meet even though his policies didn't work.

Do you have a mentor, someone who moulded your career?

No. I have no mentor and no role model, my career simply developed as it went along. However, my years of teaching economic history at Wits University and working for the SA Institute of Race Relations did shape my thoughts to a considerable degree.

What are your own views on the economy and do you believe the general economic policy of the PFP will be carried over to the DP?

I support a mixed economy. I believe in an incentive system and free enterprise, but not without any restrictions. I believe the State has a role to play in providing the infrastructure and looking after welfare, education, the aged and so on.

But I do not believe in excessive bureaucratic control. In the PFP we basically all agreed on a mixed economy policy. We differed on side issues only. I believe the DP will follow the same line. ■

CAPE TOWN — Dawie de Villiers, the new leader of the Cape National Party, has endured both disaster and demotion before emerging as one of the most powerful players on the South African political stage.

A former Springbok rugby captain, he entered Parliament in 1972 as the MP for Johannesburg West. In 1979 he was appointed Ambassador to Britain, a post he held for almost two years, before being brought back as Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism in 1980.

But getting back into Parliament proved difficult for De Villiers. He first tried to get the nomination for Moorreesburg constituency, but lost out to local dentist Wynand Malan. He then turned to Gardens but suffered the ignominy of becoming the first Cabinet Minister since 1948 to lose a seat.

But later in the year the Piketberg seat became available and De Villiers was finally elected. He has held the seat ever since.

He served as Industries Minister until December 1986, when in a surprise announcement he was demoted from the main Cabinet and appointed Minister of the Budget in the white Council of Ministers.

At the time it was rumoured that

Cape's 'fairest' Nat

MAN IN THE NEWS

President P W Botha was intent on firing De Villiers, but that F W de Klerk, chairman of the Ministers' Council, had rescued him by offering him the Budget post.

A loyalist

Whether this was true or not, De Villiers has since then been a prominent De Klerk loyalist, and was instrumental in persuading sufficient Cape Nats to back De Klerk to allow him to squeak home in the leadership election in February.

De Villiers's exile from the main Cabinet did not last long. He was elected deputy Cape leader in 1987 and last year he was given the high profile job as Administration and Privatisation Minister.

A prominent "verligte" in his early days as a politician and then Min-

ister, De Villiers is typical of the generation of "soft Nats" who, with De Klerk at the helm, are taking control of the party and country.

"Fairness" is a word that crops up with monotonous regularity when he is talking.

"Our generation is more responsive to the values, such as fairness and justice. An awareness like that grows over a period of time, it's part of the maturing of society. We do not only concern ourselves with development and education, but now the question of justice and fairness to all is becoming an overriding issue.

"We are a generation well familiar with reform and change. For us it is not a first step. It's accelerating a venture that we have embarked upon over the years."

At the same time, De Villiers insists that ideas of fairness and justice



□ DE VILLIERS ... a team man

be applied in a group context. "We try and add a practical, pragmatic, realistic side to the values and objectives many people share in opposition."

"We are concerned about the kind

of security, protection that groups require and demand. We are committed to seek fairness and justice for all, but by the same token, it means fairness and justice for minority groups as well. They will demand reasonable protection, we should meet that requirement.

"But that must be done in a fair way, not protecting privileges at the cost of other people."

Main issue

Unlike his predecessors in the Cape, who were noted for their "imperial" style, De Villiers says he will work hard to be a team man.

"Everyone has his own style of leadership. I am very much a team man. Two heads are better than one. I believe in mobilising the potential in respect of intelligence and insight that you have at your disposal."

The main issue in the forthcoming election, he says, will be "the road ahead". "People will want to know whether the party they support will be able to lead them to a better future without putting at risk that which they hold dear — not putting at risk their security and stability."

MIKE ROBERTSON

REVIEW

(11A)

ANC is debating violence and ties to SACP - Cohen

violence had been committed in South Africa since the passage of the CAAA in 1986. By and large, the perpetrators of that violence had been anonymous.

"Various observers have blamed the ANC, the South African Government, vigilantes, or other groups or organisations for certain violent acts.

South African Government, Helms asked Cohen said. "Although both sides embrace the objective of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's dilemma, neither side has yet to agree on conditions for convening such negotiations. The ANC, however, has held discussions in recent months with a number of groups of prominent and respected white South Africans in an effort to narrow that gap."

Had the ANC re-examined and severed its ties to the SACP, Helms wanted to know

Ties

Cohen "The ANC's ties to the SACP have long been a topic of debate within the ANC itself. The debate has varied in intensity, but has been constant."

The organisation had not severed its ties with the SACP, he said.

Asked by Helms to what extent should US policy toward the ANC be adjusted, as provided in the 1986 legislation, Cohen said the adminis-

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress has taken several measures consistent with what was expected of it in the US sanctions legislation, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, has told the US Congress.

He was responding to written questions by the Conservative Republican Senator for North Carolina, Mr Jesse Helms

In terms of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), which imposed a series of sanctions on South Africa, the US was to have encouraged the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to suspend terrorist activities, make a commitment to a free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa, agree to negotiations with the South African Government and other groups representing black South Africans, and re-examine their ties

tration's policy had been to encourage the ANC to renounce violence, to clarify its vision of a democratic South Africa in constitutional terms, and to pursue a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

"We should take advantage of any and every opportunity that would help us to achieve those objectives," he said

By DAVID BRAUN
Argus Foreign Service

to the South African Communist Party (SACP)

The CAAA indicated the US would adjust its actions towards South Africa to reflect progress or lack of progress made by the ANC in meeting these objectives

Measures

Helms asked Cohen to what extent had the ANC met the objectives set forth in the 1986 legislation

Cohen said the ANC had taken several measures consistent with the objectives outlined in the CAAA

He said "It is clear, for

Vision

Had the ANC made any commitment to a truly free and democratic post-apartheid South Africa?

Cohen "The ANC has stated numerous times that it wants to see a democratic, non-racial South Africa. The organisation is now in the process of clarifying its vision of a post-apartheid South Africa."

The draft constitutional guidelines released by the ANC last year contained several provisions that suggest that the ANC is taking into account the desires of the vast majority of South Africans who want to enjoy equal rights in a fully democratic society."

Talks

Had the ANC agreed to negotiations with the

Hank Cohen speaks on ANC.

example, that the ANC is evaluating and/or debating its position on a number of issues, including violence, its vision of a post-apartheid South Africa, negotiations, and its ties to the SACP, as evidenced by the public comments of ANC officials and official ANC statements. "These comments and statements have appeared widely and frequently in the Western Press."

Asked by Helms whether the ANC had suspended terrorist activities, Cohen said numerous acts of

Indians' image
'dented' says
Kathrada ^{2/1/88} _{2/1/88}

THE image of Indian people as leaders in the field of politics had been dented in the past 4½ years, the outgoing Minister of the Budget, Mr Ismail Kathrada, said in the House of Delegates today

Mr Kathrada, who announced his retirement as MP, was replying to debate on the own affairs budget

He said he hoped that the new people who came to Parliament after the election would work in the interests of their country and their people and not become involved in internal disputes and bickering — Sapa

Delegates ^{Call 6 Feb 24/5/89}
have failed
'miserably' (11)

THE House of Delegates had failed miserably in making an input to give hope to the people of South Africa over the past five years, Mr Salam Abram (Independent) said yesterday

Speaking during the second reading debate on the own affairs budget, he said members of the House were merely concerned with the quest for power

Solidarity had further entrenched the Group Areas concept by fully supporting the National Party and had helped the government to entrench own affairs

White ANC suspect held

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Police have arrested an alleged white African National Congress saboteur whom, they claim, moved overseas in the company of alleged ANC bomber Mr Hein Grosskopf.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok referred to the man yesterday in Parliament while discussing his current row with Mr Grosskopf's mother. She claims he "publicly condemned" her son without a trial

Mr Vlok said there was one infallible method of resolving the matter for Mr Grosskopf to hand himself over to the police so all their information could be tested in court

Mr Vlok did not name the arrested man but it is understood from official sources that he is Mr Ronald Bezuidenhout (35), a divorcee from Port Elizabeth.

He allegedly returned to the country — after receiving training in Angola and East Germany — to blow up strategic installations in South Africa

He was arrested with his aunt and uncle at a Port Elizabeth camping site and is being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act

Mr Vlok's spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, has confirmed that Mr Bezuidenhout fled South Africa in 1986 while being sought for alleged desertion of national service

Police believe he was trained in Angola in 1987 at the ANC's Pango Camp and received advanced training in East Germany, returning to South Africa last month.

Mr Vlok told Parliament the person arrested had indicated he had recently moved in the company of Mr Grosskopf overseas.

Referring to the correspondence between himself and Mrs Grosskopf, Mr Vlok said he was very sorry for her, but the police had highly reliable information pointing to Mr Grosskopf's involvement in the car bomb explosion at Witwatersrand Command, Johannesburg. There were indications he could have been involved in the similar attack in Krugersdorp

In such a serious crime, in which the lives of innocent members of the public were involved, he and the police had a duty to bring their information to court as soon as possible.

This was the sole object in giving information about Mr Grosskopf. Help given by the media and the public had been crucial

"If we had concealed the information because we were scared of hurting the feelings of innocent people and children, and other members of the public died as a result of our silence, what would then be said?"

Free Settlement areas probed

To eliminate "uncertainty", Free Settlement Board chairman Mr Hein Kruger yesterday stipulated the areas which will be advertised and investigated.

Mr Kruger said while part of Mayfair would be investigated, this did not include Homestead Park, Mayfair West and Pageview.

Other areas to be probed form part of Windmill Park and Warwick Avenue Triangle. — Sapa.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations

Rumours of SA links with loyalists for years — MP

The Star Bureau

LONDON — An Ulster MP claims there have been persistent rumours in Northern Ireland for the past 12 years about a "South African dimension" to the province's loyalist problem.

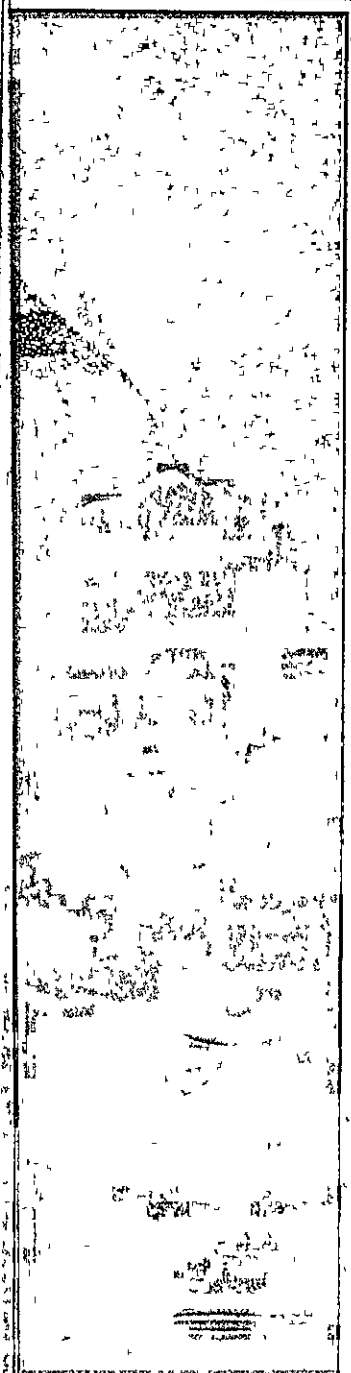
For that reason, said Mr Semus Mallin of the Social Democratic Labour Party, he had not been surprised at the news that three Ulster loyalists had been arrested in Paris for allegedly trying to sell parts of a Blowpipe missile to a South African diplomat.

Mr Mallin said the government should bring sanctions against the South African government so that it understands "the north of Ireland has enough problems and suffering without having the blood-spattered fingers of the South African government involved in it."

The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Paris that Mr Tom King, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, yesterday told the French government he had no evidence South Africa had supplied arms to Ulster loyalists. His statement has surprised the French, who have been told by British Intelligence they had discovered South African arms in two hiding places in Northern Ireland.

It has been disclosed that one of the three men arrested in Paris is a warrant officer in Britain's Territorial Army.

The man, Samuel Quinn, belongs to unit in County Down, where his work involves instruction in the use of missiles.



(6) — their school, Sahel in and the whole of Africa, Picture by Etienne Rothbart

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Southern approach

Mothopeng (11) seriously ill (10) with cancer (10) in London (10)

IAN HOBBS

BlD am 26/1/78
LONDON — Zephania Mothopeng, 76, president of the PAC, is seriously ill in the Charing Cross Hospital in London, where he is being treated for cancer.

Mothopeng, a graduate teacher, was detained under the Terrorism Act in 1976 and jailed for 15 years in 1979 on charges of fomenting an uprising.

He was released from prison last month and given a passport valid for three months to receive treatment in London.

Senior PAC exiles allege that the seriousness of their leader's illness is the result of poor treatment during his four separate terms of political imprisonment and detention — totalling some 20 years — since 1963.

Prominent

Mothopeng, a legendary figure in international Pan-Africanist circles, was elected president in 1986 while still in prison although the banned organisation is effectively led from Tanzania by Johnson Mlambo, chairman of the central committee.

Mothopeng, born in Vrede in the OFS in 1913, was a prominent member of the ANC Youth League in the 1930s and 40s and became president of the Transvaal Teachers Association in 1950.

He lost his job as vice-principal at Orlando High School when he led strikes demanding equal education.

He left the ANC on the formation of the PAC in 1959. From the outset, he held senior posts in spite of his long periods in prison, which included three years jail after the Sharpeville shootings — and long periods of banishment to QwaQwa in the OFS.

Mothopeng seriously ill with cancer in London

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MP questions unsolved murders and bombings

31 Day 26/5/89

(200) (117) (200)

Political Staff

QUESTIONS were tabled in Parliament yesterday about the unsolved murders of 18 anti-apartheid activists and the bombing of 12 buildings housing anti-apartheid organisations

The questions were addressed to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok by Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North)

Soal wanted to know whether any people had been detained, arrested, charged and/or convicted in connection with the alleged murders of 18 activists. If any had, he wanted to know their names



● VLOK

He also wanted to know whether anyone had been detained, arrested, charged and/or convicted in connection with 12 unsolved bombings of buildings housing anti-apartheid organisations

Soal said yesterday his questions concerned the murders of Rick Turner, Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sela

Mlawli, Thomas Mkonto, Samuel Seliso Hdlovu, Sicelo Dhlomo, Londa Brakvis, Pearl Tshabalala, Amos Boshomane, Nomsa Nduna, Michael Barda, Sidney Msibi, David Webster, Dr and Mrs Ribeiro, Fabian Florence, and Dr Abubaker Asvat

The buildings bombed were Cosatu House in Johannesburg in May 1987, Khotso House in Johannesburg in August 1988, Kanya House in Pretoria in October 1988, Community House in Cape Town in August 1987, Grassroots newspaper offices in Cape Town in October 1985, the SA Council of Higher Education (Sached) offices in Grahams-town in May 1988, the Community Resources and Information Centre (Cric) offices in Hillbrow in April 1988, the Release Mandela Campaign offices in Johannesburg in March 1986, Cosatu offices in Nelspruit in May 1987 and in Kimberley in October 1987, SA Allied Workers' Union building in East London in May 1987, and Cosatu offices in East London in November 1988.

Cap. Tuz 15
26/5/89

Mothopeng seriously ill in London hospital

LONDON — Mr Zephania Mothopeng, the 76-year-old president of the PAC, is seriously ill in the Charing Cross Hospital in London, where he is being treated for cancer

Mr Mothopeng, a graduate teacher who was detained under the terrorism Act in 1976 and subsequently jailed for 15 years in 1979 on charges of fomenting an uprising

He has been very ill for some time and was released from prison last month and given a passport valid for three months to receive treatment in London

Senior PAC exiles allege that their leader's apparently irrecoverable illness is the result of poor treatment during his four separate terms of political imprisonment and detention — totalling some 20 years — since he became one of the first 90-day detainees in 1963

Mr Mothopeng was elected president in 1986 while still in prison, although the banned organisation is effectively led from Tanzania by Mr Johnson Mlambo

School in court stop attacks on

114
w/c ARK 27/5/89

by LINDA GALLOWAY, Supreme Court Reporter

MR Mali Hoza, Mayor of Khayelitsha, already the subject of an urgent application, has given an undertaking in the Supreme Court not to attack pupils at Malizo Senior School.

At the same time he denied allegations against him

Mr Hoza, his Lingeletu West Town Council and three town councillors were the subject of an urgent application yesterday by Mr Ngwenya Fadana, Mr MacDonald Selana and Mr Noltha Sigodi

The applicants asked for an interdict restraining Mr Hoza, the Town Council, a Mr Gaba, a Mr Mnikina and a Mr Goniwe from "participating in, assisting, encouraging, permitting, authorising or allowing" any unlawful attack on the applicants or the pupils of Malizo Senior Secondary School in Khayelitsha, interfering with them, preventing any of the pupils from entering the premises to attend school or preventing access

Mr Murray van Heerden, for Mr Hoza, the Town Council, Mr Gaba and Mr Goniwe, denied that his clients had acted in any way unlawfully, but gave an undertaking that they would not to do any of the things contained in the interdict

The hearing was postponed to July 12

In an affidavit supporting the application, Mr Fadana, a teacher at Malizo, said problems had begun with the "high-handed actions" of the principal, Constance January

Students had many grievances which had not been resolved and the school had been "plunged into a serious crisis" which had spread to other schools in Khayelitsha

The pupils allege

- The unlawful use of corporal punishment authorised and condoned by the principal;

- The assault and abuse of pupils by the principal,

- A refusal to allow pupils to use toilets during school,

- The unfair, unlawful dismissal of pupils earlier this year,

- The unfair way in which pupils have been compelled to raise money,

- Shortages of books and teachers,

- Overcrowding, and

- That pupils are compelled to take part in racial or multi-racial sport

Mr Fadana said he could not pass judgment on the grievances, but believed that the way in which they had been handled had led to the crisis

However, the respondents had entered the school and were manning the gates, preventing pupils from entering school grounds or classrooms. Those who did were chased out, allegedly by Mr Gaba, a Mr Mnikina and Mr Goniwe

Heavily armed

Mr Fadana said these people had occupied the school under the orders of the Lingeletu West Town Council and, in particular, Mr Hoza for the past two weeks and had "at all times been heavily armed with sticks, iron and even firearms" and had beaten up pupils who tried to go to school

As a result, all schooling at Malizo Senior Secondary had stopped and the crisis had spread to other schools.

Mr MacDonald said in an affidavit that he was one of the pupils at Malizo Senior Secondary who had been beaten up and chased by, among others, Mr Mnikina and Mr Goniwe

Weekend A

bid to pupils

Labour walk out of joint sitting

APR 7 1981
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Political Staff

THE Labour Party walked out of a joint sitting all three Houses of Parliament yesterday, saying they would not vote on a bill allowing the government to change the boundaries of homelands when and how it chose.

In terms of the constitution, President P W Botha immediately instructed the House of Representatives to meet within 14 days to decide on the bill.

If they do not do so, they will be presumed to have rejected the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill.

The key issues involved are the incorporation of Moutse and Botshabelo into homelands.

In a statement issued after the walkout the deputy-leader of the party, Mr Miley Richards, said that the LP felt so strongly on the issues that it did not want to have anything to do with the legislation.

"We believe the people of these areas have demonstrated through their court actions their feelings on this matter

"We believe it is incumbent on the Labour Party to register, in terms of parliamentary procedure, its strongest opposition to the legislation, which seeks to abrogate the sovereignty of Parliament by handing the State President the power to tinker at will with the boundaries of self-governing territories and South Africa.

"The Labour Party wishes it to be clearly understood that it refuses to be party to the adoption of measures which do not take into consideration the democratic rights of people at large.

"It draws attention once again to the immediate need for a totally new constitutional dispensation for South Africa"

Earlier, the DP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said that having abandoned its policy of forced removals, the Government had now turned to moving boundaries to move people into homelands

He said the Government was planning to incorporate 600 000 people in Botshabelo into Qwa-Qwa without consulting the people concerned

NELSON MANDELA

Column
11A
28/5/89

Message of hope from his jail 'cell'



Rollinhabla Nelson Mandela has been in jail for the past 28 years.

Thus week his long-standing friend and biographer, sociology professor F. A. TIMA MEER, accompanied by her husband Ismail, met the jailed ANC leader for three-and-a-half hours in his luxury 'cell' at Victor Verster Prison Farm.

They saw his queen-size bed, quilted in deep velvet. They saw the beautiful view that greets him each morning. And they met Mandela's personal guard of 22 years, W/O Gregory. But most important of all, they saw and heard Mandela the person. They discussed a wide range of topics, from personal news to politics.

City Press Durban bureau chief, S'bu Mngadi, asked Meer to write her personal impressions for our readers. Her report follows.

No jail for Evita

ACTOR-playwright

11A 28/5/89

Message of hope from best-known prisoner

■ From Page 1

rant officer is a prison warden with a difference. He has looked after the world's most famous prisoner for 22 years – moving with him from one prison to the next.

We were driven to Mandela's walled-in "residence" where another guard took over. We were conducted past a line of washing to the TV room at the side of the house next to the much-publicised swimming pool. One more step and we were embracing the leader we and the nation had not seen for so many long years.

He led us into his spacious living room. After chatting for a few minutes, he took us on a tour of his tastefully furnished prison.

We saw his massive, carved, queen-size headboard quilted in deep velvet, the chaise longue in the living room, the carpets sweeping into the three bathrooms.

Outside, he pointed out the mountains that overlook his valley, the Klein and Groot Drakenstein and the Simonsberg. Together we took in magnificent Paarl landscape whose beauty challenged us to match it with our human personalities.

What is the meaning of the unique conditions under which Mandela is imprisoned?

Rohilahla Nelson Mandela is South Africa's hope. Gone are the days when the government dismissed him as a communist and a terrorist and kept him imprisoned under the harshest of conditions.

The government is at last looking into the heart and mind of this remarkable man; it keeps imprisoned. It is trying to come to terms with the man, and the voteless oppressed people who look to him as a leader and hero. How else could one explain the reality behind the unreality of the luxury cage?

Now, 28 years later, the government acknowledges the validity of the Maritzburg resolution of 1961 – the resolution that sent Mandela underground after he had attended his last conference.

The resolution called on the government to hold a "national convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis, irrespective of race, colour, creed and other limitations".

Nelson Mandela expected to end his life at the gallows, at the age of 46.

Credit must go to the jurors for sparing his life – a life that today, after 28 years in prison, stands "higher than hope" for all of us.

Mandela is a man above petty politics, above factionalism, above tribalism, and racial divisions.

PREPARED TO FORGIVE

He understands the situation that drives homeland leaders into cohabitation with the government, and while he will not exonerate those positions, he is prepared to forgive and to move on in the interest of his country and his people.

If anybody can mediate peace and reconciliation among South Africans – between the National Party and the ANC, it is Mandela. And change through negotiation is what the people of South Africa want, not change at the price of violence.

Mandela does not appear to be a man who will stand on ceremony over small issues of form, but he will not budge on content. Being the democrat that he is, he will not enter into negotiations without the backing of his people – foremost the ANC – even if invited to.

At the same time, it is clear that his years of confinement have so widened his range of tolerance and deepened his sense of compassion that he will seek a resolution inclusive of all, as far as possible.

It needs to be emphasised that however the solution may be personalised in him today, he sees the solution as a democratic action, to be found jointly and in consultation with the people of South Africa.

He is very much in touch with the world that seeks his direction. Although he is in prison he is very well informed. His finger is on the fragmented pulse of South African society, on the forces abroad within the country and outside.

He keeps himself very busy in his prison house. He reads voraciously and has access to all the papers and periodicals he requests.

The man imprisoned at Victor Verster with such care today is the man known for his determination never to leave South Africa. The man who sees the struggle as his life, who will continue the fight for freedom until the end of his days.

Mandela will continue to fight for that freedom even after his release, even in government – that is the calibre of the man.

He seeks freedom not for himself, but for his country.

That is why the question of his release appears to be far from his mind. The freedom of his country and people is uppermost. How to reconcile the raging divisions in South Africa is the question on which he concentrates.

28/5/81
114 (327)

Message of hope from his jail 'cell'



Rolihlahla Nelson Mandela has been in jail for the past 28 years.

This week his long-standing friend and biographer, sociology professor FATIMA MEER, accompanied by her husband Ismail, met the jailed ANC leader for three-and-a-half

hours in his luxury cell at Victor Verster Prison Farm.

They saw his queen-size bed, quilted in deep velvet. They saw the beautiful view that greets him each morning. And they met Mandela's personal guard of 22 years, W/O Gregory. But most important of all, they saw and heard Mandela the person.

They discussed a wide range of topics, from personal news to politics.

City Press Durban bureau chief, S'bu Mngadi, asked Meer to write her personal impressions for our readers. Her report follows:

ROLIHLAHLA Nelson Mandela is South Africa's hope. Not only for the voteless, but for the entire country, including the government.

This week's meeting was amazing. Mandela is an amazing man in equally amazing circumstances.

Mandela is not an ordinary prisoner. He is a very important person, a VIP of the highest standing.

We have known this all along. The remarkable fact is that today the government too recognises it. How else can one explain the manner of his imprisonment, in a finely appointed house where his prison guards relate to him as they do.

Mandela is as handsome today as I found him when we met hours before his arrest in 1962. The difference is that he was burly then, dressed in khaki every inch the newly-trained soldier.

When I saw him this week he was immaculate in a three-piece suit, every inch the statesman, ready to lead the country.

Today Mandela is a youthful 70, tall, dapper and debonair, without a trace of fat on his lean frame. He exercises regularly in his prison gym. His hair is laced with grey but his face remains unwrinkled. His laughter is deep-throated and spontaneous and he has a healthy appetite, as I observed when we settled down to dinner at the oak dining room table.

When I last had an opportunity of visiting Mandela - through a glass window on Robben Island 17 years ago - I was shocked at the 'sallow' face presented by the prison authorities.

This time, we were met at the prison entrance by Mandela's "man", W/O Gregory. The war-

■ To Page 4

No jail for Evita

ACTOR-playwright Pieter-Dirk Uys was recently refused permission to present a play at the Victor Verster Prison in the presence of Nelson Mandela.

At a Rand Afrikaans University seminar on isolation on Friday, Uys said, an application he had submitted was refused.

P.T.O.

Mandela

**in line
to get**

R650 000

● From Page 1

million foundation in Geneva to administer the prize.

Nominations for it are handled by an "international people's committee" established earlier this year. Its best-known member is Sam Nujoma, leader of Swapo.

Another committee member is a left-wing Swiss MP, Jean Ziegler, professor of sociology at Geneva University, who said he had agreed to join it on condition "that I would not have to put my name to any resolutions supporting Libyan policy."

He added: "If I can help to get R650 000 to Mandela and the ANC, then that is no bad thing."

In London, a foreign office spokesman said:

"The notion that Gaddafi can in any way endorse a human rights prize is both insulting and bizarre. His record, not only on human rights in his own country but on international terrorism and the IRA in particular, is absolutely appalling."

Tutu: Sept 6 'final ethnic election in SA'

11A
29/5/87

JOHANNESBURG — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said this week that the September 6 general election would be South Africa's final ethnic election.

In an interview with the City Press, Archbishop Tutu said: "I don't have the slightest doubt that our people will be occupying the Union Buildings. That we will be in Parliament sooner than later. Because when Namibia is sorted out, the only country in the world that is on the agenda for liberation is South Africa."

He said he predicted in 1980 that in five to 10 years South Africa would have a black prime minister.

"What was true of that prediction was the inevitability of what one was referring to at the time," he said.

About the state of emergency he said. "The fact that this country will have a fourth successive state of emergency is an admission that the government is no longer in control."

He said he told the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to lift the state of emergency and Mr Vlok's reply had been that unrest would flare up again as soon as the emergency was lifted.

Referring to sanctions, Archbishop Tutu said he never spoke for other people when he called for sanctions and had never advocated indiscriminate sanctions.

"Anybody who says sanctions have not worked should ask the South African government why they stopped fighting in Angola — largely because the economy could not take it," Archbishop Tutu said — Sapa

Mandela 'fit, healthy in luxury cage'

MR Nelson Mandela is fit, healthy and living in a "luxury cage"

This is the opinion of Professor Fatima Meer, a family friend who visited him last week and had a meal with him under the eye of his "man" — Prison Services Warrant Officer Gregory, Mr Mandela's warder for 22 years

Writing in yesterday's edition of City Press, Prof Meer said Mr Mandela lived in a luxurious, well-appointed, comfortable, prison home with a magnificent view. She asked what the meaning was of the unique conditions under which Mr Mandela was imprisoned.

She wrote: "Mandela is as handsome today as I found him when we met hours

before his arrest in 1962. The difference is that he was burly then, dressed in khaki — every inch the newly-trained soldier

"When I saw him this week he was immaculate in a three-piece suit, every inch the statesman, ready to lead the country

"Today Mandela is a youthful 70 — tall, dapper and debonair, without a trace of fat on his lean frame. He exercises regularly in his prison gym

"His hair is laced with grey but his face remains unwrinkled. His laughter is deep-throated and spontaneous and he has a healthy appetite.

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Robben Island 17 years ago — I was shocked at the sallow face presented by the prison authorities

"This time, we were met at the prison entrance by Mandela's 'man', WO Gregory with a difference. He has looked after the world's most famous prisoner for 22 years

"Mandela is not an ordinary prisoner. He is a very important person, a VIP of the highest standing," Prof Meer wrote, adding that "the remarkable fact is that today the government recognises it. Gone are the days when the government dismissed him as a communist and a terrorist and kept him imprisoned under the harshest conditions" — Staff Reporter and Sapa

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and p

975 11/15 29/5/88
Mandela
(11) (20)

'demands end to Natal strife'

DURBAN — KwaZulu
Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that Mr Nelson Mandela had written to him demanding an end to black-on-black violence

He said during the launch of an Inkatha public campaign against violence at a rally in strife-torn KwaMakhuta that Mr Mandela "has written to demand of me and every leader in the UDF and Cosatu that we now work for peace"
"He has demanded that the carnage that is taking place in black townships" — Sapa

Inkatha launches campaign to end black-on-black violence

DURBAN — An Inkatha public campaign against black-on-black violence was launched yesterday in KwaMakutha by the organisation's leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He made a "demand" for a peace initiative, in support of which he read a personal letter to him from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. *510am 29/5/89*

He said Mandela had made it clear that any act or statement, from whatever source, which tended to create or worsen (black) divisions in the political situation was a fatal error. — Sapa.

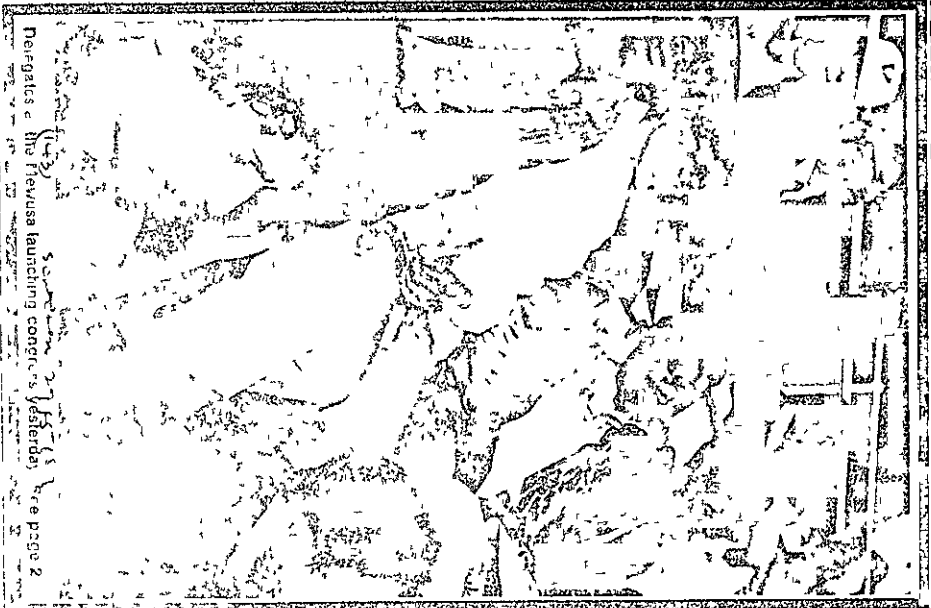
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118 Sowetan 24/5/87

COLONEL GADDAFI



Delegates at the Revusa launching conference (yesterday) on page 2

SOWETAN Foreign Service

LONDON — The imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, is to be the first recipient of the Gaddafi Human Rights Prize.

It is a new international award instituted by the Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi.

Official announcement of the award which is worth nearly R650,000 is expected to be made on June 10, either in Tripoli or Geneva. *The Observer* newspaper reported yesterday.

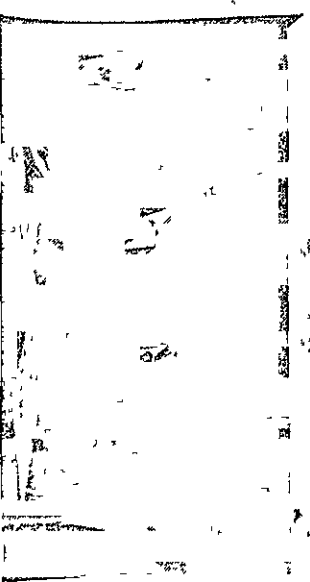
Sam Nujoma on the committee

The prize is intended as a counterbalance to the Nobel Peace Prize — whose administrators in Tripoli's view have shown insufficient regard for the cause of Third World liberation.

The Libyans are establishing a R20

"Damelin makes it easy!"

Mr J P Brummer, Principal, Damelin Correspondence College



The Damelin Study Director, under the Chairmanship of Dr Jim Fourie, Mr J P Brummer says that over the years he has received attention from 120 and still remains, is satisfied the other members of the University, Mr Philip Ples and Mr Alkhalid had the best interest in mind. And the Director of studies, then we see them hard at work.

"To get a good job and earn more money you must have a good education. And our results over the past 30 years prove that there is no finer way than a Damelin Correspondence Course. My many years in the educational field have enabled me to develop courses that will bring out the very best in you. You see, Damelin is a private institution with no restrictive rules or regulations to stand in the way of dynamic teaching methods. I can therefore personally gain notice the best teachers and the very best notes. But of course correspondence doesn't just mean notes. It means that your teachers are in constant touch with you to watch your progress. In fact I am so sure of our methods, that if you do not, we will give you up to your year free education until you pass. Fill in the coupon below and we will send you our free brochure. Damelin is the official correspondence college of the African Teachers Association and also of numerous official and business organisations.

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Higher Primary, Standard 8, Intermediate (A, B, C, D), Admin, Accounting, Business, Economics, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Mathematics, Music, Physical Education, Psychology, Science, Spanish, Statistics, Teaching, Typewriting, Urdu, Zulu.

Mr J P Brummer, Principal, Damelin Correspondence College, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 419, 421, 423, 425, 427, 429, 431, 433, 435, 437, 439, 441, 443, 445, 447, 449, 451, 453, 455, 457, 459, 461, 463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 483, 485, 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1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2025, 2027, 2029, 2031, 2033, 2035, 2037, 2039, 2041, 2043, 2045, 2047, 2049, 2051, 2053, 2055, 2057, 2059, 2061, 2063, 2065, 2067, 2069, 2071, 2073, 2075, 2077, 2079, 2081, 2083, 2085, 2087, 2089, 2091, 2093, 2095, 2097, 2099, 2101, 2103, 2105, 2107, 2109, 2111, 2113, 2115, 2117, 2119, 2121, 2123, 2125, 2127, 2129, 2131, 2133, 2135, 2137, 2139, 2141, 2143, 2145, 2147, 2149, 2151, 2153, 2155, 2157, 2159, 2161, 2163, 2165, 2167, 2169, 2171, 2173, 2175, 2177, 2179, 2181, 2183, 2185, 2187, 2189, 2191, 2193, 2195, 2197, 2199, 2201, 2203, 2205, 2207, 2209, 2211, 2213, 2215, 2217, 2219, 2221, 2223, 2225, 2227, 2229, 2231, 2233, 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3563, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3571, 3573, 3575, 3577, 3579, 3581, 3583, 3585, 3587, 3589, 3591, 3593, 3595, 3597, 3599, 3601, 3603, 3605, 3607, 3609, 3611, 3613, 3615, 3617, 3619, 3621, 3623, 3625, 3627, 3629, 3631, 3633, 3635, 3637, 3639, 3641, 3643, 3645, 3647, 3649, 3651, 3653, 3655, 3657, 3659, 3661, 3663, 3665, 3667, 3669, 3671, 3673, 3675, 3677, 3679, 3681, 3683, 3685, 3687, 3689, 3691, 3693, 3695, 3697, 3699, 3701, 3703, 3705, 3707, 3709, 3711, 3713, 3715, 3717, 3719, 3721, 3723, 3725, 3727, 3729, 3731, 3733, 3735, 3737, 3739, 3741, 3743, 3745, 3747, 3749, 3751, 3753, 3755, 3757, 3759, 3761, 3763, 3765, 3767, 3769, 3771, 3773, 3775, 3777, 3779, 3781, 3783, 3785, 3787, 3789, 3791, 3793, 3795, 3797, 3799, 3801, 3803, 3805, 3807, 3809, 3811, 3813, 3815, 3817, 3819, 3821, 3823, 3825, 3827, 3829, 3831, 3833, 3835, 3837, 3839, 3841, 3843, 3845, 3847, 3849, 3851, 3853, 3855, 3857, 3859, 3861, 3863, 3865, 3867, 3869, 3871, 3873, 3875, 3877, 3879, 3881, 3883, 3885, 3887, 3889, 3891, 3893, 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National Forum facing black

The National Forum (NF) has met with widespread scorn and contempt since its formation on May 6. A number of black leaders have openly dismissed the forum as a group of unrepresentative town councillors who have no mandate to negotiate with the Government on behalf of the black community.

On the other hand, public support for the NF has been lukewarm. The NF has had two widely publicised, but brief, introductory meetings with outgoing Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk respectively.

NF leader Mr Phillip Nhlapo claimed that the meeting with Mr de Klerk was the first step towards negotiations on a new constitution.

Asked if the Government regarded the forum as a significant negotiation partner, a senior government source this week said "We don't really know. But they're at least prepared to talk."

Cautious support has been forthcoming from the Church Alliance of South Africa (Casa), claiming to represent about 12 million blacks in the country, including the independent national states.

Casa leader Pastor Poen Badenhorst said that al-

though the organisation's executive would have to decide on whether or not to back the NF, Casa welcomed the establishment of a protestations body in view of its own anti-apartheid, anti-sanctions stand.

Other organisations, ranging from the banned Pan-Africanist Congress to the municipal umbrella body, the United Municipalities of South Africa, have given the NF an unequivocal thumbs down.

The PAC said the forum was an opportunistic attempt by unrepresentative blacks to "collaborate in their own oppression".

The present state of emergency and the "very successful" boycott of last year's municipal elections had proved that the NF — comprising mainly councillors — represented nobody but itself.

"They flourish in the abnormal conditions of the state of emergency and the suppression of genuine dissent. Their desire to collaborate in their own oppression is not new. In Ucasasa they pursued and practised collaboration," the PAC said, referring to an-

are a group of opportunists. To constitutionalise themselves in a forum and then to seek negotiations is contrary to the democratic creed which is highly developed in the community."

The NF had no mandate to enter into negotiations with the Government and had even been rejected by many black councillors.

Mr Morobe said even if the "mass democratic movement" had been consulted about the formation of the NF, it would have been rejected. kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week openly snubbed Mr Nhlapo by calling him a political "unknown". Chief Buthelezi said last year's local government elections had not been fought on the issue of establishing a National Forum to negotiate on behalf of blacks.

"Those involved in the NF are doing what they are doing without a mandate from the people. It must be borne in mind that you will be irrelevant in the end whether you do the right thing or the wrong thing if you are not backed by the people."

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The Government is cautiously optimistic that the recently-established National Forum of black urban leaders will provide the necessary breakthrough for its "Great Indaba" to negotiate a new constitution. But the response from the black community has been less favourable, reports **Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE.**

other municipal umbrella body, the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa, and its president, Mr Phillip Nhlapo, who also leads the forum.

Completely rejected

Ex-United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said organisations within the democratic movement completely rejected the NF.

"The so-called forum represents a particular breed of blacks who are totally lacking in conscience and are committed to personal gain only. They

the NF after being involved in discussions on its formation since late last year, said the majority of blacks regarded the NF as "yet another wagon of pulling blacks into politics of coercion".

If the NF were a genuine negotiating platform, the "mass democratic movement" would have been invited to air its views.

Umsa had dissociated itself from the NF and any further committee which did not involve the entire black population's consent, Mr Boya said.

While infighting within Umsa continues following the expulsion of four executive members who participate in the NF, Ucasasa's executive is also split between those supporting and those against the forum.

Dobsonville mayor and Ucasasa public relations officer Mr Steve Nkatlo walked out of the formation meeting, saying "I queried the formation of this body and said we were still not accepted by people at a local level. We formed Ucasasa on our own and I don't see why we should be invited by the Government to form another body. How much more will the people doubt us when they know we have been party to a body which was formed by the Government?"

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Scorn

Briefing

SAFETY

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May 30/5/89

**GADDAFI
PRIZE FOR
MANDELA**

11/8

ROME — Nelson Mandela will be honoured with a prize named after Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan news agency Jana said

The Observer newspaper in London reported that it was worth \$250 000 and said that Libya was establishing a \$10m foundation in Geneva for future awards

Jana said the prize would be awarded in mid-June and accepted by "the leader of the ANC" — apparently referring to Oliver Tambo — at a place yet to be disclosed.

The Observer reported without attribution that the new prize was to counterbalance the Nobel Peace Prize, "whose administrators, in Tripoli's view, have shown insufficient regard for the cause of Third World liberation"

The paper said members of the committee include Swapo leader Sam Nujoma. One of Mandela's nine grandchildren is named Gaddafi. — Sapa-AP.

THE ANSWER

THE Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, says peaceful co-existence is the only answer to the problems of South Africa.

Soweto 30/5/87
The time is ripe for the different racial groups to forget about the past and to unite in building the future democratic South Africa. (117) (118)

Addressing a political meeting in Soweto, he said it was regrettable that certain black leaders were insisting on calling for sanctions against South Africa in the hope of destroying apartheid.

Venue changed

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi will visit Krugersdorp on July 26 as the guest of the West Rand Chamber of Commerce and Industry. (119)

But his reception, which was to have been held in the town's Centenary Hall, is now scheduled for the Greek Orthodox Church hall in Noordheuwel. *Soweto 30/5/87* (120)

The CP-controlled council had placed certain restrictions on the planned reception at the municipal hall saying that Buthelezi, as a head of state, his wife and other ministers of his Cabinet could go to the function but no people of other races could attend.

Minister hails black local govt 'success'

Cape Times 30/5/87
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SUCCESSES achieved in black local government were important because they were building democracy, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, claimed yesterday.

"Success" had been made possible because peace had been brought to black areas and intimidation had been restricted to a large degree, he said at a press conference.

"The visible result of the government's efforts on these two levels is being used as an instrument to build," he said.

"The opportunities offered by black local government are important, whether people agree with the philosophy of the government or not, because the experience gained will stand them in good stead in the future."

In March this year, there were 259 black local authorities functioning in South Africa outside the homelands and only 10 (or 4%) of these were under the control of administrators.

In last year's municipal elections, the average poll in the black areas was 25,2% and 367 475 people participated in the elections.

Though there had been an exceptionally high voter turn-out in the white municipal elections last year because of the involvement of political parties, the results in black areas were similar to those in white areas in the previous elections.

In Mamelodi near Pretoria there was a 27,3% poll, compared to the 26,6% poll in Pretoria in 1982; while in Khayelitsha there was a 43,3% poll compared to the 35,2% poll in Cape Town in 1982.

Sanctions: AG ruled

... on top for ... Our ...

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THE ROAD AHEAD

SOUTH Africa will remain a colony for as long as blacks did not plan their own government, culture, economy and education, said Professor Zeke Mphahlele, at Vista University at the weekend.

Mphahlele maps it out

Research said it was high time blacks took control of their lives

Mphahlele said integration belonged in the future when blacks would be sufficiently empowered to dictate terms of integration.

"At the moment, you cannot have integration between unequals. You cannot integrate the master and his servant, the rich and the poor. We have to be equals before we can be integrated," he said.

empowered in all spheres of life so they could be strong, capable and knowledgeable people who can deal effectively with day to day challenges of life

"We need to develop people who because of their power, will be able to hold political leadership accountable to them and who will not be at the mercy of any government "



Having fun at the ZOO
Little ones from the Lebogang Day Nur-

AT least 11 people were killed in townships around Durban at the weekend as black-on-black violence continued, with at least five knifings and six shootings involved

Two people were knifed to death in KwaMashu, north of Durban Mr Vusumuzi Dladla (30) and Mr Siphwe Thabethe (22) were stabbed to death on Saturday. A man has been arrested in connection with the death of Thabethe.

A man is expected to appear in court in connection with the death of Mr Sandile Nsibande (27), who was

11 slaughtered

stabbed to death at Lindelani township, near KwaMashu

Mr Ernest Madikizela Mngadi (35), was knifed to death in Ntuzuma township, near KwaMashu, on Sunday night

Seven people were killed in the

greater Mpumalanga area at the weekend.

They were an unidentified man of about 19 who was knifed to death in Mpumalanga township Mr Aaron Sifiso Mncwabe (18) and Mr Bonginkosi Phillip Hlongwa (26), were

shot dead in the same area

An unknown man was also found dead Mr Jabulani Gwala (32) and an unknown man of about 45 were shot dead at Shongweni and at Geordedale an unknown woman of about 55 was shot dead

Mpumalanga police said many houses were attacked by stone-throwers and others were shot at Mpumalanga township at the weekend. This resulted in the death of Mr Mdu Sibuya (17), who was shot dead at one of the houses

'DROP YOUR PRIDE AND END KILLINGS'

(118)
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THE Black Management Forum — established to identify, promote, develop and provide effective management leadership among black people — has urged black leaders not to allow differences of venue to torpedo the proposed peace talks.

SOWETAN REPORTER

Peace talks between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were supposed to take place on May 20, but floundered because of disagreement over the venue

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha was adamant that talks should take place in Ulundi, while the Cosatu camp suggested that they take place at a neutral place.

The BMF said yesterday that the blood of innocent souls that was flowing should make black leaders think and for sense to prevail

"The senseless killing, brutality and dehumanisation of our society must stop forthwith. Individual pride of our leaders is subordinate to the interests of the black nation as a whole," said the BMF

For too long the struggle for political liberation and economic emancipation had been held back because of private agendas, pride and unnecessary political infighting among and within black leadership

"The march to the highway of freedom, the march to Pretoria and Cape Town has been undermined by wanton senseless killing of innocent victims because of power-mongering

"Innocent and humble sons and daughters of Mother Africa have been caught in the crossfire for political supremacy among blacks," the BMF said

The BMF urged all the key players, without whom peace would not be possible, to swallow their pride as "differences on the venue is just a luxury that this nation cannot at all afford"

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have either ap-
g handled depart-

Mr Declan Condon (left) of Security Service Consultants and Sergeant Johan de Wet of the Robbery Reaction J G Strijdom Hospital. Mr Condon holds two truncheons and a machinegun ammunition belt, allegedly fo employees.

Brief let-up from big chill

Staff Reporter

If you are literally and figuratively blue from the cold, cheer up. The weatherman in Pretoria anticipates a respite from the Big Freeze and warmer temperatures over the next few days.

But keep the winter woolies and heaters close at hand as the next cold front is already on its way. It will be nipplier from Friday and the country can expect icy conditions over the weekend.

Participants in the Comrades Marathon lemming run will start off in chilly conditions in Martizburg early tomorrow, but should be complaining about the heat by midday. The high at the Durban destination is expected to hit 26, said a spokesman for the Weather Bureau.

Stay-at-home Transvaalers can expect a pleasant Republic Day tomorrow. Tem-

peratures today are expected to be four degrees higher than yesterday and the warmer trend is expected to persist for at least a couple of days.

Johannesburg temperatures will be between 14 and 16 deg C and in Pretoria the maximum will be 17 deg C tomorrow, with clear conditions.

Showers are expected in Cape Town, caused by the approaching cold front, but the rest of the country should be dry.

The south-western Cape can expect no let-up in the current chilly conditions.

Snow fell over the Maluti mountains over the weekend but began melting yesterday.

The sub-zero temperatures experienced in Bloemfontein are also expected to disappear for the next couple of days.

Pik's statement not new ANC

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has reacted coolly to statements made in Europe by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who said his government had accepted white domination must end.

The ANC said in Lusaka that the statement was aimed at diverting world attention from the problem of apartheid while the Government prepared for the September election. "If the Government is serious about changes, why do they go to the international audience instead of to our people?"

It appealed to South Africans to help end Natal violence — The Star's Africa News Service

Mayor's casting vote keeps Durban beaches white

DURBAN — Durban's remaining white beaches will not be opened to all races.

The city council rejected an amenities committee recommendation last night that this form of discrimination be abolished.

The council was split 15-15 on the issue and the mayor, Mr Derrick Watterson, was forced to use his casting vote in favour of maintaining closed beaches.

Mr Watterson had earlier voted for opening the remaining white beaches.

South, Addington, Anstey's, Brighton and Treasure.

He said this was not the first time he had been forced to use his casting vote and on previous occasions he had done so according to council traditions.

"It is normal that the casting vote be taken to maintain the status quo," he said. "Even though my personal inclination is to vote for opening the beaches, I do not want to establish a principle whereby the mayor can be expected and be entitled to vote regardless of council tradition."

The recommendation to open the beaches was opposed by the National Party caucus, the Civic Action League and the councillors for the beachfront wards.

Their arguments against the opening were predictable — overcrowding, the need to protect group interests and cultural differences, and the possible effects on the tourist trade.

Councillors in favour of open beaches spoke about the need to show the right image — Sapa

● See Page 2M.

Pik's statement ^{11A}
not new ANC

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The Star's Africa News Service

Thugs rampant in these killing fields

Natal's black urban communities always were poor, but they had a simple dignity. This they have lost, torn away in a brutalising and degrading frenzy. Some observers claim Inkatha imps are led by police vehicles. Police say this is nonsense, and that there is a vast difference between being led and being tracked. (11/8)

The worst violence at Maritzburg occurs in a belt around the Edendale Valley where there is interaction with the kwaZulu districts of Vulindlela and Sweetwaters. But it is by no means confined to that belt.

The UDF/Cosatu accuses Inkatha chiefs of organising violent imps which rampage against non-Inkatha communities. They are supported by a Democratic Party observer who says he saw such an impi being led by police vehicles as it moved against the township of Mphohomeni near Howick.

The police respond that it is impossible to arrest an armed impi of 300 men, that there is a difference between keeping track of an impi and leading it.

Inkatha quarters will concede unofficially that certain chiefs have stepped out of line.

But they maintain that the chiefs' membership of Inkatha is incidental. They are acting primarily as chiefs, ruling the way their fathers and grandfathers did.

When strangers arrive uninvited in their area as refugees and refuse to accept their authority, they react harshly.

So much for Maritzburg.

In Mpumalanga near Pine-town there are indications that much of the violence is due to a

complicated feud between two Inkatha factions. At Molweni, in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, Comrades are killing Comrades.

Inanda New Town, near Durban, is a great confusion with vigilante groups springing up, some apparently in support of Inkatha but nevertheless fighting one another, others apparently a genuinely independent reaction to anarchy.

Everywhere criminality is rampant, gangsters masquerading under the names Theleweni (Inkatha) and Amaqabane (UDF).

The violence certainly was precipitated by rivalry and conflict between Inkatha and the UDF, but it has gathered its own momentum and got out of hand. It is much more complex than suggested by laboured neo-Marxist class analysis or simplistic suggestions of generation differences.

Natal's black urban communities always were poor and disadvantaged, but they had the neighbourliness and solidarity of Ubuntu (African humanism) and a simple dignity.

This they have lost, torn away in a brutalising and degrading frenzy.

It is difficult to see what they have gained in return.

Will followers of Inkatha and UDF heed peace talks?

11A

For the first time in more than two years, there is realistic talk of the UDF/Cosatu and Inkatha combining their resources to bring peace to the black townships of Natal/kwaZulu.

At time of writing there is sparring over the venue, but it seems certain that very soon the top leadership of both sides will sit down to peace talks. It might even happen in secret.

The leaders will probably agree to jointly address a series of peace rallies and to establish some sort of joint monitoring commission to ensure that the peace is kept.

Given the animosities and the insults traded over the past few years (not to mention the spilled blood of their followers), it is a remarkable and encouraging development.

It is something like the Thermidorean Reaction of the French Revolution, when people sickened of the excesses and revolted against them.

Motive of revenge

The big question, however, is whether agreement between the leaders can be made to filter down to their followers. Blood has been spilled and the motive of revenge is strong. Rural violence has shown how potent the blood feud can be in the cycle of retribution.

Will blood feuds continue in the townships and peri-urban areas around Maritzburg and Durban?

It remains to be seen, though UDF circles in particular are optimistic that a peace agreement can be made to stick, given the participation of both leaderships.

However, there are practical problems. Inkatha has a chain of command which peters out somewhere above the level of the violent Tholeweni bands, claiming to operate on its behalf.

There is also the problem that Inkatha chiefs do not necessarily observe the movement's principles of non-violence; they rule in their own way. There are signs that the Inkatha leadership is putting pressure on them, but it is pressure more than command.

And the chain of command between the UDF/Cosatu and the Amaqabane bands is virtually non-existent. The UDF/Cosatu is hampered by its near-banning in terms of the emergency regulations, while the trade unions are hardly the vehicle for a political initiative.

And a delicate situation is made the more precarious by talk from Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adriaan Vlok of smashing the trouble-makers with an "iron fist".

Even Inkatha circles privately express irritation with Mr. Vlok. They see his statements as meddlesome and a danger to the peace initiative.

Both sides are highly mistrustful of the motives of the security forces. Both express suspicion that sections are less concerned with restoring peace and prosecuting offenders than with keeping the violence on the boil.

This would accord with the principle of divide and rule, at the same time convincing whites that there is no future in negotiating with blacks.

end before last, after a huge and emotive Inkatha funeral in Mpumalanga, they intercepted a convoy of buses packed with In-

katha supporters

However, the police have gone a long way to restoring their credibility — with the UDF/Cosatu at least. The week-

They searched them, confiscated a quantity of weapons and detained certain individuals. The buses were ordered to proceed to their home districts and nowhere else.

The UDF/Cosatu are convinced that the occupants would otherwise have gone on a vengeful rampage. They see the police action as an encouraging augury of future impartiality.

Significant parts of the townships and squatter communities are under UDF/Cosatu influence, parts under Inkatha. It is a shifting pattern and it is quite possible that the vast majority of people would prefer to be left to live their lives in peace.

There have been important shifts in the attitude of the opposing parties, and it would appear that the UDF/Cosatu has done the most shifting. From denouncing Inkatha as stooges, collaborators and "enemies of the people", it has come round to a readiness to share a platform. Inkatha never adopted quite such a publicly and uncompromisingly hostile attitude. But perhaps less important than who has done the most shifting is an apparent new readiness to tolerate a differing point of view.

A feature of the township violence has been the mutual and absolute intolerance of the parties. On the ground, Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu are mutual anathema. The other side cannot be tolerated. There is no such thing as neutrality — if you are not for us, you are against us. Many have paid with their lives for not correctly guessing the identity of their questioners.

This intolerance has to be seen through the eyes of the township dweller. Political dissent is not an abstract value. It is an immediate reality, and that reality is immediate physical danger which demands a physical response.

Long road ahead

Whether joint peace rallies by Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu can soften this fear and intolerance remains to be seen.

Mr. Peter Gastrow, Democratic Party MP for Durban Central, has kept closely in touch with the violence and with both leaderships. He is cautiously optimistic and sees the priorities as the following:

- Top level talks at leadership level providing a lead and discipline for people at grass roots
- Urgent attention to infrastructural problems such as water reticulation, transport, clinics and schools. All relevant government departments should be involved. The kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority could have a constructive role to play
- Firm and effective police work which is seen to be impartial, the prosecution of men of violence so that confidence in the law and justice is restored

"It is an unbelievably complex problem and it varies from area to area," Mr. Gastrow says.

"People have tended to describe it in simple terms which are just not true. The important thing for the moment is that the peace initiative of the leadership should go ahead unhindered."

Webster about to publish report on repression saying ...

8 activists 'assassinated'

ADELE BALETA

DAVID Webster was murdered this week as he was about to publish a report listing eight activists killed by "unknown perpetrators" between September 1987-July 1988

The report on repression was written by Webster and his girlfriend, Maggie Friedman. It contains a section devoted to "SA contras" or vigilantes (which is to appear in the SA Review), and deals with violence, abductions and assassinations

It said "Assassinations have the effect of controlling government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed. It is a rare event, indeed, when such assassinations are ever solved"

Those assassinated were listed as Samuel Seliso Ndlovu, of the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco), Sicelo Dhlomo (DPSC, Sosco), Linda Brakvis (UDF), Pearl Tshabalala (UDF), Amos Boshomane (Steel Engineering and Allied Workers' Union), Nomisa Nduna (a trade unionist's mother), Michael Banda (Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association) and Sidney Msibi (a former ANC member)

The report said these were individual killings of known activists and did not address the killings in Natal, in which hundreds had died

The report gave an overview of trends in repression, ranging from formal and legal methods (which it defined as detentions, bannings and the use of courts to criminalise political

opponents), to extra-legal (the use of "dirty tricks" squads, vigilantes, death squads and surrogate forces) and informal repression

Informal repression related to activities by state-controlled structures — including joint management centres and municipal police — which operated with legal sanction

It also included illegal activities performed by anonymous agents, perhaps linked to the state, or by surrogate right-wing groups. These actions "frequently step beyond the bounds of the law and are seldom successfully investigated or the culprits punished"

The report said last year saw a "steady tempo" of kidnappings and assassinations of anti-apartheid activists inside and outside SA

There were "numerous assassinations carried out by clandestine groups, presumably a death squad, referred to many years ago as the 'Z' squad"

There had been 51 right-wing attacks on individuals and property from 1986 to September 1988, including arson, petrol-bomb attacks, burglaries and

vandalism

Robberies and break-ins involving the offices and properties of trade union and political organisations escalated and, often, the only items stolen were documents "leading the victims to suspect the security police"



WEBSTER ... 'a way to control opposition'

Dirty tricks campaigns had been mounted against "progressive" organisations, such as the production of 'disruptive' pamphlets

Several disappearances and abductions remained unsolved. Some missing people had been discovered in detention while others had disappeared permanently, the report claimed

The report concluded that repression was bound to intensify in all its forms as long as SA had a government which was "fundamentally undemocratic and unrepresentative"

LUSAKA — Pope John Paul brought

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