

BLACK POLITICS

1983

1ST JUNE — 30 JUNE



Build-up of arms 'alarming'

(114) 3

Own Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Anti-apartheid and other groups, with renewed help from Eastern Bloc countries, planned intensified action against South Africa, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said in Pretoria yesterday.

The groups included the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress.

Speaking at a parade at the Police College to mark the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the South African Police, the minister referred to the increasing interest and actions of the Soviet bloc in Southern Africa.

"There is an accumulation of weapons and surrogate forces around South Africa, from

Angola to Lesotho, which is alarming." In different countries land and air forces were strengthened to the extent of several hundred percent by the presence of Cubans, Russians, East Germans and Chinese.

Referring to crime, the minister said international commerce in drugs had already reached South Africa, as well as the sophisticated criminal element which had previously been unknown in South Africa.

Mr Le Grange said the government's constitutional development plans would demand patience, wisdom, and tact from everyone. "All these happenings present the South African Police with particular challenges in the future."

The maintenance of internal security and the combating of crime would make unprecedented demands.

Mr Le Grange said the population increase among whites was almost static and demographers estimated that in 50 years' time there would be about 9,4-million whites as against 84-million blacks.

In his address the minister paid tribute to the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, who retired yesterday, and who took the salute at the parade of more than 500 policemen. Mr Le Grange also welcomed the new Commissioner, General J Coetzee.

1913

The minister traced the history of the force from its inception in 1913. After World War II, he said, some organizations which aimed at promoting certain groups in South Africa were infiltrated by and eventually controlled by communists.

They became nothing more than front organizations for the SA Communist Party. Boycotts, strikes and unrest were organized which caused incidents in Cape Town and Sharpeville.

Mr Le Grange said the rash of sabotage incidents, murder and plundering which followed compelled the government to take steps to ensure law and order.

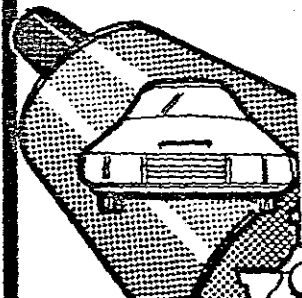
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MORE THAN 30 YEARS

You come the Car, come up the Siler



Speakers see Republic Day as 'mockery'

11A S. Post
1/6/83

By JIMMY MATYU

SPEAKERS at an anti-Republic Day rally held in Kwa-zakele yesterday described the day's celebrations and the day as a "mockery".

They said that after 22 years of the Republic, which was "thrust upon the voiceless people without consultation", blacks still had nothing to celebrate.

The rally, which also criticised proposed bus fare increases, was held in the new Daku Hall. Speakers came from the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa, the Congress of South African Students and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress.

A minute's silence was observed as a tribute to the Driefontein leader, Mr Saul Mkhize, who was shot by a policeman, and the anti-rent increase campaigner, Mr Harrison Dube, of Lamontville, who was killed by two unknown gunmen in April.

Mr Fikile Kobese, a Macwusa official, said it was ridiculous for blacks to celebrate Republic Day.

He said this was because they were never consulted, and also because of the "brutal acts" of the Government.

"How can we take part when many of our people are detained and banned, and some are in exile, and when people blacks regard as their leaders languish on Robben Island?" he said.

The Government was well aware that "the people of the country" wanted a People's Republic where there would be freedom for everybody. To help bring about such a republic, all political prisoners would have to be released. An election would then lead to "an everlasting peace".

Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, president of Pebco, said blacks were still deprived and oppressed in every situation, but they still believed "at this late hour" that the Government could bring about changes.

Police confirm Pule detention

THE Police Directorate in Pretoria this week confirmed the detention of one of the leading members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Pule Pule.

Mr Pule was fetched from his sister's home in Rockville by the Security Police last week and, according to the Directorate, he is detained un-

der Section 29 of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

His detention has instilled fear and worry in his parents as he was shot at about three weeks ago by unknown men travelling in a white kombi, causing extensive damage to his car.

Mr Pule, according to members of his family

managed to escape unhurt and reported the matter to the Moroka Police Station.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, said his organisation was also concerned with the number of times their members have been detained and released by the police in the past.

(11A) ~~33~~

Pamphlets urge halt to terror executions 1/6/83

By Eugene Saldanna

Thousands of pamphlets were distributed in Soweto early today calling on the Government to stay the execution of six African National Congress men sentenced to death for high treason.

The pamphlets claimed a campaign to save the lives of the six was gaining ground both in South Africa and abroad.

The six are Simon Mogoerane (23), Jerry Masololi (25), Thebo Motaung (27), Anthony Tsotsobe (27), David Moise (27) and Johannes Shabangu (28) who were sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court last year for acts of sabotage.

The pamphlet urged the Government to treat captured ANC men as prisoners of war. "The 1977 Geneva Convention says that in a civil war prisoners must be treated as POWs. According to that document, these men are not criminals, and therefore should not be hanged."

The African National Congress is a signatory to the Geneva Convention, and several appeals have been made by organisations — including Amnesty International — for the condemned six to be given prisoner of war status.

The pamphlet, issued by the "Save the Six Committee," said a service would be held at the St Francis Anglican Church, Rockville, on June 5 at 2pm.

In London, South African Ambassador Mr Marais Steyn said no-one should urge the granting of prisoner-of-war status to ANC terrorists convicted in South Africa unless they advocated the same treatment for members of the IRA and similar organisations.

Replying in The Times today to a letter from former Labour MP Sir Richard Acland and others, Mr Steyn points out that the six men now under sentence of death were also charged with murder, attempted murder, robbery and sabotage.

He says: "Your readers are well-informed about the latest ANC outrage which killed 18 and wounded a further 200. The actions of Messrs Tsotsobe, Shabangu and company also claimed innocent civilian lives."

13 arrested over EP bombings

PORT ELIZABETH. — Seven people have been arrested in the Eastern Cape in the past fortnight in connection with several terrorist attacks in Port Elizabeth and an arms cache of Russian weapons has also been seized in the area in that time.

A man suspected of having strong ANC attachments, linked to the killing of a Kwazakele woman and described as "extremely dangerous", is still at large.

The man being sought is Mr Zola Colin Velebayi, who is in his early twenties.

The branch commander of the Security Police, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, says the offer of a reward of R1 000 for information leading to his arrest still stands.

In announcing the detention of six men and one woman, the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said from Pretoria this week that since May 13 an arms cache of Russian weapons as well as explosives had also been seized in the Eastern Cape.

This brings to 13 the number of men and women detained last month and linked to terrorist attacks like the

Constantia Centre explosion in 1981 and this year's explosion at the Community Council offices in New Brighton.

Between May 10 and 12, five men and one woman were detained for questioning in the Eastern Cape in connection with terrorism.

Mr Velebayi is being sought in connection with the death of Mrs Nonkosi Tshiwula in Kwazakele.

At the time it was suspected that there was a connection between her death and the first detentions.

Acts of sabotage to which the detained men and women have been linked include:

- An explosion on a car ramp of the Constantia Centre on August 8, 1981.
- The discovery of a homemade bomb at the same centre on May 29, last year.
- A bomb blast at the Community Council offices in New Brighton in which a trained ANC terrorist who planted the explosive was killed and several other people were injured on January 26, this year.
- An explosion at a railway line at Swarikops on April 6, this year. — Sapa.

1/6/83 Star

Is PAC losing ground to the ANC?

By David Thomas,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

HARARE — The visit to communist China by African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo could isolate the rival Pan Africanist Congress. The visit appears to confirm speculation in Southern African political and diplomatic circles that Peking has been reassessing its traditional support for the PAC.

This view was strengthened in January this year when China's Assistant Foreign Minister responsible for African affairs, Mr Gong Defei, said blacks in South Africa should unite with progressive whites to change South Africa's political system.

Although Mr Gong said his country maintained relations with both movements his support for white participation in the process of change in South Africa was interpreted as a rejection of the PAC's policy that only blacks should be involved.

Mr Gong said his Government believed that South Africa should abandon apartheid and form a national government of all races. He emphasised the importance of the country's whites, who he said made up a quarter of the population. "To support either whites or blacks would only create confusion" he said.

Another factor contributing to post-Mao China's growing disillusionment with the PAC has been the recurring leadership disputes within the organisation. China's material assistance to the PAC appears gradually to have declined over the past few years.

Mr Tambo's trip to Peking, during which he will be conferring with China's Premier Mr Zhao Ziyang, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Wu Zue Qian, is expected to result in an increase in material and political aid to the ANC.

Meanwhile the PAC's internal problems continue to spoil its military ambitions. The most generous estimates give PAC about 300 guerillas, whose loyalties are divided among the three factions of the PAC. By American intelligence there are between 1 000 and 2 000 ANC fighters in South Africa.

Accused tells of ANC fear

11A

Sowetan 2/6/83

By MONK NKOMO

A 28-YEAR-OLD man charged with the murder of an SB worked together with the cops, took them to certain places where trained ANC members stayed and even identified others in a police photo album. the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Malesela Benjamin Moloise, who has pleaded not guilty to

having murdered Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe (54), at the gate of his Mamelodi house on November 7 last year, said he was afraid of members of the ANC because, "I told police a lot of things about them." under cross-examination by Mr P B Jacobs, for the State.

He admitted to having associated with "trained terrorists" who included Jabu, Jonny, Len and Markus Motaung.

When he came back from Cullinan where he had spent two weeks since November 6 last year, he had established that both Jabu and Jonny had disappeared from Stinkwater. "I suspected they had killed Mr Selepe," he said.

He told the court he had taken police to certain places, including a house in Section C, Mabopane (where Jabu stayed), where they could find "trained ANC terrorists."



The East Rand caused a full day's... with black and white. See page 3.

aragwanath

OR
ED

tering lumbar punctures and epidurals. She said she had supervised the epidural given to Mrs Bunting and was satisfied that when she left, the patient's blood pressure was normal.

She also said that when an anaesthetist arrived, she re-incubated Mrs Bunting and her blood pressure immediately improved although she was in a coma.

●Although The SOWETAN could not establish yesterday what action the family is to take, it was reported last year that Mr Joseph

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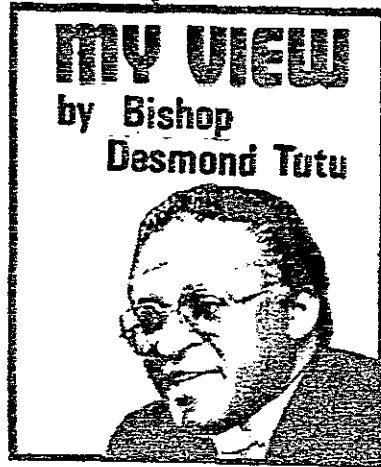
'Violence is the way of madness'

(11A) ~~scribble~~ Jan 2/6/83
Can't we stop the world and get off, because at this rate, we, like the Gadarene swine, are hurtling headlong down towards destruction.

No sooner had we been caught napping by the Pretoria bomb outrage and the harsh (SABC-TV described it so in one of its notorious news commentaries) retaliatory strike against Maputo, than we were stunned by the bomb blast in Bloemfontein. We must surely condemn all three actions out of hand.

If the ANC is responsible for the bomb outrages in Pretoria and Bloemfontein, then that organisation must be condemned roundly for what the South African Council of Churches called acts of naked terrorism.

Equally, however, the SADF strike against Maputo must be condemned as well. Firstly, because it is unlikely to win South Africa many friends in the international commu-



nity. As it is our sad but beloved land was harshly criticised by even her closest friend — the Reagan administration.

Secondly, and in many ways much more seriously, because it just will not do for the SADF blandly to disclaim any responsibility for civilian casualties. It is in large measure precisely the casualties and deaths of innocent civilians which turn the actions of either insurgents or the army into naked terrorism.

Perhaps, finally, it is all to be condemned because that way lies damnation and self-destruction. We will not find a solution to what appear to be the intractable problems of our land. No, that way is the way of madness.

It is not particularly comforting to realise that the recent outrages reveal glaringly the polarised state of our country. We have known that we are a deeply fragmented society. To solve our country's problem we are going to have to face quite unpleasant and perhaps shocking truths.

One of these is that blacks and whites on the whole see things from diametrically opposed perspectives. What is meat to the one is poison to the other. For far too long, it has seemed advantage and privilege have accrued to the one, to the extent that they have been denied to the other. And this has helped to determine how we see things.

Although not many blacks have articulated it, you can be sure that many have thought that apartheid and the intransigence of whites have driven the ANC to the desperation of using desperate methods. The ANC, they know had tried peaceful methods since 1912.

They, together with the PAC, were using peaceful means of passive resistance against the pass laws in 1960, when they were arbitrarily banned and forced to choose the option of the armed struggle.

Whites in the whole see them as terrorists manipulated by communists to overthrow law and order and they believe any method (including denying food to countries harbouring them) is justifiable.

Many blacks are glad that the ANC is no longer as inept as was previously thought. They have chalked up the strikes against Sasol II, against Koeberg, against the building in Cape Town housing the President's Council and now Pretoria and Bloemfontein.

Please, my dear fellow South Africans, we can't go on like this. We can't have bomb outrage followed by reprisal, followed by bomb-blast ad infinitum.

This spiral of violence must end or we will have begun the bloodbath, the alternative too ghastly to contemplate will be upon us. Let us deal with the root cause of it all — apartheid.

Call to save ANC six

PAMPHLETS calling on the Government not to hang six of the members of the banned African National Congress (ANC), have been distributed in Soweto by an organisation calling itself the "Committee of Six".

The pamphlets come in the wake of an international appeal for clemency for the six, convicted for their acts of sabotage.

The six are: Simon Mogoerane, David Moisi, Thabo Motaung, Johannes Shabangu, Jerry Mosololi and Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe. They have been in Death Row since August last year after being convicted for their role in the attacks on the Booysens Police Station in Johannesburg and the Sasol Plant near Secunda.

The pamphlets condemn the South African Government and state that "had it not been for its oppressive and repressive tendencies, the men would not have committed the crimes".

And, as a way of expressing their solidarity with the convicted and their families, the Committee of Six have organised a prayer meeting to be held this Sunday at the St Francis of Assisi Church in Rockville.



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2/6/83

SOWETO

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2/6/83

ANC

says

SA is

'ripe'

From RICHARD
WALKER

NEW YORK. — The African National Congress yesterday called the situation in South Africa "ripe" and to justify its actions read out before the Security Council lengthy extracts from the American Declaration of Independence.

Speaking at the wind-up of the council's debate on SWA/Namibia, the ANC also said it had joined forces with Swapo.

"Now that the situation is ripe in South Africa and the ANC has joined them (Swapo) in the trenches, we shall fight side by side until final victory."

But ANC representative Mr Johnston Makatini maintained that the ANC still sought "liberation without bloodshed".

Mr Makatini charged that the South African air strike on Mozambique on May 26 had been in preparation for months and was not retaliation.

Bombing

He also questioned casualty statistics from the Pretoria bombing, charging that the government had failed to produce the bodies of a number of blacks reported killed.

The Declaration of Independence begins by asserting that "all men are created equal ... with certain inalienable rights" and reasons that when faced by "a long train of abuses and usurpations ... it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security".

Music 'aided ANC' — band members jailed

Argus 3/6/83

11A

277

337

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two Rastafarian musicians have each been jailed for an effective four years for indirectly promoting the ideals of the African National Congress through their music.

The magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, rejected bail applications pending appeals against the sentence.

Former Mozambican Jose Charles, 24, and Rufus Radebe, of Alexandra Township, were each jailed yesterday for six years, of which two years were suspended for five years.

The two reggae musicians, of the band Splash, were found guilty under the Internal Security Act.



Jose Charles

REJECTED

Mr Aucamp rejected a submission by their counsel, Mr G Dyson, that they were non-violent because a basic principle of the Rastafarian cult was a belief in non-violence.

Mr Aucamp said they advocated a violent revolution led by the ANC through their stage act before 3 000 people — mainly students from the University of Pretoria, the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of the Witwatersrand. They chanted "Jah (God) Mandela, Jah Tambo, Jah Biko".

They also asked the crowd: "Who killed Neil Aggett?", to which the reply was, "It was the police".

He also regarded a song, Freedom To Man-

(Turn to Page 3, col 3)

Musicians jailed for 'promoting ANC'

(Contd from Page 1)

dela, which they entered at the concert, held at Kloofendal Amphitheatre, Roodeport, as an ANC song.

The musicians denied through Mr Dyson that they were pro-ANC. Mr Dyson said many organisations and individuals, world-wide, were advocating Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Singing the song did not necessarily mean they were promoting the ANC.

He said Rastafarians express their beliefs through reggae music and reading the Bible.

Mr A R van Wyk, for the State, said in opposing their first bail application that they were men of straw who had no fixed jobs or means to pay bail.

Charles was an alien of no fixed abode, illegally in South Africa. He had nothing to lose and was liable to leave the country and estreat bail.

Charles told the court he had no intention of leaving South Africa. He could not return to Mozambique because his family was killed during the 1974 Frelimo revolution.

He said his father was a white Portuguese and his mother was a black Mozambican. His father left for Portugal during the Frelimo revolution, and since the age of 18 he had lived as a musician in South Africa. He loved this country.

Both accused said they were prepared to go to jail if convicted, although they both felt they were innocent.

Refusing bail yesterday, Mr Aucamp said it would not serve the interests of justice to release them.

Accused arrested

officers who also asked for his driver's licence. Passengers were ordered to alight and the vehicle was searched at about 8.15pm. When they left, the driver had told them the Mamelodi policeman had been killed. He (Munyangeni) had related the incident to his family including Mr Moloise who had spent the next two weeks in Cullinan.

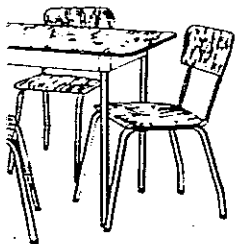
Rights levy

had originally decided that each household in Soweto would be liable for a R20 monthly levy for the repayment of the loan which will be paid up over 25 years.

At the council's monthly meeting last week, it was decided that the levy be reduced to R12 and increased in stages until it came to R29 a month in 1986.

Residents who installed their own electricity without making use of the council's scheme will pay R4 and those who used it to upgrade their electricity will pay R8.

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NO COMMENT: Dr Matlhare.

Matlhare home not to be sold

DR AARON Matlhare's posh Beverley Hills house that set tongues wagging in Soweto, is no longer for sale.

The house, which was this year valued at R80 000, was to have been sold by auction at 10am yesterday. The deputy sheriff of Johannesburg, Mr G van Dyk, told The SOWETAN yesterday that the sale was cancelled on Wednesday afternoon by the lawyers representing Dr Nthato Motlana and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mr van Dyk said he had received several inquiries since the sale in execution was advertised in the local newspapers. He said even as late as yesterday people called to make sure that the sale was still on.

A relative of Dr Matlhare said that the house was not on sale and that it had been bought by Mr Daniel Gumede.

An advert stating the house would be sold yesterday was carried by Johannesburg newspapers. The sale would have been in execution of a judgment of the Supreme Court granted against Dr Matlhare in a suit that was brought against him in 1976 by Dr Motlana and Mrs Mandela.

Judgment was granted in favour of Dr Motlana and Mrs Mandela on May 19, 1981, and Dr Matlhare was ordered to pay both R3 000, including costs of R11 872.

A call to Dr Matlhare in Botswana met with a "no comment" from him.

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CHIEF

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Ambition Brown slams calls to boycott elections

SOWETAN 3/6/83
By SAM MABE

A PROMINENT Soweto community leader and executive member of the Sofasonke Party, Mr Ambition Brown, has reacted strongly to calls for the boycott of the forthcoming Soweto Council elections.

Mr Brown, who hopes to stand as a candidate in the elections expected to be held in September if they are not postponed again, said he was critical of the present council leadership but believed that boycotting the council was not going to achieve anything.

He said the expansion of the community councils' powers by the Black Local Authorities Bill,

should be hailed as heralding a new era in the lives of blacks living in the urban areas.

"We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the Soweto Council as it stands today, has perpetrated a lot of injustices and disservice to their own electorate in the last seven years of its existence.

"It is partly for that reason that here in Soweto elections are becoming more and more an inevitable and desperate necessity because of the poor administration and shaky leadership of the councillors.

"The weakness of the present council was demonstrated in their handling of the housing and shack issues. In the forthcoming elections, Soweto residents will be able to get the right leadership to correct the wrongs that have been passing unchecked in the council chamber for the last seven years," he said.

He added that one blunder for which the Soweto Council should not be forgiven was that of plunging Soweto into a R230-million debt which residents had to pay for despite the fact that they were not con-

sulted when the debt was incurred.

"It is only with good leadership that we can avoid such blunders. And by assuming the status of a town council, blacks will have powers to exercise their self-determination and achieve some of their goals," he said.

He criticised those who engaged in what he called "mud-slinging" from outside and challenged them to prove their worth by fighting from the same platform as those they opposed.

Protest over ANC six

A MEETING organised by the Save The Six Committee will be held in Soweto on Sunday to protest against the death sentences of six ANC members who were convicted for committing various acts of subversion in the country.

The meeting will be held at the St Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Rockville and will start at 2pm.

In a statement released yesterday, the committee said South Africa was a society in conflict and that the execution of the six men could only serve to intensify that conflict.

8/9/83

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NEWS

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NEWS

3/6/83

INKATHA BOSS SPEAKS OUT

SOWETAN: Is Inkatha still a cultural organisation we have known it to be or can you say it is a political organisation as well?

Dr Dlomo: Well, I would say both. Politics is but one of the activities Inkatha is engaged in but it is doing far more than just that.

SOWETAN: Inkatha has had a number of verbal clashes with the ANC. You and them are friends one day and enemies the next day, what is actually causing your differences?

Dr Dlomo: I would think that the sporadic clashes are caused mainly by the fact that we pursue different strategies towards liberation. Our goal is one but we tend to differ

on the question of strategy. We pursue non-violence while they pursue their's which is that of violence, it would appear that sometimes there's a clash of interests and this no longer becomes a clash of strategy but is interpreted as a clash of principle. Besides that, we regard the ANC as partners in the liberation struggle or as fellow freedom fighters.

CLASH

I cannot think of an ideological clash that exists. As I said, it is a tactical clash that becomes exaggerated and is interpreted as an ideological or a clash of principle.

SOWETAN: It would appear that Inkatha always wants to draw par-

allels between itself and the ANC in terms of its support. How do you gauge that when the ANC cannot be supported overtly as Inka-

INKATHA claims it will soon command the staggering membership of 1 million card carrying members. Apart from this claim, the organisation, led by the controversial Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has always been in the news. Chief reporter of The SOWETAN, Sam Mabe had a date with Dr Oscar Dlomo who is considered one of the gurus of Inkatha. This is what Dr Dlomo (left) said to Mabe in a lengthy interview in Johannesburg.



always say that during that period, it was not able to command the type of following that Inkatha commands now. And of course we do not say that in a boastful manner. We merely state a historical fact.

ANC

SOWETAN: But would you say that the political climate prevailing at the time is the same as that which prevails today?

Dr Dlomo: The climate that prevailed at the time the ANC operated openly, that is before 1960, was far more conducive to serious political organisation than it is now.

From 1912 to 1960 there weren't as many political obstacles towards mobilising the people as there are today. The record of movements that have

been banned from 1960 to date also supports my point.

For the period that the ANC operated freely, it was never threatened with banning. It was the dominant movement, and did not have to compete with a variety of other movements.

Its field of recruitment was far wider than that of Inkatha today when there are so many political organisations competing for membership.

SOWETAN: How far true is the rumour that one has to be a member of Inkatha to get a job or to be allowed to attend school in KwaZulu. **Dr Dlomo:** It's not true. I also work in KwaZulu as Minister of Education and Culture and I am quite acquainted with what goes on there.

Inkatha is supported in the schools. We have the Natal African Teachers Union and the Inspectors Association which are affiliated to Inkatha.

Membership is strictly voluntary because we do not believe that in a liberation struggle you can coerce people to join because if you do that, you won't be recruiting comrades in arms. You'd in fact be recruiting

Inkatha was founded in 1975, so when we compare our membership to that of the ANC, we are doing so in terms of the period during which the ANC could operate openly in South Africa. And we

tha can be. **Dr Dlomo:** When we do that, we do it in terms of the past history of the ANC. You will recall that the ANC operated in South Africa as a legal movement for 48 years.

who when the chips are down, would turn their guns on you.

Some of our members do complain that Inkatha is not supported by civil servants who work in KwaZulu government offices. Also, if we forced students to be members, we would be having a far larger membership than we have now. There are over one-million students at KwaZulu schools and there are 22 000 teachers and not all of them are our members because if they were, we would be having more than the 750 000 we have now.

POLICY

We believe in selling our policy to the people and it is up to them to buy it without being coerced into it.

SOWETAN: How do you know that you have 750 000 members?

Dr Dlomo: We keep records of our membership and we check the membership from time to time. The last time the membership was checked we had 350 000 members and after the Ingwavuma land issue, we checked again and the membership had risen to 750 000.

SOWETAN: In his speech at the Jabulani rally, Chief Buthelezi threatened violence to people who vilify Inkatha. Do you also think the time has come that you should take action against your critics?

(Continued next week.)

Rasta singers get six years

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

TWO rastafarian musicians of the group Splash were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday and sentenced to six years each, with two years suspended for five years, for taking part in activities of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Mr Joseph Charles (24) address unknown, and Mr Rufus Radebe (18) of Alexandra, who will each serve an effective four year jail term, were found guilty under the Internal Security Act. They had pleaded not guilty before Mr W Aucamp.

The court found that on February 12 this year at the university festival in Roodepoort they sang revolutionary songs advocating violence thereby creating support for the ANC. About 3 000 people were present at the concert.

Evidence in court was that during the concert they had chanted ANC slogans and sang four songs, one entitled Freedom to Mandela. They had also yelled to the

crowd: "Who killed Neil Aggett?" and the audience had responded, "The police".

The two men told the court that their cult was non-violent and did not take part in organised politics. Their movement was open to all races and expressed itself in reggae music. They denied that they had said revolution should come to South Africa to free their brothers.

Mr Charles said they sang about Mandela because he had been in jail for a long time. Mr Radebe said when they sang about Mandela he was not aware it was illegal and he did not regard the song as political.

Mr Radebe further told the court that he actually yelled "Who killed Nugget?" and was referring to a brand of shoe polish and not Doctor Aggett, the late trade unionist who died in detention. The reason for doing so he said, was

that he no longer saw the polish in shops or in advertisements, instead Kiwi polish, another brand, was the one easily available in shops today.

In his remarks before passing sentence, the magistrate said State evidence was satisfactory, credible and acceptable. The witnesses called had also made an exceptionally good impression before the court.

The court, he said, could not accept the defence's argument that one of the police witnesses had deliberately fabricated the evidence to suit the State's case.

He said the accused had been evasive when answering questions and had contradicted themselves. He said they were pathetic witnesses who told a pack of lies to distance themselves from the charge at all costs.

**Residents
to meet**

Blame 'Christian' State, not Reds—Boesak



By Carina le Grange

Jan 3/6/83 (11A)

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches yesterday dissociated himself from the concept of Christianity held by the SA Government.

Speaking at a meeting organised by the SRC of the University of the Witwatersrand to object to constitutional changes, Dr Allan Boesak said: "We must not blame Communists for what they did not do, whatever other acts they have committed.

"The Communists did not create the Group Areas Act. They did not kill Steve Biko, Saul Mkhize or Neil Aggett. They did not take away our land. All of this was done by the South African Government, which

claims to be Christian," he said.

Outlining the basis on which the proposed new constitution should be rejected, Dr Boesak said there had been an opportunity to reject racism and an unjust system. Instead, he said, apartheid and racism had once again become entrenched in the South African system.

"Apartheid was not abolished, it was only shifted. Basically, nothing has changed. It has now become even more difficult to achieve democracy, and it will do nothing to alleviate our present problems.

"All basic apartheid laws remain — white minority rule especially by the Afrikaner is entrenched, as

is the immoral homeland policy with its loss of South African citizenship and forced removal of people."

People rejecting the constitutional changes had been accused of choosing violence, but the choice had been made by those who chose the present unjust system, not by those who rejected it, he said.

"Apartheid is especially violent with deprivation, malnutrition, and violence needed to maintain it. It is also wrong to justify the wrongs perpetrated in the present system, out of fear that they might one day be perpetrated by another government.

"This concern for the future is misplaced. We should be concerned with the present injustice."

Reggae singers get 4 years' jail

Mail Reporter

TWO Rastafarians were each sentenced to an effective four years' jail yesterday after being convicted by the Johannesburg Regional Court of furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Joseph Charles, 24, and Rufus Radebe, 18, were found guilty of singing ANC songs and chanting ANC slogans at a music festival in Roodepoort on February 12. They had pleaded not guilty.

In passing judgment, the magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, said Radebe and Charles were untruthful and "getting answers from them was like extracting wisdom teeth".

It was clear they had lied to the police and in court and had made untruthful statements to an assistant magistrate.

The version given by them of the events on that day was unacceptable, he said.

Referring to the State witnesses, Constable H Nel and Lieutenant J P O Kleynhans, Mr Aucamp said they were very impressive.

According to Const Nel, Radebe and Charles, who are members of the reggae band "Splash", had performed songs entitled "A Tribute to Martyrs" and "Freedom to Mandela" and had chanted "Jah Nelson Mandela", "Jah

Oliver Tambo" and "Amandla".

Lieut Kleynhans told the court Charles and Radebe had not been assaulted, as Radebe alleged. They had made statements to an assistant magistrate voluntarily and their release had not been promised, he said.

Mr Aucamp found Radebe and Charles guilty under Section 13 of the Internal Security Act.

Before sentence was passed, Mr G Dyson, for the defence, said that as members of the Rastafarian cult Radebe and Charles did not advocate violence.

"They don't seem to be people who would actively stir up support for a banned organisation. Anyone who did what they did is clearly not a calculated, cunning opponent to law and order," he said.

Mr Dyson pointed out that they had been found guilty of acting in the direct or indirect interests of the ANC and not for taking part in ANC activities.

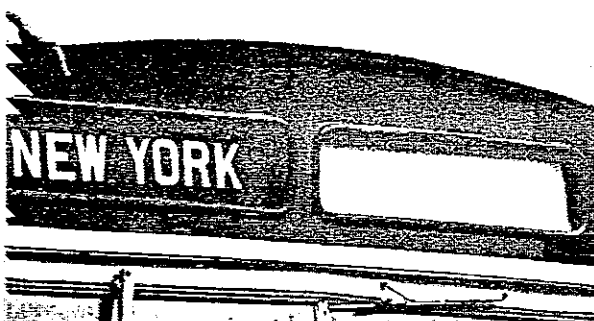
They were sentenced to six years' jail, two of which were conditionally suspended for five years.

Mr Dyson has lodged an appeal against the conviction and sentence.

Application for bail was refused.



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GIVES

225 days, 10 000 pages later, it's Judgment day in Mpetha hearing

w/6 ARSUS
4/6/83
118
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By **BRUCE HOPWOOD**, Weekend Argus Reporter

A CAPE Town judge begins his judgment on Monday in the marathon Mpetha trial which started more than two years ago and whose printed record is more easily measured in kilograms than pages.

The 18 accused have celebrated two or three birthdays in jail and a legal clerk involved in the proceedings is expecting her second child since the trial began.

More than two years of evidence, cross-examination and argument will climax next week for trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha and 17 others on trial for incidents during civil disturbances in 1980.

When Mr Justice Williamson begins judgment on Monday, it will be the 225th day of the trial. It is believed to be the longest hearing since the four-year trial which saw Nelson Mandela and several others acquitted of charges of treason in 1961.

Mr Mpetha, aged 73, and 18 other men — the charges against one were withdrawn — first appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court in December 1980 when they pleaded not guilty to a charge of terrorism and two charges of murder.

All the men face the same charges but it is the veteran community leader who has attracted the most attention and given the hearing its title — the Mpetha Trial.

Banned

In the 1950s Mr Mpetha was president of the African National Congress in the Cape as well as general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU).

He was banned for three years in 1954 and for another five years in 1959.

The men were arrested soon after two motorists, Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen, died after their vehicles had been stoned near Crossroads on August 11, 1980.

The court has heard how Mr Beeton, 59, a contract supervisor from Kenilworth, was hit by a brick thrown at



Mr Oscar Mpetha

take several of his employees home just before the incident was overturned and had been set alight.

Mr Jansen died in Tygerberg Hospital the next day.

Evidence

The court record is more than 10 000 pages long and about half of these pages deal with a nine-month trial-within-a-trial regarding the admissibility of statements made by 15 of the accused.

Mr Mpetha, who turned 71 a week before his arrest on August 13, 1980, went on to celebrate his 72nd and 73rd birthdays in Pollsmoor prison. Today is his 1 025th day in prison as bail was refused to all the accused.

Hospital

Mr Mpetha, a diabetic, has been admitted to hospital twice, once to have an operation on his toe and the second time for a prostate gland operation.

Security arrangements at the Supreme Court were stepped up as large crowds gathered when the case first

hearing

275
331

By BRUCE HOPWOOD, Weekend Argus Reporter

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The court has heard how Mr Beeton, 59, a contract supervisor from Kenilworth, was hit by a brick thrown at him while driving on Old Klipfontein Road at about 3.30 pm that day.

Car alight

A 17-year-old State witness said he saw a crowd of people drag Mr Beeton out of his car and beat him up while others set his car alight.

Constable J F Roussouw said he arrived at Klipfontein Road at 4 pm that day and found Mr Jansen lying on his back in a pool of water.

His head and face were bleeding and his whole body was badly burnt. Most of his clothes had been burnt and pieces of clothing stuck to his burnt body.

The bakkie which Mr Jansen, a Pine-lands building contractor, had used to



Mr Oscar Mpetha

take several of his employees home just before the incident was overturned and had been set alight.

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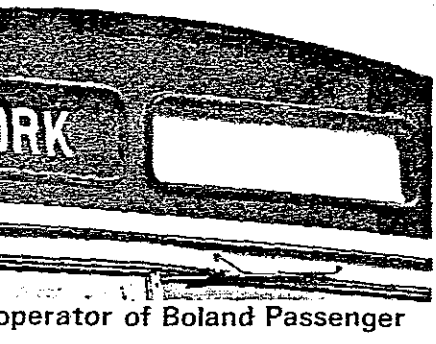
Security arrangements at the Supreme Court were stepped up as large crowds gathered when the case first opened and at one stage police dogs were used to disperse the crowd in Keerom Street.

Uncomfortable

After one recess Mr Justice Williamson announced that he had inspected the court and found that the benches in the accuseds' dock were far too uncomfortable for the long sessions and cushions were later provided.

Counsel for the defence say the costs involved are well into six figures.

The court record alone has so far cost more than R2 500 a copy and that is with a large discount negotiated at the start of the hearing. To make a photostat of the record costs more than R500.



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Soweto
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By ANN PALMER

A COURT order was issued yesterday prohibiting a prayer meeting tomorrow at the Anglican Church in Soweto to protest the death sentences imposed on six members of the banned African National Congress.

The Chief Magistrate for Johannesburg, Mr Oelof Abraham De Meyer, issued the court order in terms of Internal Security Act.

He stated in the order he had reason to believe the public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering to oppose the death sentences.

The meeting was to be held by the "Save The Six Committee" at 2pm in the St. Francis of Assisi Anglican Church, in Rockville, Soweto.

In terms of section 46 (1) of the Internal Security Act, of 1982, he prohibited that any such gathering should take place anywhere in the district of Johannesburg from the period beginning at 8am on Saturday to 8am on Monday.

Earlier this week, thousands of pamphlets were distributed in Soweto calling on the Government to stay the execution for the six men convicted of high treason.

The six are: Simon Mogoerane, 23, Jerry Masololi, 25, Thebo Motaung, 27, Anthony Tsotsobe, 27, David Moise, 27, and Johannes Shabangu, 28, who were sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court last year for acts of sabotage.

No need for white alarm over Pretoria bombing

71A
W Post. 4/6/83

EACH time a bomb explodes in South Africa, it is heralded as yet another foretaste of impending chaos and the downfall of white rule.

The bomb outside a South African Air Force building, which killed 18 people (eight of them black) in Pretoria on May 20, was the worst act of political violence so far.

The exited African National Congress was understandably slow to admit responsibility.

The bombing might have cost the ANC a lot of non-white support inside South Africa had it not been for the Government's immediate reaction, the dive-bombing of buildings in suburbs of Mozambique's capital, Maputo.

Yet neither bombing nor counter-bombing really changes the Southern African balance of power.

The ANC has long been the joke-figure of African guerrilla movements, if only because of its commitment to non-violent resistance.

Harassment and infiltration by the South African security forces have rendered it insubstantial inside the country.

Its occasional propa-

ganda coups are planned and directed from outside by a handful of feuding individuals who have only the hesitant support of their hosts in the countries which give them refuge.

The ANC's leaders have yet to build any concerted political or industrial action on the back of their intermittent bombings.

Indeed, had it not been for the South African Police, whose brutality drove some 5 000 young Sowetans abroad and into ANC training camps in 1976-77, the ANC would constitute no conceivable threat to South Africa's security.

These youngsters are believed to be behind the decision to risk civilian casualties in bomb attacks.

White South Africa has remained astonishingly immune from what even stable democracies now regard as "normal" pseudo-political terrorism.

The Government has achieved this partly by the ruthless suppression of black opposition and the containment of white dissent.

But it has also done it partly by its neo-apartheid policy - co-opting black

workers into the economy, proposing modest constitutional reforms for Indians and mixed-race people, and forcibly clearing to the barren hinterland just about everybody else.

This has produced two decades of quietude which mystifies South Africa's friends and enemies alike.

The bombings in Pretoria and Maputo attracted much more attention abroad than the opening of a new police season for winter clearances of blacks from Cape Town.

For those unfortunates, the ANC provides neither protection nor consolation.

For the time being, the ANC matters mainly for what it does to the tortuous relations between South Africa and the black states round it.

In talking of a "total onslaught on South Africa", that country's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, credits both the ANC and the front-line states with a wholly unrealistic strength.

The result has recently become the pursuit of a regional belligerence quite disproportionate to the threat.

The neighbouring black states have all felt an

A leading British news magazine, *The Economist*, analyses South Africa's position after the Pretoria bomb blast and the retaliatory SADF raid on ANC targets in Mozambique. It concludes that white South Africa is not as threatened as it apparently thinks.

understandable obligation to offer sympathy and hospitality to ANC refugees, but they know the danger.

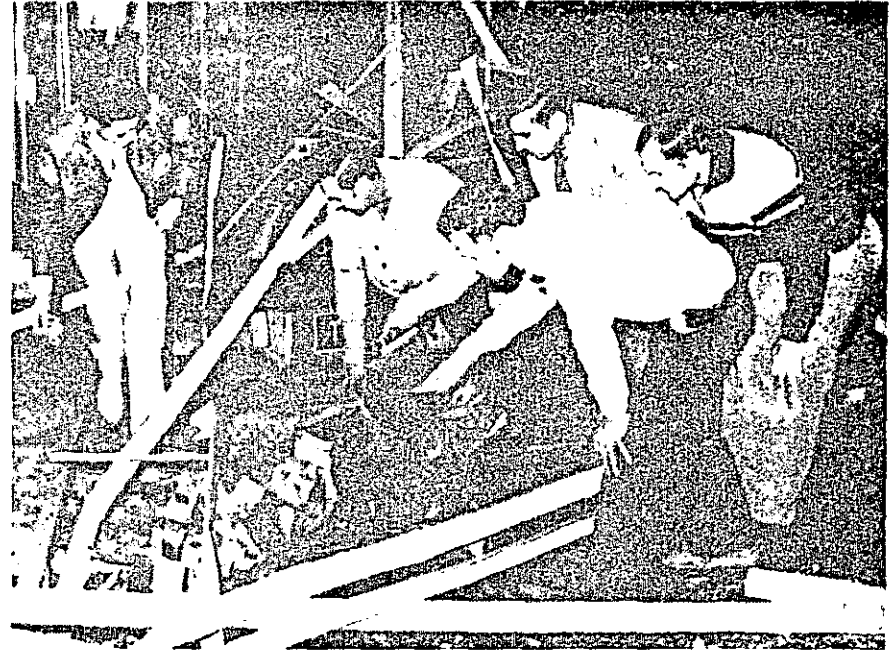
Zimbabwe and Mozambique deny that their hospitality is of the military sort.

Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho have all but ceased to shelter ANC members.

The organisation's guerrillas, such as they are, are trained well to the north, though they presumably have jumping-off bases nearer their targets.

South Africa is none the less determined to make all these countries regret even the presence of "ANC suspects" on their soil.

There is an economic squeeze on Zimbabwe, plus some military pinpricks.



Flashback to the aftermath of last month's bombing in Pretoria. Policemen search through the wreckage after the massive car bomb ripped through two buildings, one housing the South African Air Force headquarters.

Mozambique is being systematically undermined by a South African-backed resistance movement and its capital has now been attacked for the second time in two years.

South Africa has also taken upon itself the policing of ANC activities in Lesotho.

The South African Government likes to see Israel

as its military model, and in those terms its chances of success must seem high.

The ANC is weaker than the PLO.

The states around South Africa are frailer than most of Israel's Arab neighbours.

It is hard to see what more South Africa can realistically do to keep the guerrilla wolf from its door.

So long as it practises apartheid it must expect a measure of violent resistance.

What does lie within its power is the establishment of live-and-let-live relations with its economically debilitated neighbours.

The bombing of Maputo could push such relations into the even remoter future.

Talks ^{ARGUS} could ^{4/6/83} collapse ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ warns ^{30/11} Curry

By HUGH ROBERTON
Political Staff

THE national chairman of the Labour Party and chairman of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac), Mr David Curry, gave the Government a blunt warning today that negotiations on the new constitution might collapse.

And he angrily accused the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, of flouting an understanding reached in March with Assomac and other bodies on the controversial Promotion of Local Government Affairs Bill, which is now before Parliament.

"We understood very clearly that we would have an opportunity to discuss with him the final draft of this legislation before it went to Parliament. Instead, Mr Heunis has just gone ahead without further consultation with us and is now pushing it through its second reading."

Objection

Mr Curry disclosed that he and the provincial chairmen of the various management committees would be seeing Mr Heunis on Monday to express "our strongest objections" to key aspects of the Bill and to the manner in which Mr Heunis has brought the measure to Parliament.

"There should be no confusion about our stand on this Bill. We don't accept it in the form in which Mr Heunis has tabled it. We have the strongest objections to aspects of it.

"And the manner in which he is trying to rush it through Parliament, without having consulted us on the final draft — which, incidentally, contains several additional proposals to those we understood were to be included — can only cause a further deterioration in

(Turn to Page 3, col 2)

Talks could collapse ^{ARGUS} ^{4/6/83}

From Page

relations between the races."

Mr Curry added: "If Mr Heunis thinks this is consultation with the moderates in the coloured and Asian communities, then heaven help us all. We have got to negotiate as equals if we are to live under the same constitution."

To the altar

"This is not the way for him to get the bride to the altar. If we are going to be treated in this way, then the negotiations on the constitution will simply collapse. If this is the form negotiations are going to take, then obviously the Labour Party will have to decide what steps it should take to meet the situation."

Mr Curry said one of Assomac's main objections to the new Bill on local government was that it envisaged separate local authorities for coloured people and Asians.

"Quite aside from any moral objections to such separation, we think it is unworkable. For one thing, we just do not have the financial resources to have separate local authorities and separate services for the race groups involved in the new dispensation."

"And we just do not have the skilled personnel to even contemplate having separate local authorities. Imagine every town and city having three separate councils, three separate town clerks, three separate treasurers, three separate engineers, and so forth. It's ridiculous."

Cahac leadership comes under fire

THE UMBRELLA civic body, the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), is staying silent on the resignation of three affiliates.

The Manenberg Civic Association, the Parkwood Tenants Association and the Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown and Kew Town (BBSK) Residents Association, announced their resignation at a Ca-

hac general meeting in Lentegeur last week.

In a joint statement which they handed to the meeting, the three organisations listed five "principled reasons" for withdrawing from Cahac.

Reasons given in their statement, related to dissatisfaction with Cahac's leadership and methods of operation.

The civic bodies said they were withdrawing because:

- "Cahac has not provided a forum for united and decisive action.

- "The Cahac leadership has held back the struggle of the worker-tenants;

- "The Cahac leadership betrays the interests of the worker-tenants;

- "The Cahac leadership has flouted principled unity necessary for organisations working together;

- "The Cahac leadership has denied minorities the right to criticise."

BBSK was under suspension from Cahac at the time of the resignation.

Cahac general secretary Mr Trevor Manuel confirmed the resignations, but said he could not comment on the reasons given by the three bodies for their resignations.

DISCUSSED

"The matter was raised at the Cahac general meeting, but like all other decisions within Cahac, it is now being discussed by affiliates and Cahac's position on the matter will emerge when delegates to the next general meeting bring their mandates from their organisations.

"This has always been how decisions have been taken and will be taken

within Cahac. We cannot respond to any claims until our general body decides we should do so," Mr Manuel said

RESPONSE

The three bodies' statement said Cahac had not come up with a consistent response to the Government's proposed sale of 500 000 houses.

"Cahac's response to the PC proposals and the Disorderly Bills has been to propose an alliance with the bosses and their agents.

"After a long struggle with the opportunism of the Cahac leadership, this was the last straw," they said.

The umbrella body recently had a meeting in Hanover Park where about 1 500 people rejected the constitutional bill, pledged support for the people at KTC and demanded that the Government take responsibility for housing.

ANC and 'liberation army' face tough police action

Lesotho, SA agree to curb guerrillas

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Reporter

THE Foreign Ministers of South Africa and Lesotho agreed in Johannesburg yesterday to clamp down on insurgents operating from each other's country.

The agreement clearly contributed significantly towards healing the serious breach in relations between the two countries which had developed in the previous week.

But it is likely to have severe implications for the

African National Congress in Lesotho, and the Lesotho Liberation Army, an anti-government insurgent group operating against Lesotho forces from inside South Africa.

After yesterday's meeting which was held at Lesotho's request - the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said the discussions had come at a time when relations between the two countries were "possibly at their lowest point in history".

He and his Lesotho counterpart, Mr E R Sekhonyana, had agreed it was "of decisive importance" to both countries that "no elements whatsoever" be allowed to operate against either from across their borders.

Mr Sekhonyana said Lesotho was bound by international conventions to accept refugees. While his government did not intend to expel any refugees it would "honestly and judiciously" ensure that "no elements whatsoever jeopardise the security of other states".

Lesotho had never allowed or condoned "clandestine, subversive actions" by the ANC from Lesotho and was capable of controlling the situation, he said.

When asked if the agreement would include LLA activity, Mr Sekhonyana said Mr Botha had "emphasised thoroughly" that "any subversive elements, and I want to emphasise any" would be curbed.

Mr Sekhonyana's reply and the fact that Mr Botha did not react to it was interpreted as an implicit acknowledgement by the Government that LLA forces operate from within South Africa.

In the past South Africa has repeatedly denied Lesotho's allegations that it backs the LLA.

After yesterday's meeting there are strong prospects that firm action will be taken by South African and Lesotho security forces against LLA and ANC operatives in their respective countries.

Mr Botha also announced that the situation at border posts between the two countries would "return to normal" with almost immediate effect.

For more than a week there has been chronic traffic and pedestrian congestion stemming from stricter South African security measures. The delays threatened to seriously disrupt Lesotho's economy.

And yesterday stunned officials watched helplessly as a corps of determined journalists trooped into a luxury Johannesburg hotel in search of the "secret" meeting between the Ministers.

Officials of both governments had hoped to keep the meeting quiet "for security reasons".

But to tell a journalist something is secret is usually the surest way to ensure he or she will uncover it - and so it was yesterday.

Meanwhile the Lesotho Acting Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture has strongly criticised the LLA of being manipulated by South Africa, reports MIKE PITSO from Maseru.

He was speaking yesterday morning during a motion by the opposition Maretiou Freedom Party in which the national assembly was asked to review the Amnesty Act and replace it with a Reconciliation Act.

Chief Peete Peete said LLA guerrillas were trained in Libya under the umbrella of the Pan African Congress of South Africa and were now being used as witnesses against the PAC insurgents in South African treason trials under code names.

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ADW
4/6/83

MOORCRAFT

...on
Sunday



SO HERE it comes: the second part of the three-stage war against this country.

The ANC and the SA Communist Party had been emasculated by 1963, it has taken them 20 years to rebuild the first part of their strategy — the proliferation of cells, the infiltration of unions, the caching of arms and the radicalisation of the urban blacks.

The under-manned SAP has been remarkably efficient in delaying this stage and the Government has been equally efficient in keeping the infiltration from us. Now the second wave is upon us; the SAP did well to keep it at bay for so long.

The in-house ANC squabbling between the traditionalists who argued for victim-free targets and the graduates of Soweto 1976 who have opted for urban terror tactics (especially since the 1981 Matola raids and SADF sorties into Lesotho) also played a part in delaying the brutalisation. But more important is the gradual unfolding of plans which are decided in Moscow, not Maputo.

This new second-stage booster means years of bombs in schools, shops and factories (though only those that go off will always be reported). We must learn to live with wanton terror and ubiquitous searches.

The three stages are part of a war which has five dimensions:

- The conventional threat on the borders which will preoccupy the regular army.
- Rural insurgency (unlike Rhodesia, a relatively minor nuisance in SA) to keep the SAP and reservists busy.
- The economic and propaganda war involving full sanctions and eventually a half-hearted naval blockade;
- Union militancy.
- Urban terrorism.

Unions and bombs will combine with the lesser impact of the first three dimensions to forge the third stage of the plan which Moscow believes will culminate in the disintegration of white rule.

The Pretoria bomb horror will not unify SA against outsiders: it will hasten polarisation. It is impossible to quantify, but many urban blacks will feel gratified that 'they' have been hit hard by the boys; they will accept philosophically the death toll of their black brethren in the struggle.

Resisting the brutal second stage of attack...

Handwritten notes: IIA, S. G. G. 5/6/83

For whites the outrages will polarise the appeaser-resister dichotomy I have previously analysed.

Reform will die with each bomb: more and more whites will decide that reform must lead to black rule, a concept increasingly loathed with each ANC horror. The polarisation will become embittered as more of a small but still sizeable white minority are seduced into activism by the ANC campaign to recruit whites.

But the growing band of resisters, including many non-whites, will scream defiance. Their resistance must depend upon three factors: a unified political movement, an efficient civil service and good troops. Rhodesia had all three, SA has just one: an impressive SADF. And since Pretoria, drones and all, is bent on emulating Israel we could add that Jerusalem, too, has only one of the three: an even better defence force.

Israel plays it tough, but why not tougher before Reagan goes? Why shouldn't

America give Israel as many arms as Russia gives Syria? If Syria could march into Tel Aviv, it would do just that: why shouldn't America let Israel go for it and occupy Damascus?

Let Israel dictate to King Hussein. The Yanks have bent over backwards to com-

promise, so now let the Israelis run the show and back them to the hilt. The Arabs have an oil glut and, because Russia doesn't want a world war, we can assume that it won't launch one for Syria.

So why shouldn't SA act like an African state and go for the jugular: blast Maputo

and every ANC leader within reach? That will be the eventual gut logic of Pretoria.

We are told that the PLO and the IRA (the models for the Pretoria bomb strategy, have not succeeded in their countries. Fair point, except that Britain and America (et al) support the system in Ulster and Israel. And, crucially, the potential maximum support for the PLO in Israel and the IRA in Ulster is based on a significant minority of the population.

In contrast, many in the West hate Pretoria more than Moscow does, and the maximum potential of ANC support lies in the great majority inside SA.

It's no good praying that the West will come to its collective senses.

The stark choice is: courageously negotiate from strength with the ANC soon or fight for ever.

If the whites lose it will be Nuremberg 1945, not Verneiging 1902. Yet if they appease they will be the Czechs of Munich 1938. Most Rhodesians regret Lancaster House. In their hearts many wish they had fought on, and would have too if they knew that Mugabe would have triumphed. They prefer Rhodesia 1979 to 1983.

More and more SA whites will feel exactly the same. They would prefer perpetual war to rule by the ANC bomb brigade dressed up in pin-striped suits.

Paul L. Moorcraft

TANTALUS

Between mad bombers and policemen without heads, we're in terrible danger

THE SUSPICION that young policemen are not being adequately trained to use their firearms was strengthened by the conviction this week of a constable, Marthinus Barnard, on a charge of culpable homicide.

Barnard killed Mr Brian Eudey in Maritzburg because he thought a backfiring bakkie was a terrorist attack and, in the words of the judge, "lost his head".

Having lost his head, he fired to kill. It was, apparently, one thing he could do well.

As real terrorism increases, young policemen are likely to become increasingly jittery. Unless they are properly trained to

supporters wouldn't give up their land — and the Government didn't dare defy them even for the sake of its boldest 'principles'.

Funny, isn't it, how the burden of apartheid must always be endured by those who don't want it. Those who do want it can never quite scrape up the spirit of sacrifice which it requires.

□□□

HAVING watched the splendid TV coverage of the Comrades Marathon, a couple of over-anxious mamas of both sexes want the event to be more tightly controlled. They think it's



SA USES MUSCLE TO MAKE BORDERS SECURE


 IIA
 S. Express
 5/6/83



● Beautiful Miss Pretoria College college Rag Day processions yesterday, Pretoria. Gillian is a first-year.

By JEAN LE MAY Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA is using all its muscle as a superpower in the region to drive the ANC back from its borders.

Highly placed sources confirmed this weekend that the anti-subversion agreement with Lesotho on Friday is seen as the first fruit of a hawkish new policy aimed at persuading South Africa's neighbours to help contain the ANC threat.

The new policy, which crystallised in the wake of the Pretoria and Bloemfontein bomb blasts, is a formidable combination of tempting carrots and heavy sticks.

It not only uses naked power, such as the air strike into Mozambique, and economic pressure tactics such as the calculated slowdown at Lesotho border posts. Its most devastating aspect is that it exploits widespread fears of neighbouring countries that they are themselves vulnerable to sub-

version.

The anxiety has expressed itself in widespread accusations that South Africa is seeking to 'destabilise' its neighbours. South African denials have not mitigated this fear.

● Mozambique has accused South Africa of supporting crippling guerrilla actions by the MNR, whose new leader is former Lieutenant Adriano Bomba. the jet

To Page 2

FIRST in residential property and **FIRST** again.
 The Sunday Express is launching a new property service for the businessman. Starting next week, a new section will focus on the commercial and industrial property scene. Turn to page 26 for details.



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
South Africa uses muscle to secure border

pilot who defected to South Africa.

● Lesotho accuses South Africa of harbouring and supporting the Lesotho Liberation Army whose aim is to topple its Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan.

● Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has linked dissidents from Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zipra guerrilla movement with "the external threat from South Africa", which, he maintains, is supported militarily by large numbers of former Selous Scouts and other defectors.

● Angola has frequently attributed the military successes of the rebel Unita

 From Page 1

movement to South Africa's logistical support.

A well-informed source has disclosed to the Sunday Express that Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana have recently been in touch with the South African Government in individual attempts to clamp down on the activities of dissidents in their countries.

In each case, a mutual anti-subversion pact would serve to reassure those countries about South Africa's intentions.

In return, South Africa would expect strong action

against ANC activities. According to one source, co-operation might even extend to mutual inspection of one other's territory to establish whether hostile forces are based there.

Besides the offer of co-operation in stabilising the region, South Africa has an infinite range of other pressures which can be brought to bear, ranging from employment of labour from Mozambique and Lesotho, to rail links, communications and postal services, trade, the sharing of customs revenues, food supplies, co-operation in disease control and general economic co-operation.

The slow-down at the Lesotho border is seen as a reminder that, if sufficiently provoked, South Africa has the capacity to choke Lesotho.

Diplomatic sources commented that South Africa's influence on dissident movements in neighbouring states — which South Africa has always denied — might not extend to being able to put a stop to their activities.

"Unita has its own wide base within Angola and would probably keep on fighting even if the alleged South African support were withdrawn," said one diplomat.

The sources also said

South Africa shared its knowledge of ANC activities among its neighbours with the 'host' countries.

The agreement reached with Lesotho on Friday at a meeting between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and a Lesotho delegation headed by his counterpart, Mr E R Sekhonyana, is expected to be the forerunner of a similar agreement with Swaziland — and possibly with Botswana and Mozambique.

This is clear from the carefully-worded statement issued after the meeting.

A well-informed source commented that South Africa has "tacitly" under-

taken to pull back on "destabilising" actions in return for Lesotho's agreement to clean up the ANC.

South Africa has never admitted that it is helping the LLA. However, there were reports late last year that South Africa was attempting to persuade Lesotho to hand over the principal ANC leaders in exchange for Mr Ntsu Mokhele, leader of the LLA whose aim is to topple the Chief Jonathan's government.

This has been denied by South Africa, which has never admitted that Mr Mokhele is in the country.

However, another source confirmed to the Sunday Ex-

press that at this week's meeting, Mr Botha named five ANC activists in Lesotho and gave details of their activities.

The Lesotho representatives, while expressing "surprise" at the information, agreed to take action against them, the source said.

But Mr Sekhonyana said, after the meeting Lesotho was "not planning to expel anyone".

Lesotho gave the congestion at its borders last week, following intensified South African customs examinations after the Bloemfontein bomb blast, as its main reason for going to the negotiating table.

The big stick — and some carrots . . .

By JEAN LE MAY

SOUTH Africa is equipped with a wide range of pressures that it can bring to bear at any stage on all of its neighbours.

Although last week's traffic slow-down on the Lesotho border was a minor display of economic muscle, the pressures that can be applied, and which would have disastrous consequences on Lesotho and other states, include:

- Repatriating citizens of neighbouring states working in South Africa whose pay — remitted direct to their governments — is in some cases crucial to their economy.
- Adjusting the customs union agreement on which Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana rely heavily for foreign exchange.
- Further traffic slow-downs, which could be vital since Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana get up to 90% of their imports by rail through South Africa, including all their oil.

Economic incentives offered by South Africa in return for anti-subversion pacts could include physical and financial development aid, particularly in the fields of transport and the establishment of economic infrastructure.

uses muscle to secure border

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Economic incentives offered by South Africa in return for anti-subversion pacts could include physical and financial development aid, particularly in the fields of transport and the establishment of economic infrastructure.

Swaziland is said to be eager for the Kangwane, Ingwama land deal, since it would gain access to the sea.

Such an agreement involving action against the ANC could become part of the land deal, according to a report by the influential Economist Intelligence Unit.

In Botswana, political tensions generated by about 1 000 'refugees' — many receiving military training from the ANC — could push the country into considering such an agreement in the aftermath of South African action against Lesotho and Mozambique.

A carrot dangled by South Africa could be the building of a rail link to the Northern Transvaal to enable it to export its coal from the Francistown area.

An anti-subversion agreement with Mozambique is seen by diplomatic sources as unlikely in the immediate future for political reasons.

However, long-term benefits of an agreement with South Africa could mean a reduction of 'destabilising' activities by the anti-Frelimo MNR — although, once again, South Africa has denied involvement.

'Several thousand' ANC guerrillas — but NOT 14 000

11A
~~22A~~

5/6/83

S. Cuppers

THE article on the front page of the Sunday Express of May 29 ('Huge ANC army lurks on borders') erroneously quotes me as saying that the ANC had 7 000 trained guerrillas and another 7 000 undergoing training.

In fact, when your reporter asked me how large the ANC's armed wing was, I said that estimates varied between 2 000 and 8 000, and that I favoured the higher figure as it would represent a reasonable proportion of those people who have left

**Wits lecturer
was misquoted**

the country since 1976.

At no time did I suggest that the ANC's guerrillas totalled 14 000. I said it was more likely that "several thousand" had been trained and that "several thousand more" may be in the course of training. I made it clear that I had no certain knowledge of the size of the ANC's army.

The guerrilla force does

not "lurk" on South Africa's borders. Most guerrillas are in camps in Angola, Tanzania and Ethiopia — all a long distance from South Africa. The headline could be used as justification for SADF incursions into neighbouring territories, incursions which I oppose, and I would not like to be associated with advocacy of such action.

A second article on Page 8 ('Portrait of a terrorist') was also erroneous in saying that I had "done extensive research on the type of person who joins the ANC". Nor did I suggest that the sort of person described in the article was responsible for the Pretoria blast. (And, for the record, I did not employ the term terrorist in describing members of Umkonto we Sizwe.)

I did not say the ANC's 'most important' camp was in the Ukraine. Some of its more talented recruits attend a specialised military course in the Soviet Union but I did not suggest that the ANC itself ran a training institution there.

A statement attributed to me — "They (the Soviets) hope that the day will come when they will actually be in a position to set up a Communist state" — is inaccurate. Your reporter obviously misunderstood my argument that the Soviet Union's African policies were pragmatic and opportunist, and that it did not expect its African allies and beneficiaries to share its own conception of an ideal society. — TOM LODGE, Lecturer, Department of Political Studies, University

of the Witwatersrand.

● The Sunday Express apologises for its errors — which appear to have resulted from a misunderstanding between Mr Lodge and the reporter — although they do not alter the thrust of its report.

Whether the ANC has 14 000 men, or close to 8 000, or a lesser number cited by other sources, it does clearly have a formidable force ready to infiltrate across the borders. — Editor.

The Red priorities for Southern Africa

THE growing build-up of conventional weapons and surrogate forces in South Africa's neighbouring states is an indication of the Soviet Union's willingness to become involved by supplying military, financial, political and moral support to these states and to the terrorist organisations which they host.

The military threat to South Africa and Namibia centres mainly around the revolutionary onslaught by the African National Congress (ANC), the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Soviet strategy provides in the first instance for a revolutionary onslaught, but at the same time does not exclude action and escalation towards a more conventional onslaught.

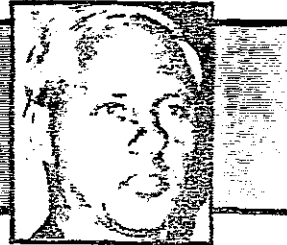
Soviet dissatisfaction with the lack of progress with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and attacks by the ANC and Swapo, led to the creation in 1981 of a so-called 'Co-ordinating Committee for Southern Africa' in Moscow.

This committee has reached unanimity on a number of strategic priorities concerning Southern Africa.

These include consolidating Soviet influence in South Africa and Namibia's hostile neighbouring states, developing the military capabilities of these states; giving greater support to the ANC, developing greater internal support for the ANC and SACP, and involving South Africa on as many military fronts as possible.

The Soviet Union is strengthening its position in Angola and Mozambique, and there are continuous efforts to draw into its sphere

By GENERAL C
VILJOEN
Chief of the South
African Defence Force



of influence countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Lesotho.

There is no doubt that there is a fundamental desire by some black states to attack South Africa with conventional weapons.

Hostile neighbouring states have in the past six years expanded their military forces by about 300% to a total of roughly 270 400 troops. At least 10% is made up of surrogate forces, including Cubans, Soviets and East Germans.

The capability of these states, in respect of tanks, has increased by about 300% (a total of 1 000), aircraft strength has increased by 200% (a total of 500). They have also extended their air defence systems.

Conventional military weapons alone, however, do not ensure offensive military capability, and these countries are still experiencing problems in regard to leadership, language, differences in training and standardisation of equipment.

Thanks to South Africa's strong military capability, none of its hostile neighbours is ready to engage in an offensive military struggle.

The threat therefore lies chiefly in the fact that the USSR is actively disturbing the military status quo in Southern Africa by the continuous supply of more modern and heavy arms to neigh-

bouring states.
(Excerpts from Strategic Review published by the Institute for Strategic Studies University of Pretoria).

College ^{11A}
S. TIMES
honours
5/6/83
Mandela

By RICHARD WALKER
New York

AN HONORARY doctorate awarded to Nelson Mandela will be accepted today on his behalf by a top African church official, following foiled attempts to have family members deputise.

Former US Vice-President Walter Mondale is expected at the ceremony, at New York's City College graduation day.

The State Department turned down a request from Dr Bernard Harleston, City College president, who wanted the US to pressure the South African Government into letting him personally present the degree to Mr Mandela.

Dr Harleston failed to obtain a visa to visit South Africa and Mrs Winnie Mandela and daughter Zinzi were blocked from travelling to New York, university officials said.

The award, a law doctorate, will be accepted by the Rev Maxime Rafransoa, general secretary of the All-African Council of Churches, who is flying from Nairobi for the ceremony.

Inkatha and violence

Dr Dlomo: No, we draw a clear difference between criticism and vilification. Even Chief Buthelezi has said so himself in the past. We have people who criticise us and we do like to be criticised objectively. We thrive on criticism.

What we object to is for people to vilify us and use what we call pure lies to build stones around Inkatha and its leadership which are ascertainably false. But this in no way means that we don't want to be criticised. We know that as a movement we would have faults. Some people even pointed out faults in Jesus Christ.

What we do not want is unfair and untruthful comment on what we are trying to do.

SOWETAN: Would you then consider using violence against people who use what you call unfair comments against you?

Dr Dlomo: No, it's not a question of using violence. I don't think chief Buthelezi meant that we would use violence against such people. He meant that we would in Biblical terms, say an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

That is, if anybody were to report or announce something untruthful about Inkatha, we would then take the matter up with him, either personally or through the courts of the land. That is what we mean, not that we will take the law into our own hands and maybe assault anyone.

SOWETAN: but would

the people sufficiently before you can embark upon those tactics.

BOYCOTT

We have used them minimally by way of conditioning the people that we will call upon them in future to use them on a national scale. We have been in the boycott of white bread which...

SOWETAN: Was it a successful boycott?

Dr Dlomo: Oh yes it was successful. If you go to areas like Natal, Zululand today, you'll never find a shop that sells white bread and bakeries have even stopped baking for black people. And the reports we get from the Reef are also positive.

We have used the defiance tactic in a way at our last Alliance meeting. We decided that in spite of the banning of our public meeting at Curries Fountain, we

Inkatha's president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is well-known for his advocacy for non-violence, but he has recently threatened to take violent action against Inkatha's critics. Today Dr Dlomo answers Mabe on this aspect.

would protect public property against vandalism and from people who do not value the sweat of poor starving people. At that time, there were people who went about causing wanton destruction. They smashed windows of community schools built by the community.

SOWETAN: Now Dr Dlomo, why do members of Inkatha have to carry citizenship certificates. Is it important for them to prove that they are citizens of KwaZulu?

Dr Dlomo: No, it is not so. We believe that they are citizens of South Africa. In fact, I think that the name citizenship certificate was unfortunate in the first place.

The reason why the KwaZulu Government decided to come up with this KwaZulu citizenship certificate issue was because we objected in principle to our people using reference books to vote in the first KwaZulu elections.

So the cabinet suggested that some form of document should be



DR DLOMO: Speaking out on behalf of Inkatha.

it gives people the impression that we in KwaZulu are aspiring for a citizenship that is not South African, a citizenship that is valid in KwaZulu only. Whereas in terms of our policy, we believe that an area like KwaZulu will always be a region of South Africa. We believe in South African citizenship and not KwaZulu citizenship.

SOWETAN: If I am to assume that the so-called citizenship certificates were meant to prove the identity of the voter only, wouldn't the

identity of the voter, it was proved that it was open to abuse. We had cases of homelands that went into the elections earlier than we did where these dompasses were abused and the leaders that the Government favoured were able to get into power even though in terms of the votes they hadn't obtained the majority.

So it was clear to us that by using the dompasses, we were opening ourselves to all sorts of victimisation by the Government. We thought that the Government would install puppet leaders who would then sign a deal and have KwaZulu becoming an independent state which is something we are against.

SOWETAN: But I don't understand how a dompass could encourage that sort of situation and also how, a citizenship certificate discourage it? **Dr Dlomo:** Well, I am not quite sure of the actual mechanisms. Our Department of Community Affairs advised that it was possible to use the dompass of a dead person to vote.

SOWETAN: What is Inkatha doing to control the faction fighting that we have been reading about in the Press?

whereby a man who has been clearly identified beyond doubt as a troublemaker in the district can be banished to another district where he cannot be troublesome.

But we are not unmindful that there are a number of contributory factors to this faction fighting. One of them is the political situation in the country. People in Msinga for instance are land-hungry, they are poor and they see a lot of affluence across the fence where white farmers are doing well and where their grazing land is protected.

This type of situation leads people into taking out their frustrations on each other.

SOWETAN: Do you have Inkatha members who are also members of Battalion 121?

Dr Dlomo: There are no Inkatha members in the SADF Battalion 121. There are Zulu people of course. We have nothing to do with that Battalion, neither do we want to identify with it.

REFUSED

Chief Buthelezi has been asked on many occasions to visit the battalion since they claimed it had a number of young Zulu men who admired

Zulu men who have joined Battalion 121 have done so, not out of conviction, but because they are unemployed.

SOWETAN: What are your future plans? How do you see South Africa in the next five years?

Dr Dlomo: The white minority regime is going to realise the futility of perpetually excluding blacks from the decision-making machinery. So we expect that during the next five or more years, political developments will be moving in the direction of greater political participation by black people in decision-making.

Whites will have to do this, not out of benevolence but out of sheer self-interest because indications are such that they will fail to rule the country alone as a shrinking minority.

The economy of the country has already shown that they will have to bring blacks into the skilled jobs. Even statistics show that at the turn of the century, most managerial positions in industry will be manned by blacks.

So we believe that having acquired economic and industrial clout, it will take a lot of

...but would he use the word violence when he meant what you are now...

Dr Dlomo: I am not sure if he used the word violence, I think he said this is enough and...

SOWETAN: He said that Inkatha will no longer eschew violence. That was in his speech, I would show that to you if I had the speech with me. Now, with the numerical strength you are commanding, are you utilising this strength somewhere for the benefit of the struggle. I mean in things like defiance campaigns, boycotts and some such things.

Dr Dlomo: We always say in Inkatha that the non-violent tactics that we are using do not entail only talking and talking and not doing. We have always said that we have not exhausted the non-violent tactics that could be employed in a situation like ours.

So we regard the boycott strategy, withholding of our consumer power, labour power and defiance campaigns as part and parcel of the non-violent tactics.

SOWETAN: Have you employed these tactics before or do you intend employing them in future?

Dr Dlomo: We haven't yet employed those tactics nationally. We have tested their use because we are very conscious of the fact that you need to organise and mobilise

Curries Fountain, we would go ahead and hold our public meeting because we did not believe that this country had become so un-Christian that we would be prevented from assembling to pray.

So we used that tactic there and we are now awaiting the consequences.

SOWETAN: There was talk in 1980 that Inkatha was going to train impis to deal with so-called troublemakers when there were a number of activities like school boycotts which were distasteful to Inkatha. Have you trained the impis?

Dr Dlomo: No. Those impis were never trained because it was never the intention of Inkatha to train impis. This was a distortion by one Natal newspaper. What was announced was that Inkatha would train brigades in a variety of fields.

We train people at Emandleni/Matleng in skills like brickmaking, bricklaying, carpentry, agriculture, political education and so on. The idea was that we would have brigades of young people who could be called at any time to assist in a community project of some sort.

These brigades would at times have to guard community property or government buildings. We have schools which are built by our poor people. Pretoria does not build schools.

These young men

...some form of document should be used instead of a reference book and then they gave the name citizenship certificate to this document, but other than for purposes of voting, this document is never used anywhere else.

It could have been called for argument's sake, a KwaZulu voting card. So that was called a citizenship certificate.

UNFORTUNATE

And as I say the name was unfortunate because

prove the identity of the voter only, wouldn't the reference book serve the purpose?

Dr Dlomo: We objected to the dompass as a symbol of oppression and as a mechanism whereby the South African Government wanted to regulate the movement of the people in and out of the cities where they sell their labour.

And it had all sorts of unacceptable connotations to us. Besides the fact that it was to be used to prove the iden-

...the women fighting that we have been reading about in the Press?

Dr Dlomo: We have tried through our representatives to bring the warring factions together. We have also brought the chiefs of the warring districts up to Johannesburg to speak to their groups and we sometimes have the police helping although we do not think they are as helpful as they could be.

We also have some provision in the KwaZulu Government

...non since they claimed it had a number of young Zulu men who admired him, but he has consistently refused to do so. He has even refused to allow the Defence Force personnel to go to our schools as they had requested.

He has maintained that as long as there is apartheid, he will not encourage black people to go and fight at the borders and die in defence of apartheid. We are, however, fully convinced that those young

omic and industrial clout, it will take a lot of resistance on the part of the white minority to keep blacks out of the political decisionmaking process for long.

SOWETAN: In Zimbabwe there was a time when Muzorewa appeared to be commanding massive support but on the day of liberation it turned out that he was popular simply because the authentic leadership was either in prison or in exile.

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Murder trial ruling today

Pretoria Bureau

JUDGMENT in the trial of the Stinkwater karate instructor who allegedly shot dead a security policeman with an AK-47 rifle will be given in the Pretoria Supreme Court today.

Mr Malesela Benjamin Moloise, 28, has pleaded guilty before Mr Justice H P van Dyk to a charge of murdering Warrant-Officer Philipus Selepe, 52, in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on November 7 last year.

W70 Selepe was shot eight times inside his home.

Mr P B Jacobs, Deputy Attorney-General, asked the court to convict Mr Moloise. Mr Moloise in his confessions to the magistrate and the police revealed "intimate" knowledge only the killer could have known.

Mr Jacobs said that although Mr Moloise was not a member of the African National Congress he associated with members of the organisation and must have been a sympathiser of the ANC.

Mr R Selvan, SC, for Mr Moloise, said the confession by Mr Moloise to the magistrate was not corroborated by any other evidence. The confession had variations, contradictions and inconsistencies.

Mr Selvan argued that Mr Moloise, besides being a poor witness, was imaginative and unreliable and might have made the confession for dramatic effect.

When he made the confession to the magistrate on February 18, Mr Moloise said he killed Mr Selepe after he was promised he would be paid R500 by the ANC.

In court Mr Moloise said he made the confession after he had been threatened by the Security Police on the one hand and by the ANC on the other.

Oscar
Mpetha ^{Jan} 6/6/83
found guilty
of terrorism

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Oscar Mpetha (73) was today found guilty in the Cape Town Supreme Court of participating in terrorist activities during uprisings at black townships in August 1980.

The veteran trade unionist was found not guilty on two further charges of murder.

The finding drew no reaction from Mpetha in the dock or the crowded gallery.

Mr Justice Williamson said Mpetha's story of why he went to Reverend Wena the evening before the riots was improbable and unconvincing. He hid the real reason for his visit.

Mpetha had also lied about what led to the use of the church where a meeting was held on August 11.

In his evidence Mpetha had given an explanation for his movements that day which did not coincide with the violent events.

The judge said the whole thrust of his evidence was to distance himself from the happenings of that day.

(Proceeding)

not Tants 6/6/83
Burial of four
bomb victims

131

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Four cousins who played soccer for one team, worked together and died together when they were killed in the Pretoria bomb blast last month, were buried side by side in a moving funeral ceremony attended by about 1000 mourners on Saturday.

They were Mr Moses Maimela, Mr Judas Maimela, Mr Sekgotsi Magatsela and Mr Thomo Mohlahlo, all aged 23.

The funeral was held at Ga-Malekane village in the mountainous town of Steelpoort in the eastern Transvaal. The Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, and four of his cabinet attended the funeral service.

Colonel J Kriel represented the commander of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General M Muller at the funeral.

Spaak/1

11A

UDF elects committee

Sowetan

6/6/83

THE newly constituted **United Democratic Front (UDF)**, a body reminiscent of the **Democratic Alliance of the 1950s**, took a step further during the weekend when it elected its first **consultative committee**.

The committee will do the planning, take decisions and draw up a programme of action. The UDF is committed to an

undivided, democratic and non-racial South Africa. At a meeting attended by about 28 workers', political, civic, church, cultural and student bodies which form the UDF Council, a secretariat was also constituted. The size of the consultative committee will be 13 and will include a member from the United Women Organisation.

Some of the prominent personalities elected to the Consultative committee of 13 include, Dr Ram Saloojee, the chairman of the UDF Interim committee and a top official of the TIC, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, Professor Ismal Mohammed, chairman of the Anti-President

Council, Mr Pherishow Camay, general-secretary of the powerful Council of Unions of South Africa, Mr Amos Masondo of the SCA and the president of the Witwatersrand Students Representative Council.

Among the functions to be conducted by the UDF's consultative committee will be to organise other areas; to

create other regions, conduct workshops and to hold seminars. Until a secretariat is appointed, the interim committee headed by Dr Saloojee will perform its duties such as the day to day organisational work as well as administrative duties. The meeting which lasted some three hours, was characterised by lots of consensus decisions.

LEADERS SLAM COURT ORDER

THE banning of a prayer meeting to protest against the death sentences imposed on the six members of the African National Congress, was strongly condemned by the newly established United Democratic Front at its meeting at the weekend.

The banning was described by some of the organisations at the

SOWETAN REPORTER

meeting as "arbitrary and highly undemocratic." One organisation said the hanging of the six men will only lead to more violence in the country.

The meeting, which was to have been held at the St Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Soweto yesterday, was banned on Friday.

The Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr

Oelof Abraham de Meyer, issued a court order in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982. He stated that he had reasons to believe the public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering to oppose the death sentences. The meeting was organised by the "Save The Six Committee." The gathering was prohibited to take place any-

where in Johannesburg between Friday and today.

The UDF meeting, which was attended by 28 political, worker, students, civic, church and cultural bodies, felt the hanging of the six men would not solve the problems of the country.

"The real problems in the country are the ones to be dealt with."

Other organisations that voiced their condemnation of the ban

were the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), which warned that the hangings would only lead to more violence in the country. In a statement the TIC said; "We join with other progressive organisations in calling on the Government not to hang the six."

The TIC called for a national convention and said there was a need to look at the causes and symptoms of the intransigence in South Africa. The Workers Supporters Committee (WSC) also condemned the hanging as undemocratic and arbitrary. "We view this action as barbaric and primitive, for it will not stop our dedication and commitment to fight for a just cause."

The Transvaal region of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) criticised the banning. It said it did not see the banning of the meeting as contributing to solutions to South Africa's problems. Other organisations which slammed the banning were, the Municipal and General Workers Union (MGWU), which said the Government was misusing its power and described the magistrate's decision as, "highly arbitrary and totalitarian."

The fate of the six men who have spent almost two years in Death Row has evoked anger and condemnation locally and internationally. They are Simon Mogorane, Jerry Mosololi, Thabo Motuang, David Moisi, Johannes Shabangu and Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe. They were convicted and sentenced to death in August 1981 for the part they played in the attacks on Booyens Police Station in Johannesburg and the Sasol Fuel plant near Secunda. The call for clemency was instituted by the Release Mandela Committee and has received worldwide support. The latest plea for mercy came last week from Amnesty International in France.

CAPE Times 6/6/83

SA pact with neighbours likely

(114) (227) (26) (767) (172)

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa's current carrot-and-stick offensive to flush out the African National Congress from its neighbouring States could lead to the signing of non-aggression pacts with at least four States, according to informed sources.

According to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, he is already involved in an "ongoing process" of negotiation with Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique to reach agreement on the non-utilization of each of their territories as springboards for subversion.

Understanding

Mr Botha said a satisfactory "basis of understanding" had already been reached with Swaziland, while Friday's talks with his Lesotho counterpart, Mr E R Sekhonyana, held "good potential" for the implementation of a "clear and concrete" agreement on non-subversion reached at the meeting.

The Foreign Minister said, however, that it would be difficult to reach an agreement while countries like Lesotho were demanding the social and economic

as well as the political liberation of South Africa and declaring that they were at war with the Republic.

Mr Botha said that while he was not prepared at this stage to say when he would meet again with his counterparts in Botswana and Mozambique, satisfactory agreements in principle had been reached with both countries.

He was waiting to hear from them as to how these could be implemented in practice.

While Mr Botha did not elaborate on what form the implementation of non-subversion agreements would take, a diplomatic source said that an agreement could extend to mutual inspection of each of their territories to ensure that hostile parties were not maintaining a presence there.

South Africa has apparently given assurances to its neighbouring States that in return for such action, it would pull back on its "destabilizing" tactics.

Mr Botha confirmed yesterday that representatives of the security forces and police of South Africa and Lesotho would have further talks as a matter of urgency this week to find a "practical formula

for implementing Friday's agreement between the two countries to clamp down on insurgents operating from their territories.

Mr Botha said that while the current initiative was in line with the repeated undertaking by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that he was prepared to sign non-aggression treaties with neighbouring States, Mr Botha said he would prefer to call them non-subversion agreements.

The agreement in principle reached between Mr Pik Botha and his Lesotho counterpart on Friday is likely to have far-reaching implications for the activities of the ANC in Lesotho and the Lesotho Liberation Army in South Africa.

Campaign

The diplomatic and military campaign to drive back the ANC from South Africa's borders follows last month's bomb blasts in Pretoria and Bloemfontein and the snap South African Air Force strike into Maputo.

However, it is clear that South Africa will also use economic muscle to achieve its objectives.

● Bid to heal relations, page 2



Laura Armstrong

'Mum . . . I love you'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — "To the greatest mum in the world. I love you, Laura."

These were the words written on the back of a photograph that attractive Laura Armstrong of Blackheath, Johannesburg, gave her mother, Mrs Heather Armstrong.

Laura, who would have turned 21 in two weeks' time, died in yesterday's aircraft crash near Kuils River.

Her mother should also have been on board the aircraft but her employer had given her an air ticket to fly down before her son's wedding for a rest, because she had been ill.

Just after noon yesterday she greeted her former husband, Irvine, her mother-in-law Patricia, her brother-in-law, Gordon, and her daughter and family friends who had attended the wedding.

Critical

Soon after, seven people were dead and two critically injured after the aircraft had plunged to the ground near Kuils River.

"I just cannot believe it," a shattered Mrs Armstrong said before flying back to Cape Town to be with her former husband who is in a serious condition.

**** To page 2



7
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SEVEN were killed in twin-engine crash

The aircraft and friends Johannesburg had attended at Fish Hoek day.

Last night toll stood at dead are Mrs Armstrong, 70, na Armstrong, Lorance W who was th Jeanette An Mr Grant and his tw baby, Lois.

The two who have be to the Tyger tal with seri are Mr Irvin and Mrs Tr 30.

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OW JOHANNES died on Sa light aircra the Pilanes City and cr

The accid large sectio vaal, as far Botswana.

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Nine held after demo

Staff Reporters

ONE ANTI-NUCLEAR demonstrator was tear-gassed by a Riot Control Squad policeman and nine others were arrested for allegedly contravening the Internal Security Act during a demonstration in Greenmarket Square in the City on Saturday morning.

The demonstration by about 50 Koeberg Alert members to draw attention to yesterday's World Environment Day included a mime consisting of a "funeral" and "die-in" of actors dressed as mutants.

A woman was sprayed with tear-smoke from an aerosol can after police had told her and others to disperse.

A witness said yesterday that the policeman had sprayed the tear-smoke from a distance of less than a metre.

Two middle-aged men who watched the incident said the teargassing was "totally uncalled for".

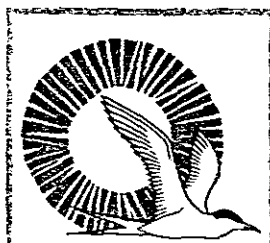
Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the nine had been released from custody on Saturday on bail of R100. They would appear in the Magistrate's Court today.

He confirmed that a policeman had sprayed a woman with tear-smoke.

● Picture, page 3

Jobfinder

Read **JOBFINDER** with today's Cape Times. On Wednesday Midweek Homefinder will appear with the Cape Times



CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS BEGIN ON PAGE 15 TODAY

It all points to a 'keep-off' pact

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's current carrot-and-stick offensive to flush out the African National Congress from its neighbouring states could lead to the signing of non-aggression pacts with at least four states, according to informed sources.

According to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, he is already involved in an "on-going process" of negotiation with Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique to reach agreement not to use each other's territories as springboards for subversion.

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To Page 2

SA has had talks with four

From Page 1

South Africa.

The diplomatic and military campaign to drive back the ANC from South Africa's borders follows last month's devastating bomb blasts in Pretoria and Bloemfontein and the snap South African Airforce strike into Maputo.

Today the Lesotho Minister of Finance, Mr. K. P. Rakhetla, will have talks with the Minister of Finance, Mr. Owen Horwood in Cape Town.

Talks between the two Ministers are expected to centre on the customs union which South Africa is understood to have told Lesotho is outdated and will have to be reviewed in terms of the proposed Southern African constellation of states.

Lesotho has already felt the effects of delayed food deliveries following the recent security crackdown at Lesotho border posts.

If this was extended to fuel deliveries it could have a crippling effect on the small landlocked nation.

International demos over ANC death sentences

By Gerald L'Ange
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — African National Congress supporters will demonstrate outside the White House tomorrow against the impending execution in South Africa of three ANC members.

At the same time the British Anti-Apartheid Movement will ask President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to intervene personally.

The three due to hang on Thursday — Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaug — were among six ANC members sentenced to death for high treason.

The death sentences on the other three — Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise — were yesterday commuted to life imprisonment as no loss of life resulted from their actions.

In the House of Commons five weeks ago, Foreign Secretary Mr Francis Pym said the British and other governments had tried to bring home to South African authorities the strength of public feeling about the proposed executions.

The AAM and its European sister movements will hold continuous demonstrations.

The American State Department, although it has received a large number of telephone calls protesting the executions, has not issued a statement on the matter.

Doomed ANC man asks for family

By Jon Qwelane

An urgent message from Death Row, delivered by a policeman yesterday to the family of condemned African National Congress member Jerry Mosololi, led to his parents leaving for Pretoria today to see him before he hangs on Thursday.

Mosololi will be hanged with Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung for State security offences including the attack on the Moroka Police Station in Soweto during which two policemen were killed and three people were injured.

The condemned man's younger sister, Miss Kuki Mosololi (21), said a policeman came to their Dube home and said her brother wanted to see family members.

"My parents asked why Jerry wanted to see them but the policeman did not give reasons.

"My father is going to ask the authorities to leave my brother's body for a family burial after he is hanged. Jerry said all along he expected to die."

About 100 m away from the Mosololi home is

that of Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe, who was also sentenced to death in a separate treason trial.

He was sentenced with two other ANC members, David Moise and Johannes Shabangu. The three won a reprieve from the State President and will now serve life sentences.

Mrs Olive Tsotsobe (56) said it did not make any difference that her son's sentence had been commuted.

"All it means is that he will be kept away from society for life. It would have been the same if they had hanged him," she said.

Mrs Tsotsobe said her son had suffered mental torture in the two years he had been on Death Row, because he did not know what to expect each day. She saw him on Friday and he was in a bad mental and physical state.

Mr Ruthven Tsotsobe (65) disagreed with his wife. He said anybody given a prison term had a reasonable chance of becoming free some day.

The reprieve came after appeals by the United Nations Security Council and the British and US governments.

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BID TO SAVE THREE



IN A last ditch attempt to save the lives of the three ANC members due to be hanged tomorrow, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan have been asked to intervene following an international campaign initiated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement which also includes demonstrations in the major cities of Europe and the United States.

Speaking from London during an interview, Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the movement, told The SOWETAN that Mr Michael Foot, leader of the Labour Party, Mr David Steel, leader of

By
**DERRICK THEMA,
SAM MABE and
MONO BADELA**

had been asked to support the representations to Mrs Thatcher.

7/6/83 Sowetan

British
P.M.
asked
to
plead
ANC 3's
case

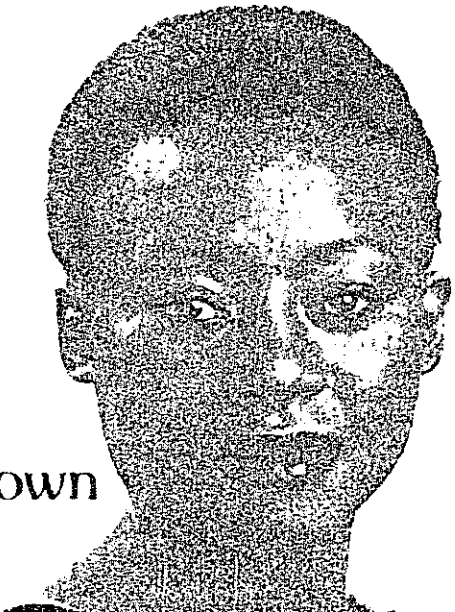
XIA
[scribbles]



DISTRESSED: Mr Isaac Mosololi . . . will demand the body of his son, Jerry Mosololi for burial.

CLERE

for your own
special
beauty



SAVE THREE

(X114)
264
253



SHOCKED: Mr Frans Motaung, father of Marcus Motaung heard the news for the first time.

IN A last ditch attempt to save the lives of the three ANC members due to be hanged tomorrow, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan have been asked to intervene following an international campaign initiated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement which also includes demonstrations in the major cities of Europe and the United States.

Speaking from London during an interview, Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the movement, told **THE SOWETAN** that Mr Michael Foot, leader of the Labour Party, Mr David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party and former president of the movement, and Mr Roy Jenkins, leader of the social Democratic Party

By
**DERRICK THEMA,
SAM MABE and
MONO BADELA**

had been asked to support the representations to Mrs Thatcher.

They had also contacted the United States embassy in London, the American Committee on Africa in New York, the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid in New York and the Washington Office on Africa to pressurise the American Government with the result that Mr Reagan was due to meet with congressmen early yesterday.

Messages have also been sent to representatives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa to invoke the condemnation of African states.

Demonstrations lasting 24 hours starting tomorrow morning will be held outside South African embassies in

To Page 2

Moloise gets death

A 28-YEAR-OLD man described as "a strong sympathiser of the ANC" was yesterday sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court for murdering a security policeman at the front gate of the policeman's house in Mamelodi last year.

Malesela Benjamin Moloise of 220C Sonnyboy's plot, Stinkwater, smiled, made a black power salute and shouted "Matla" (power) after Mr Justice

Sowetan
7/8/8
H Snyman, sitting with two assessors, announced the sentence.

Moloise was sentenced to death following the killing of Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe (54), who was gunned down with an AK47 rifle at 8pm on November 7 last year.

In his judgement Mr Justice van Dyk said the accused was an unreliable witness and his evidence contrasted with that of two other

(12)
(12)
defence witnesses. The accused had associated with members of the banned African National Congress, including Marcus Thabo Motaung who was sentenced to death for high treason last year.

The judge said there was overwhelming evidence that the accused was the person who inflicted the fatal wounds on W/O Selepe. He found no extenuating circumstances.

Star

SADF chief draws picture for United States

Closing ANC's bases will cripple sabotage

General Constand Viljoen, chief of the South African Defence Force, believes that by shutting the military wing of the African National Congress out of neighbouring black countries it will be possible to prevent the group from intensifying a sabotage campaign in South Africa.

He said in an interview with the New York Times that this isolation could be accomplished through a combination of military and diplomatic pressures.

"They will be able to have single incidents, but they will not be able to sustain a high intensity of operations for a long time," said the general.

Interviewed at military headquarters in Pretoria, General Viljoen described the situation that would exist if South Africa achieved its "important strategic aim" of crippling the ability of its own exiles to dispatch small units on sabotage and bombing missions from nearby countries.

Interviewed at military headquarters in Pretoria, General Viljoen assessed the security situation in the aftermath of the car bomb explosion two weeks ago that killed 19 people and wounded more than 200.

Asked if the movement would be stopped dead in its tracks if its military wing were to be effectively barred from neighbouring black nations, he replied:

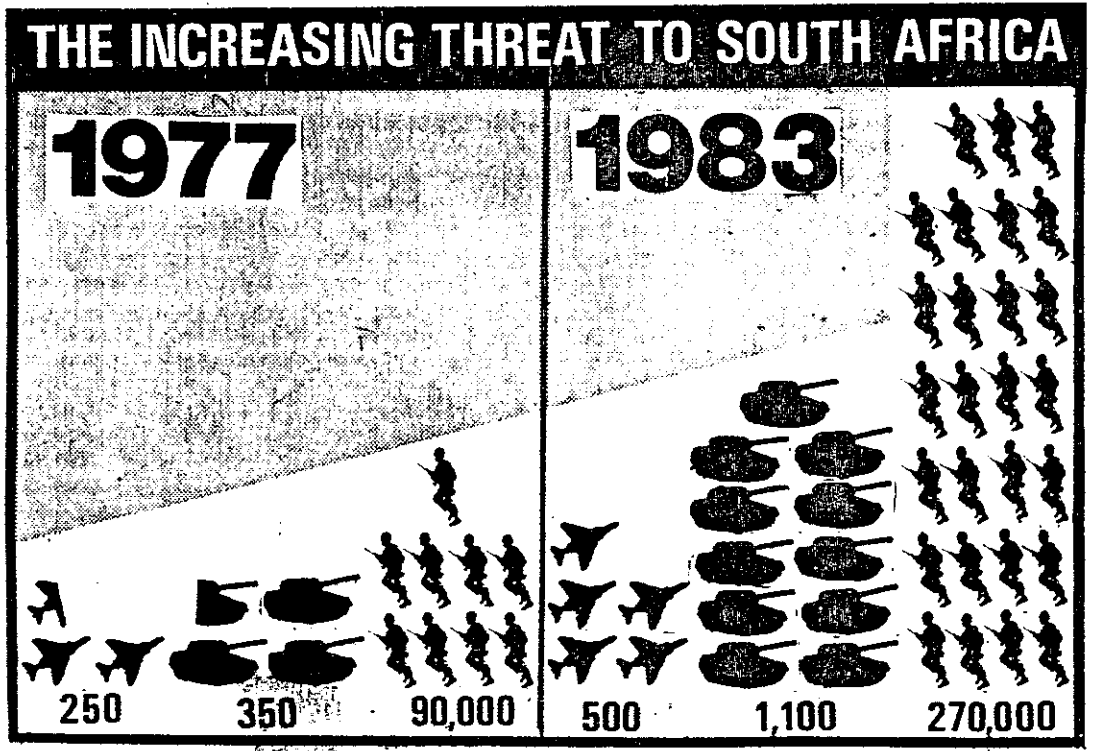
"I think so. Oh yes. I wouldn't say dead in their tracks, but they would just not be able to operate.

"If we deny them bases in all our neighbouring states, either through the co-operation of the states themselves, or by means of military action against their bases, then they have only two

ways to come in, by air or sea. It makes it almost impossible for them."

General Viljoen insisted on the accuracy of South Africa's claim that major damage was done to the ANC in a recent air raid

it was because President Samora Machel had told the United States there were no exile bases



The Star Bureau: New York



of military action against their bases, then they have only two ways to come in, by air or sea. It makes it almost impossible for them."

General Viljoen insisted on the accuracy of South Africa's claim that major damage was done to the ANC in a reprisal air raid on Maputo barely two days after the Pretoria bombing.

Whole salary

He offered to bet his whole salary that correspondents who went to the scene were steered away from what he called a transit house where "at least 40" of the exiles were killed by rocket and machine-gun fire.

Asked why Mozambique would conceal such casualties, he said

it was because President Samora Machel had told the United States there were no exile bases in his country.

"I think Machel would hate to admit that, in fact, he did have ANC bases."

The general was interviewed by The Times Southern Africa correspondent, Joseph Lelyveld. The newspaper said it was the first time in the nearly three years he has commanded the SADF that General Viljoen had agreed to meet a foreign journalist.

The Star Bureau: New York



General Viljoen

'270 000 troops hostile to SA'

By Sue Laeman, Pretoria Bureau

Neighbouring states hostile to South Africa had expanded their military forces by 300 percent in the last six years, said the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen.

Writing in the newsletter of the Institute For Strategic Studies of the University of Pretoria (ISSUP), General Viljoen estimated the total strength of these hostile forces to be more than 270 000 troops, at least 10 percent of whom are either Cuban, Soviet or East German.

Since 1977, the number of aircraft in hostile neighbouring states had increased from 250 to around 500.

The number of tanks had increased from 350 to 1 100.

These forces, he said, were intended for use in

a conventional military onslaught against South Africa.

However, he said South Africa's military capability and preparedness was such that "not one of our hostile neighbours is ready to engage us in a conventional offensive military struggle".

Armies in other African countries were still experiencing problems of leadership, language, training and the standardisation of equipment, he said.

Although they had extended their air defence systems to include radar cover and more sophisticated weaponry, they still lacked proper military infrastructures.

However, Russian aid to African states meant South Africa could not rule out the possibility of a full-scale conventional war, he said.

D-day for twilight people

City Press
26/6/83

CAPE TOWN -- Banned people are waiting on a knife-edge to see if their restriction orders will be reimposed at the end of the month.

About 70 people are

CP Correspondent

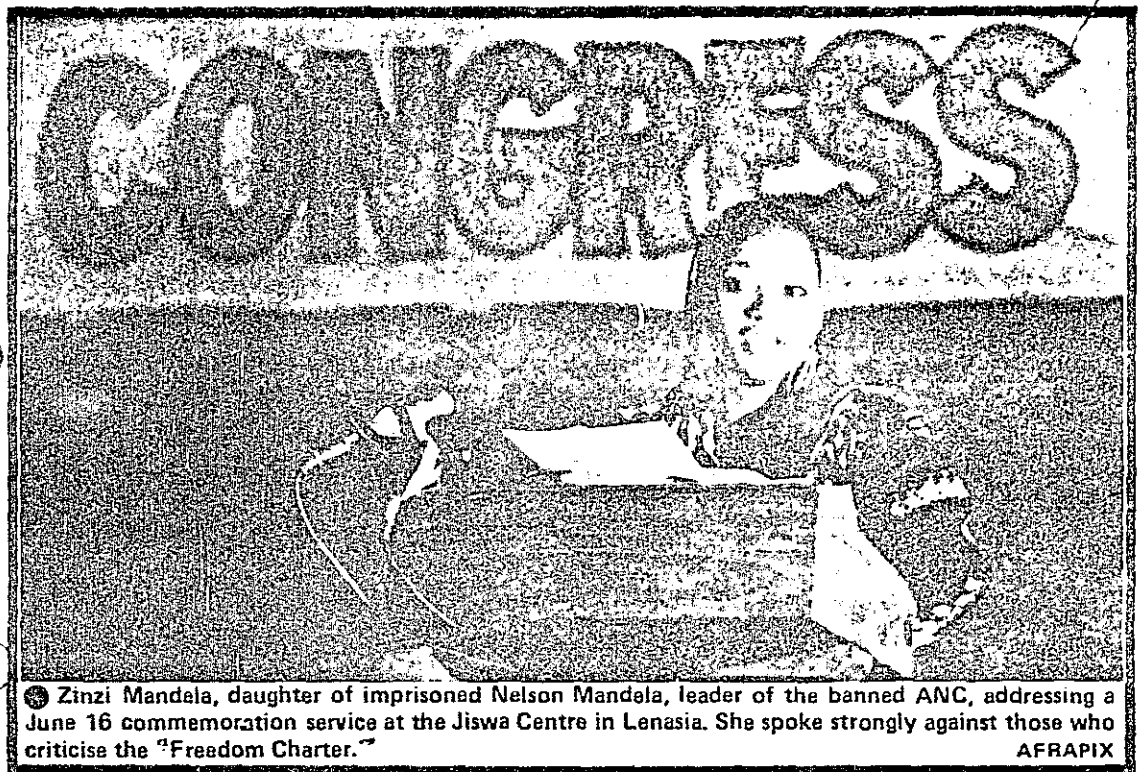
still banned and all their orders are to be reviewed by next month.

In terms of the new Internal Security Act, which came into effect in July last year, all restriction orders re-

mained in force for 12 months.

Those 12 months are nearly up and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will have to reveal his decision soon.

There is mounting speculation that the Government is institut-



Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned ANC, addressing a June 16 commemoration service at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia. She spoke strongly against those who criticise the "Freedom Charter." AFRAPIX

ing a new banning policy, easing up on the number of restriction orders imposed.

In contrast to previous years, not even people recently released from long

periods of imprisonment for political offences have been banned.

They include Mr Saths Cooper and Mr Muntu Myeza, who are now active in Azapo,

Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Jeremy Cronin.

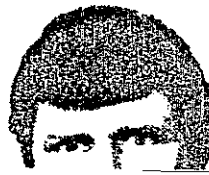
Among those still banned who will hear soon whether their restrictions are to be lifted are: Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu, the ANC prisoner held at Pollsmoor Prison, and her son, Zwelakhe, the former president of the Media Workers

Association of South Africa (Mwasa); Peter Jones, the close friend of the late Steve Biko, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, also a close friend of Steve Biko; Dr Beyers Naude; Mrs Fatima Meer the Natal University academic; Andrew Boraine and Nicholas "Fink" Haysom, former Nusas presidents, and others like Philip Mtimkulu and Zubeida Mayet, both journalists.

Union College

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Ciskei
too hot
for a Saba

26/6/83
105
City Press

Police

watch
march

CAPE TOWN 7/6/63

of 50

114 ~~STAFF~~
Staff Reporter

A CROWD of about 50 people marched from the Supreme Court to the Cape Town railway station yesterday after judgment in the Oscar Mpetha trial had been adjourned for the day.

Uniformed police in at least five vans used their vehicles to block certain routes to the marchers so that traffic was not seriously disrupted.

The marchers sang "freedom songs" as they walked to the station along Adderley Street, Longmarket Street and through the bus terminal.

Police made no arrests but monitored the group from the time they left the Supreme Court until they reached the Longmarket Street intersection with Adderley Street.

The group was then stopped from walking in the direction of the Golden Acre and was diverted into side streets.

Earlier, at least 20 policemen — one armed with a sub-machine gun — had been in the vicinity of the court building. Two vans with dogs inside were parked nearby.

All members of the public entering the building were body-searched and policemen checked packages carried into the building.

The public gallery was packed throughout the day and some people were turned away.

Only one of 11 ANC men actually went to gallows

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

ELEVEN African National Congress insurgents have been sentenced to death since the intensification of its underground war after the unrest in black townships of 1976-77, but only one has been executed so far.

The scheduled execution of three ANC men on Thursday will mean that four of the 11 men will have been hanged.

The only ANC cadre to have been executed so far is Solomon Mahlangu, who was convicted of murder for his role in the gun attack in a warehouse in Goch Street,

Johannesburg, in June 1977. Two people died in the attack.

The three ANC men, whose plea for clemency was turned down by the State President yesterday and who will go to the gallows on Thursday, were convicted of high treason in August last year.

The three men are Thello Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung. They were sentenced to death by Mr Justice Curlewis for their attacks on two police stations in Soweto and the Wonderboom police station in Pre-

toria. Four policemen died in these raids.

Until yesterday they shared death row with another trio of ANC insurgents: Anthony Tsotosobe, Johannes Sabangu and David Moise, all of whom were sentenced to death for high treason by Mr Justice Theron in August 1981.

They were granted leave to appeal against the death sentence but their appeal was turned down by the Appeal Court in November last year. The State President, however, commuted their death sentences to life imprisonment yesterday.

New bid to save ANC 3

From Page 1

London and other major cities such as Bonn, Amsterdam, Paris, New York, Washington and Stockholm.

The hangings of Thelher Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, have been found in London to be ironic as they are scheduled for the same day on which Britain is to hold elections—Thursday.

Three other ANC members, Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, yesterday had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment by the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen.

Meanwhile the news of the three reprieves and three impending executions was met with shock, anxiety and relief by the families of the men and other commentators.

The families of the two condemned Soweto men, demanded that they be given their bodies for burial. They only got the tragic news from The SOWETAN yesterday, reports MONO BADELA.

A distressed Mr Isaac Mosololi (64), the pensioner father of Jerry Mosololi of Dube, said: "Whether my son, Jerry, was a terrorist or a guerilla, he will remain my son. I love him and he loved us all. He will not be buried by prison warders. He loved and died for us. Therefore he deserves a decent burial. Who can give him that other than me?" Mr Mosololi will be seeing his lawyers about this matter.

Marcus Motaung's father, Mr Frans Motaung, who was terribly

shocked, said the same thing. He will also demand his son's body. "I want no interference from the police," he said simply.

Although the State President's decision came as a shock to her, a very courageous Mrs Sarah Mosololi said she had expected the worst. Mosololi's younger sister chipped in: "I am not surprised. I expected it." Mrs Mosololi said she saw her son over the weekend and "he was as full of strength and courage as ever".

Mrs Olive Tsotsobe, mother of Bobby Tsotsobe, whose death sentence was commuted along with those of Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, said: "Kuyafana nje... its all the same. I shall never again live a normal life with my son. The idea that we shall never stay together is out. I am more concerned about the other three men because during the trial and subsequent visits to Death Row, I had become part and parcel of their fate. I shared the trials and tribulations with their parents, that is why I say kuyafana. It is all the same."

Like the others she was also not officially informed on the latest developments.

SAM MABE reports that the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) has made a last minute plea for clemency in a statement.

"The DPSC believes that in a political conflict the death penalty polarises society and makes reconciliation more difficult. Political offences are usually committed by people motivated by a sense of idealism and of deeply felt grievances."



MOTHER: Mrs Olive Tsotsobe, Bobby Tsotsobe's mother.

11A

Mpetha found guilty of terrorism

CAPE TIMES
7/6/83

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~~234~~



Relatives of the men acquitted in the S the hearing of Oscar Mpetha and 17 othe

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

TRADE UNIONIST Oscar Mpetha, 73, was found guilty in the Supreme Court yesterday of terrorism, but acquitted on two charges of murder, following events in Crossroads during August, 1980.

Mr Justice William-son, who will continue giving judgment today, acquitted five of the other 17 accused on all charges. These men have spent nearly three years in jail awaiting trial and attending the hearing, which has lasted more than two years.

Three men were found guilty on two charges of murder and of terrorism.

Two men were found guilty on one count of murder and of terrorism. Another man was found guilty on two counts of murder, but not guilty of terrorism.

Neither the quiet crowd of about 300

people who packed the courtroom nor the accused showed any reaction during the judgment.

The terrorism charges, brought under the old Terrorism Act of 1967, followed certain actions committed "with intent to endanger law and order" between August 8 to 12, 1980. The murder charges follow the death of Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen in Klipfontein Road on August 11.

Mr Justice Williamson said that although he suspected Mpetha of planning the violence, there was not sufficient evidence to find that he had been the brains behind the events.

'My song'

The court did find, however, that he had stopped his car near marching youths, given a black-power salute and told them to "sing my song". The crowd then sang: "There are guns in Angola, fetch them."

Mr Vusumzi Mbetha, Mr Fumanekile Booi, Mr Vuyisile Mzaza, Mr Makawa Jabavu and Mr Joseph Phike were acquitted.

Christopher Sparanyi, who was found guilty of terrorism and one charge of murder, had been a doorman at the

Morgan Makubala, who was found guilty on all the charges, had been one of the planners, Mr Justice Williamson said. He had helped build the barricade and had suggested that Sparanyi stop cars.

He had thrown stones at both cars and had set Mr Beeton's car alight.

Aaron Tshangama, on his own admission, had taken part in both attacks. He had later boasted in a shebeen that he had helped "kill Europeans". He was found guilty of both murders, but not guilty of terrorism.

Peter Kube had helped build the barricade and had told people in the crowd to arm themselves with stones. He was one of the leaders. He had taken part in both murders and in committing terrorist activities.

Alton Sabuwa had helped build the barricade and had helped overturn Mr Beeton's car.

Johannes Hlapo had taken part in the attack on Mr Beeton and, on his own admission, had stoned Mr Jansen's car. He had addressed the crowd at the meeting and had helped build the barricade, the judge said. He was found guilty on all charges.

There are two assessors

found guilty of terrorism

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

TRADE UNIONIST Oscar Mpetha, 73, was found guilty in the Supreme Court yesterday of terrorism, but acquitted on two charges of murder, following events in Crossroads during August, 1980.

Mr Justice Williamson, who will continue giving judgment today, acquitted five of the other 17 accused on all charges. These men have spent nearly three years in jail awaiting trial and attending the hearing, which has lasted more than two years.

Three men were found guilty on two charges of murder and of terrorism.

Two men were found guilty on one count of murder and of terrorism. Another man was found guilty on two counts of murder, but not guilty of terrorism.

Neither the quiet crowd of about 300

people who packed the courtroom nor the accused showed any reaction during the judgment.

The terrorism charges, brought under the old Terrorism Act of 1967, followed certain actions committed "with intent to endanger law and order" between August 8 to 12, 1980. The murder charges follow the death of Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen in Klipfontein Road on August 11.

Mr Justice Williamson said that although he suspected Mpetha of planning the violence, there was not sufficient evidence to find that he had been the brains behind the events.

'My song'

The court did find, however, that he had stopped his car near marching youths, given a black-power salute and told them to "sing my song". The crowd then sang: "There are guns in Angola, fetch them."

Mr Vusumzi Mbetha, Mr Fumanekile Booi, Mr Vuyisile Mzaza, Mr Makawa Jabavu and Mr Joseph Phike were acquitted.

Christopher Sparanyi, who was found guilty of terrorism and one charge of murder, had been a doorman at the meeting preceding the march.

The court found that when the crowd reached Klipfontein Road, he had stopped cars in front of a barricade built in the road. He had stopped Mr Beeton's car, knowing that people in the crowd would stone him.

Morgan Makubala, who was found guilty on all the charges, had been one of the planners, Mr Justice Williamson said. He had helped build the barricade and had suggested that Sparanyi stop cars.

He had thrown stones at both cars and had set Mr Beeton's car alight.

Aaron Tshangama, on his own admission, had taken part in both attacks. He had later boasted in a shebeen that he had helped "kill Europeans". He was found guilty of both murders, but not guilty of terrorism.

Peter Kube had helped build the barricade and had told people in the crowd to arm themselves with stones. He was one of the leaders. He had taken part in both murders and in committing terrorist activities.

Alton Sabuwa had helped build the barricade and had helped overturn Mr Beeton's car.

Johannes Hlalo had taken part in the attack on Mr Beeton and, on his own admission, had stoned Mr Jansen's car. He had addressed the crowd at the meeting and had helped build the barricade, the judge said. He was found guilty on all charges.

There are two assessors, Mr GH Titterton and Mr CH van Gend. Mr CJ van Wyk is appearing for the State. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank, Bernad and Joffe, is appearing for Mr Mpetha. Mr TL Skweyiya and Mr Whitehead, instructed by AM Omar, Vassen and Company, are appearing for the other accused.



Relatives of the men acquitted in the S the hearing of Oscar Mpetha and 17 othe

New turn in Rantho legal dispute

By ALINAH DUBE

THE LEGAL suit against a 44-year-old Ateridgeville widow took a dramatic turn yesterday when lawyers acting for Mr Michael Rantho, said they were going ahead with plans to attach her house.

Mrs Monica Pamela Makabela's house has been under judicial attachment. She has already paid R5.000 to her legal adviser as part of the R10 665,71 she has to pay Mr Rantho.

This follows an order which was instituted against her husband, Johannes, who died last year before he could settle the matter.

SALE

Mr Seriti told The SOWETAN he had not "received a cent from Mrs Makabela" and that he has to go ahead with the sale.

The lawyers acting on behalf of Mrs Makabela said she still had the money with her.

She said Mr Rantho's legal adviser had promised to wait until sufficient money was raised. When told that he had made a statement that the house was to be put on sale she said: "I'm sorry, he will have to wait, as was arranged before."

ANC man's family hopes for reprieve

THE Mogoerane family of Vosloorus near Boksburg, has lost hope that their son, Thelle, will escape the hangman's noose tomorrow morning.

Thelle and two other African National Congress (ANC) guerillas, sentenced to death for high treason, will be hanged tomorrow.

The others are Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung. Three others, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, have had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment by the state president, Mr Marais Viljoen.

By Monk Nkomo
TWO Soshanguve brothers who allegedly robbed and murdered a 75-year-old white woman appeared in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Johnny Msiza (25), and Mr Johannes Msiza (18), pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice H van Dyk, sitting with two assessors, to two counts of murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Both accused are allegedly to have robbed and murdered Catherine Cornelia van Buuren at

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

A shocked and worried Mr Tofie Mogoerane, Thelle's younger brother, told The SOWETAN yesterday the family was feeling bad about Mr Viljoen's refusal to grant his brother clemency.

APPEALS

The family still had hopes for a last minute reprieve following appeals from abroad.

As is with the other Mogoerane and her two family will demand that they be given the body of Thelle for burial.

Mrs Christinah Mogoerane and his two sons, Thekiso and Thabang and other family relatives, left early yesterday morning for Pretoria to pay Thelle the last visit in the Death Row, before he is hanged.

Brothers in court for murder

her 717 Frieda Street, Hercules, Pretoria home on August 23 last year.

The investigating officer Lt Paul Looock testified that after receiving information on August 25 he went to a house in Soshanguve where he arrested Mr Johannes Msiza who was hiding behind a TV set. He confessed to having been at the scene of murder with his brother. He denied having killed Mrs van Buuren.

The accused had then taken him to another house in Soshanguve

where he arrested Mr Jonny Msiza who was also hiding. He, too, confessed to having been at the scene of the crime. Lt Looock said the accused had also told him he had covered Mrs van Buuren with a bedspread because they did not want her to see what they were doing. Both accused, Lt Looock said, had not been assaulted or threatened and had also shown him certain articles allegedly stolen from the house.

Mr B J van Buuren, the husband of the de-

ceased, told the court that Mr Johannes Msiza had worked for him. He was not working for him at the time of the crime. The accused had left of his own accord after stealing two gallons of petrol from his premises, he said.

His son, Mr J H van Buuren, who is also a policeman, testified that after receiving information he had rushed to his parent's home at about 4 pm on August 23. All the doors of the house were locked. Together with his father they entered the bedroom

FIRE: Mr Mcebisi Mqhe for 20

Protests to go before Executive Council

Govt considers pleas on ANC executions

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The international outcry and formal protest against the planned execution in Pretoria tomorrow of three convicted ANC terrorists will be put before the Executive Council of the South African Government today.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department had "taken note" of the protests, which included strong representations from the United States, the European Community of Ten Nations and the United Nations Security Council.

The Executive Council consists of the Cabinet sitting with the State President as chairman.

The protests climaxed yesterday when a petition was delivered by the German ambassador, Mr Carl Lahusen, to the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van Dalsen.

The petition was signed by the governments of the 10 nations comprising the European community.

At this stage it seems highly unlikely that the South African Government will change its mind on the executions, as the men were all involved in incidents which resulted in loss of life.

The three other condemned ANC prisoners whose sentences were commuted to life imprisonment earlier this week, on the other hand, were involved in incidents where there was no loss of life.

In Washington US pressure on the South African Government to grant the three men a reprieve increased sharply yesterday as more than 50 members of Congress and senators, including three democratic presidential candidates, sent a series of cables to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, urging him to spare the men's lives.

All the cables asked Mr Botha to reconsider a petition for clemency which the condemned men were said to have made.

In addition, a large group of senators and congressmen sent a cable to the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, calling on the Reagan Administration to make immediate contact with Mr Botha to urge him to stay the execution.

In another development it was announced that a coalition of groups "concerned with the deteriorating situation in South Africa" would take part in the demonstrations planned outside the White House to protest against the impending executions.

Individual cables were sent to the Prime Minister by Senator Walter Mondale, the leading contender for the Democratic Party presidential candidacy, and by Senator Edward Kennedy, who is still considered a possible presidential candidate.

Other personal cables were sent to Mr Botha by former Attorney-General Ramsay Clark and by Congressman Julian Dixon, the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

A joint cable was sent to Mr Botha by 48 congressmen and five senators, including Democratic presidential candidates Mr Gary Hart and Mr Alan Cranston. The Government's decision to commute the death sentences on the three but to allow the other sentences to be carried out has been fairly prominently reported in major newspapers in Washington and New York.

New bid to seek a stay

Legal representatives of the three condemned ANC terrorists will bring an application to the Pretoria Supreme Court later today for a stay of execution in a last minute bid to save the men from the gallows tomorrow morning.

This decision follows a visit by the lawyers and family members to Death Row at Pretoria Central Prison earlier today.

"The family persuaded the men to apply for a stay of execution," said their lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo. "It was also decided to bring the application in the light of recent developments and international pressure."

The application is expected to be brought at about 5 pm.

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Demonstrations against the proposed executions have been arranged in several European capitals.

In New York the United Nations Security Council has been urged to act to save the men.

In a letter to the president of the council, Zimbabwe's Mr Erleck Mashingaidze, the African nations at the UN asked the council to take "urgent action".

The African nations noted that the council had passed a resolution last year calling on South Africa not to execute the ANC men.

The death penalty is another issue at stake in mercy plea

The men due to hang

Five men are due to be hanged at Pretoria Central Prison at dawn tomorrow. They are:

- ANC members Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung for their part in attacks on three police stations and acts of sabotage. Four people died as a result of their attacks.
- Eric Marshall, a white man who was sentenced to death in August 1981 for the fatal shooting of Mr Arnold Kreiner, a shop owner.
- Telele Joseph Kunene, who was sentenced to death in October 1982 for the murder of Mr Mnukwa Mkhize (68) and Mrs Nomlanda Mkhize (64) in April 1982.

The moral issue of capital punishment has surfaced among several people and groups as domestic pressure on the Government to stay the execution of the condemned ANC men mounted today.

Amid the outcry for clemency the director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barratt, said there were two issues involved — the condemned men were members of the ANC and there was the issue of capital punishment. Both issues evoked emotions overseas.

However, an act of mercy would be interpreted overseas as a positive move towards reconciliation, he said.

Professor FFW van Oosten, of the faculty of law at the University of Pretoria, said he was personally not against the death sentence.

"But it is a very delicate issue and

would require a long detailed explanation of how I believe it should be used as a punishment. Basically, it should be used only in extreme cases."

Professor van Oosten said he could not comment on the sentences handed down to the ANC three because he had not studied the facts of the case.

The Security Forces Support Committee is in favour of the hangings.

Mr Jonathan Leontsinis, chairman of the committee, said a hard line had to be taken with terrorism in whatever form it occurred. The ANC men committed acts of terror in which innocent people were killed, so the committee agreed with their punishment.

Professor Deon Fourie, of the Department of Strategic Studies at Unisa, said whatever the Government did would be condemned.

"The Government loses out if the

hangings go ahead or if they grant those men a reprieve."

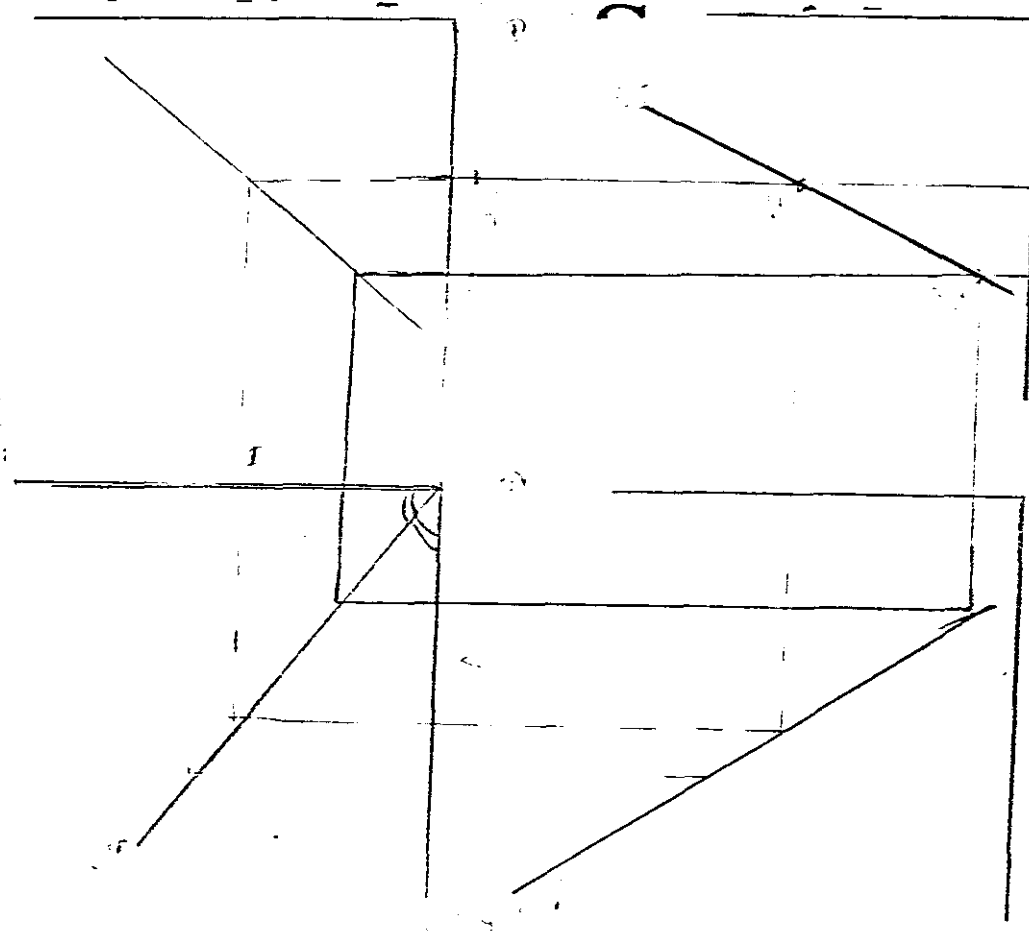
He blamed the ANC for deliberately and callously making it difficult for the Government to grant a reprieve because the Pretoria bomb blast had been timed to go off to influence the punishment of the ANC accused.

He said the bomb and its effects on the ANC men were calculated to further whip up international calls for action and demonstrations of disapproval against South Africa.

Pretoria was caught between playing into the hands of this propaganda trap or reprieving the ANC men and not being seen to deter others who might have similar plans to commit acts of terror and violence.

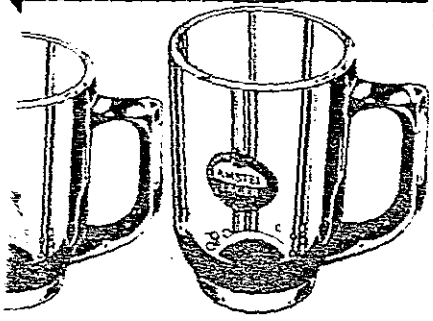
Among the strongest pleas for the men

● To Page 2



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Death penalty becomes an issue in plea

8/11/83
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● From Page 1

to be spared were those of church leaders in South Africa. However, in line with official church policy, spokesmen for two Afrikaans churches could not comment directly on demands to commute the death sentences.

Lecturer in theology for the NGK at the University of Pretoria Professor Johan Heyns explained that the official church view is that comment on the matter fell outside the NGK's competence since it did not have access to all the facts of the case.

The NGK has always believed that there is room for the death sentence but it was not up to the church to comment on an individual case such as this.

The moderator for the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, Professor Bart Oberholzer, said the church should remain silent on issues such as this and "carry on with its work". It was not within the powers of the church to tell either the State or the legal fraternity what to do, he said.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, pleaded with the State President to grant a reprieve.

It was tragic, he said, to see young men going to the gallows for actions which, though in themselves reprehensible, flowed from frustration, humiliation and desperation.

A reprieve was even more

necessary because the executions coincided with the anniversary of the June 1976 Soweto riots, he said

Archbishop Philip Russell, head of the Church of the Province of South Africa, said he would be seeking an audience with the State President. His church deplored capital punishment on the grounds that only God gave life and only He could take it.

A spokesman for Lawyers for Human Rights said that although the three ANC men committed awful crimes, it had to be recognised there was a large section of the community which believed they were engaged in a just struggle and that they should be treated as prisoners of war.

Better served

Lawyers for Human Rights believed that the cause of peace and reconciliation in South Africa would be better served by commuting the sentences to life imprisonment.

Mrs Hazel Moolman, acting director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said that although the institute condemned the acts of violence the three men committed, it did not believe any purpose would be served by hanging them.

The South African Council of Churches announced today that it would hold a prayer meeting for the condemned men during the lunch hour tomorrow.

The meeting will be held at Khotso House in De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

ANC executions
t considers pleas

to go before Executive Council

'Survey
8/6/85
findings
not (11A)
reliable
Mercury
says NIC

Mercury Reporter

THE Natal Indian Congress yesterday reacted angrily to survey findings which showed them trailing badly behind the South African Indian Council in a Chatsworth poll of political groups.

The sample survey by Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, also rated SAIC executive chairman Amichand Rajbansi as 'highly regarded'.

It showed that 29 percent of 449 Chatsworth residents interviewed backed the SAIC, 21 percent liked the Southern Durban LAC, 17 percent preferred the NIC and only 3 percent had accepted the Reform Party.

Dr Farouk Meer, acting chairman of the NIC, said: 'As they do not tally with the kind of responses we are getting in the community, we cannot accept them as scientific or reliable.'

No real leader

'What is more, Prof Schlemmer puts the SAIC on top when in fact it was widely rejected in its first elections,' he said.

The survey found that 35 percent of the people interviewed backed Mr Rajbansi, only 2 percent preferred Mr J N Reddy, former SAIC executive chairman, who also lived in Chatsworth, and 14 percent said the Indian community had no real leader.

Emphasising that the estimates applied only to sprawling Chatsworth, Prof Schlemmer said many of the more prominent NIC leaders lived outside Chatsworth.

It was very difficult to infer the relative strengths of the SAIC and the NIC from the results as many people would not say which political group they felt was best for Indians in Durban.

Reprieve hope for three fades

Sowetan 8/6/63
(17)

THE three ANC men will almost definitely hang tomorrow morning despite clemency pleas from several government representatives abroad and local organisations, churches and unions.

The Pope has also been asked by the ANC to plead with the South African Government to treat the three as prisoners of war.

Almost all of Britain's opposition leaders, Mr Michael Foot, Mr David Steel and Mr Roy Jenkins have, according to the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, sent clemency appeals to the Prime Minister P W Botha.

The West German Foreign Ministry has instructed its ambassador in South Africa to take up the matter with the South African Government. The Austrian Chancellor has also sent pleas for clemency to Mr Botha.

Several demonstrations lasting 24 hours have been planned to start today outside the South African Embassies in different cities of the world.

In London's Trafalgar Square, people such as Sir Hugh Casson, president of the Royal Academy, Sir Alan Sapper, former chairman of the Trade Union Congress

and Opposition spokesman on Southern Africa, Mr Stanley Clinton-Davis, will join in on one of the demonstrations.

In Hanover where a Christian Conference is in process, expatriate Barney Pityana, a former official of the banned South African Students Organisation (Saso) and Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, are almost certain to raise the hanging issue.

The ANC, which called on the international community to help save the lives of Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, is today gearing to stage a demonstration outside the White House in Washington.

The Reverend Khoza Mgojo, head of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa, said hanging was another form of retribution. He called on the Government to give the three a chance to live and repent because, "their crimes were committed under severe stress and forced by circumstances".

The Reverend Winston Dungane, liaison officer for the Church of Province in

Southern Africa, while welcoming the reprieve of the three other ANC men, called on the Government to uphold the sanctity of human life.

"God alone has the right to give and take life," he said.

The Anti-President Council Committee chairman, Professor Ismail Mohammed appealed to the State President to spare the lives of the three and said that the hanging would not solve, but compound the problems of the country, leading to more violent confrontation. He said that the Geneva Convention demanded that liberation fighters be treated as prisoners of war.

The Dean of Johannesburg, Father Merwyn Castle, called on the Government to review capital punishment.

The Federation of South African Women expressed its condemnation and called for prayer meetings by women in churches all over the country. The newly formed United Democratic Front, the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and the Black Sash also added their pleas for clemency and condemnation of capital punishment.

SA's plan to drive out ANC

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, says he believes that a joint military and diplomatic strategy will drive out ANC guerrillas from neighbouring countries.

General Viljoen made this prediction in the first interview which he has granted to a foreign journalist. He recently spoke to the New York Times correspondent Joseph Lelyveld.

General Viljoen is quoted by Mr Lelyveld as saying that a civil war in Zimbabwe is a certainty and that South African forces should have pressed on and "gone to Luanda" in the 1975 Angolan war.

The ANC "will be able to have single incidents, but they will not be able to sustain a high intensity of operations for a long time", he is quoted as saying. Once the ANC's military wing was shut out of the region, "they would just not be able to operate".

Surprised by ANC

According to Mr Lelyveld, Viljoen said that if the ANC were denied bases in neighbouring territories they would only be able to infiltrate by air or sea. He said that those routes would make it almost impossible for them to infiltrate.

General Viljoen is said to have insisted on the accuracy of South Africa's claims regarding the recent air raid on a Maputo suburb. The Defence Force claimed to have hit an ANC transit house, killing at least 40, and neutralizing a missile site.

He said the South African Government had been surprised by the ANC's readiness to risk civilian casualties in the Pretoria bombing, for which the air raid had been a reprisal, writes Mr Lelyveld.

He said General Viljoen indicated that new security arrangements were in hand and that the armed forces would not present the same concentrated number of soldiers in such a position again. He said that very close to half of the Pretoria bomb casualties had military associations.

General Viljoen cited 80 attacks since 1981 and said the sabotage cam-



General Constand Viljoen

paign was causing a lot of damage. He said that he was scared that the Pretoria bombing might have been the work of non-South African professional terrorists because it was slightly too professional for the ANC. He said this supported South Africa's contention that the ANC had links with organizations like the PLO.

He called the 1975 Angolan war a disaster and said "we should have gone to Luanda" instead of pulling back.

General Viljoen said South Africa had a lot of sympathy for the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM), but that the Republic could never give them complete tactical support.

He said the MRM was now self-generating, but he strongly denied that Pretoria sought the military downfall of the Machel government.

He predicted a national reconciliation in Angola if the Cuban troops departed, but he said that civil war in Zimbabwe was "sure to come". He said that the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, would soon be completely Russian-orientated.

Security Council plea for ANC trio

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Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — The Security Council last night called on the South African authorities not to execute the three ANC terrorists who are due to be hanged tomorrow.

The council declared in a unanimous vote that hanging Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Thabo Motaung "will aggravate the situation in South Africa".

The council's resolution also urged "all states and organizations to use their influence and to take urgent measures" to save the three men's lives.

It was the council's third appeal on behalf of the trio in eight months — a gesture without precedent.

● The Seychelles Government offered yesterday to set free four condemned mercenaries and two others serving long-term prison sentences if the three ANC members are reprieved.

The four mercenaries were sentenced to death in July last year for their part in the ill-fated Seychelles coup attempt led by Colonel Mike Hoare in November 1981.

'Ready to die'

They are South African Jerry Puren, Britons Bernard Carey and Roger England and Zimbabwean Aubrey Brooks.

● The three ANC men stopped their lawyers yesterday from applying for a temporary stay of execution, giving up their last chance to save themselves.

Lawyers said yesterday that the men had told them they were ready to face the hangman, and delay and uncertainty would only make it more difficult. They said they had prepared themselves for death and their strong spirit would be broken if there was a further delay.

This follows the State President's reprieve on Monday for three other condemned ANC men.

● The planned execution tomorrow would only embitter the majority of South Africans and would heighten the conflict in the country, according to a spokesman for the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The UDF is a newly-formed umbrella organization which has as its members more than 30 organizations, including the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Soweto Civic Association and the South African Council of Churches.

● The Cape Times political staff reports that the governments of the 10 nations comprising the European Community yesterday made a last-minute bid to save the men.

A petition was delivered to the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van Dalsen, by the German Ambassador, Mr Carl Lahusen.

● Sapa-AP reports from Lusaka that the ANC appealed yesterday to the Vatican to ask South Africa not to hang the men.

The organization's Lusaka office said the three men should be treated as prisoners-of-war under the Geneva Convention.

Vigil

● An all-night vigil for the three will be held at St Marks Church, Church Street, Athlone, starting at 9 tonight.

Organized by the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso), the vigil would be observed by a "broad range of organizations", a spokesman said.

"We recognize that the three young men facing execution have been motivated by the highest ideals for a free and democratic South Africa. No matter how the government identifies them as 'terrorists', many people in this country view them as products of a violent and unjust system," a statement said.

8/6/83

8/6/83

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent

Three of the six African National Congress (ANC) men sentenced to death for high treason have had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

The others will be hanged on Thursday with two other prisoners sentenced to death for murder.

This was announced by the State President today.

The decision to commute three of the sentences follows a concerted international campaign to have the ANC treated as prisoners of war instead of as criminals.

But the determining factor in commuting the sentences appears to have been the fact that no loss of life resulted from their actions.

The three men have already been told of the decision. They are Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise.

The men who will be hanged are Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung.

The men whose sentences have been commuted took part in various attacks.

Tsotsobe was involved in the attack on Booyens Police Station; Shabangu was responsible for the hand-grenade attack on the house of a police constable; and Moise was involved in the attack on the fuel plant at Secunda.

Though severe damage was caused in the three attacks, there was no loss of life.

The men who will still be hanged were involved in ANC actions which resulted in several deaths.

Two took part in the attack on Moroka Police Station during which a constable was killed after he had held up his hands in surrender. Two policemen and three members of the public were wounded in the attack.

Protest banned

Mogoerane and Motaung admitted during their trial that they took part in this attack.

They also admitted that they had participated in the attack on Orlando Police Station when two constables were shot dead and another wounded.

Two of the three also participated in an attack on Wonderboomport Police Station when a constable was shot dead. Mogoerane and Mosololi admitted during their trial that they took part in that attack.

Mosololi also admitted he was partly responsible for blowing up the New Canada railway line and the Capital Park Power Station.

At the weekend, a meeting called by the "Save the Six Committee" in Soweto was banned by the Johannesburg Chief Magistrate, Mr Oelof de Meyer.

The committee said in a weekend statement that having considered the anxiety in South Africa and the rest of the world over the execution of the six men, it wanted to add its voice to pleas for clemency, for the sake of peace.

"We recognise that South Africa is a society in conflict, and that the execution of these six men can but exacerbate this conflict, especially at this time when political developments in the country have the tempers of the people on the edge," said the statement.

Sentences commuted to life in prison Three ANC men get reprieve from noose

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Mr Marais Viljoen
... reprieve for
three ANC men



Conference aims to form united front

8/6/87 (11A)
Sowetan

A MAMMOTH two-day solidarity conference aimed at ending interorganisational hostilities among various black activist groups in South Africa will be held in Hammanskraal at the weekend.

The conference, expected to attract hundreds of trade unionists, church, cultural, sport, civic and political organisations from all provinces of the country, will be the first of its kind to be held on a national basis in South Africa.

The idea of organising the conference was conceived by the National Forum Committee (NFC), which consists of various black leaders who are concerned about the deteriorating relationship between black opposi-

tion groups in the country.

A spokesman for the NFC, Mr Saths Cooper, said the committee had 16 members who include among others, Dr Allen Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Bishop Tutu, Dr Manas Buthelezi, Dr Neville Alexander, Mrs Emma Mashinini, Messrs Ishmael Nkhabela, Don Mattera and Piroshaw Camay.

Mr Cooper said that so far, over 100 organisations had already accepted invitations to participate in the talks which are to run from 9am on Saturday to about midday on Sunday.

"We have set no political programme as a pre-condition for attendance and we expect no-

body to be compromised in any way. We only need to come together at this period of crisis to map out the basis for a closer working relationship of all organisations notwithstanding their ideological orientation.

"We believe that there are more issues that bring us together than those that separate us. These are the issues we need to stress more especially when we have to face P W Botha's new deals and the Koornhof Bills.

"So, there will be no political strings attached to what we will be doing, because as the NFC, we are not working in opposition to any organisation or structure that is working within the oppressed community."

ANC hangers: Gov takes final decision

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8/6/83

(114)

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government has made a final decision on whether to execute the three African National Congress men due to be hanged tomorrow. But it has not disclosed its decision.

The decision was taken today by the Executive Council of the Government, consisting of the Cabinet sitting with the State President.

There have been many appeals for clemency for the three men. Among them is a statement that the Seychelles Government would "probably" free six mercenaries involved in the abortive coup in 1981 in return for the lives of the ANC trio.

Seychelles Information Director Mr Antonio Beau-doin said today: "This is not official. It is just the feeling in high places here."

Referring to the appeals for clemency, a spokesman for the Executive Council said today "representations of this nature and similar content have already been considered by the Executive Council and a final decision has been taken".

He would not disclose the decision.

Protests against the decision to hang the three have come from the European Community of Ten Nations, the United Nations Security Council, American congressmen and senators and British MPs.

Three of the six condemned ANC prisoners were reprieved earlier this week.

Gain immeasurably

Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, Jerry Semano Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Thabo Motaung, 27, are due to hang tomorrow for their involvement in the attacks on the Wonderboompoort, Orlando and Moroka police stations, and the sabotage of the Capital Park power station and New Canada railway line.

Yesterday, the German Ambassador, Mr Carl Lahusen, delivered a petition signed by 10 European governments to the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Hans van Dalsen.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Opposition's police spokesman, speaking in her personal capacity, said: "I am against the death penalty. I believe South Africa would gain immeasurably if the sentences were commuted. The men will not go without punishment. The alternative is life imprisonment."

From Washington, The Argus Foreign Service reports that more than 50 congressmen and senators, including three Democratic presidential candidates, have cabled Prime Minister P W Botha urging him to spare the men's lives.

Many senators and congressmen have also cabled Secretary of State George Shultz calling on the Reagan Administration to urge Mr Botha to stay the execution.

Cables to PM

Cables were sent by Senator Mondale, the leading contender for the Democratic Party presidential candidacy, and Senator Edward Kennedy.

And the Reagan government said in a statement the executions would not help in the search for peace in Southern Africa. A spokesman said the US had made its concern known to the SA Government.

A demonstration is also planned outside the White House tomorrow.

The United Nations Security Council has been urged to act to save the lives of three ANC members.

In London, last-minute efforts to save the three continued today.

A deputation from the British Council of Churches and the Anti-Apartheid Movement met Foreign Office officials to persuade the British Government to intervene.

A 24-hour vigil outside the SA Embassy began at 8.30 am today. Labour MP Mr Stanley Clinton-Davis, the party's spokesman on Southern Africa, will join the vigil in spite of tomorrow's general election. From Pretoria, it is reported that the three have jointly refused to apply for a stay of execution. The families of the men were due to visit them for the last time today.

High spirits

Their lawyer, Mr Krish Naidoo, said the men were in high spirits and had psychologically prepared themselves for death. Domestic pressure also mounted today as churchmen, lawyers and human rights activists urged clemency.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, said it was tragic to see young men going to the gallows for actions, though in themselves reprehensible, which flowed from circumstances due to frustration, humiliation and desperation. Archbishop Philip Russell, head of the Church of the Province of South Africa, said he would be seeking an audience with the State President. His church deplored capital punishment.

8/6/83 (11A) RDM

Workers, churches get together

WHAT do the Durban Housing Action Committee, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Islamic Council of SA have in common? The answer is straightforward: they all oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and are members of the United Democratic Front.

The dozens of groups that belong to the UDF across the country represent a wide range of workers, students, churches and community organisations. In the Transvaal alone, more than 30 organisations have joined the UDF.

Workers are represented by the Council of Unions of SA, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, amongst others.

Communities are represented by the Soweto and Vryburg civic associations and the Soweto Committee of 10. Nusas, Azanian Students' Organisation, the Black Students Society and Young Christian Students represented the youth.

The Church was represented by the Witwatersrand Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops' Conference, women by the Federation of SA Women, teachers by the National Educational Union of SA; the Indian community by the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Detainees Aid Movement and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee are also taking part.

The first UDF was formed in the

Eastern Cape in January, when a local co-ordinating committee was formed. Eastern Cape member organisations include the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the EP Council of Sport, the Eastern Cape Council of Churches, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union, the General Workers Union of SA and the Congress of SA Students.

On May 14, a Durban branch was formed under the chairmanship of Mr Archie Gumede, of the Release Mandela Committee. It includes the Natal Indian Congress, the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the Islamic Council of SA and the Durban Housing Action Committee.

Anti-pass law declaration does rounds in Transvaal in the wake of Rikhoto

Rikhoto decision defended

Mail Reporter

Labour Correspondent

IN the wake of mounting worker interest in the landmark Rikhoto judgment, thousands of Transvaal workers are being asked to sign a declaration which charges that the pass laws are being tightened by the Government.

The declaration also rejects in its entirety Dr Piet Koornhof's Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill and calls for the scrapping of all controls on workers' freedom to seek jobs where they choose.

It has been adopted by the Transvaal region of the Federation of SA Trade Unions which is circulating it among all workers at Fosatu Transvaal factories.

The declaration is framed in the form of a petition to Dr Koornhof and will also be presented by Fosatu to employers at all factories where a majority of workers sign it. Fosatu says it will publicise employers' responses.

Details of the declaration were released yesterday. Fo-

satu sources say it was adopted by worker meetings before the recent Rikhoto judgment but had taken on added impetus since the court decision.

It says workers must be free to seek jobs where they choose and employers free to employ whoever they choose without interference from "pass offices".

All South Africans should have equal citizenship rights and workers the right "to live with their families in decent housing within a reasonable distance from their place of work".

The document then goes on to reject:

- The fact that section 10(1)(b) of the Black Urban Areas Act, which the Rikhoto judgment upheld, compels black South African migrants to work for one employer for ten years to earn city rights "while white foreigners need only three years to qualify for full citizenship";

- The unwillingness of the authorities to grant workers even the right to qualify for

city rights after ten years.

- Increasing restrictions on migrants, such as the fact that the "special" system, which allowed migrants to seek work in cities before they acquired a job, was no longer being used

- The refusal of "pass offices" to allow migrants who lost their jobs to stay in the cities and seek other work.

The declaration also attacks key aspects of the Orderly Movement Bill.

These include heavy fines on "illegal" workers and their employers, a curfew on blacks, and a provision robbing migrants of their city rights if they lose "approved accommodation" — even if they retain their jobs.

The declaration also cites the destruction of township shacks and the increase in pass law arrests as evidence of a tightening up of influx control.

The document rejects the Bill in its entirety as well as all official moves to tighten up influx control ahead of the Bill.

ATTEMPTS by the Government to block the implementation of the Appeal Court's Rikhoto judgement exposes the dishonesty of its reform plan, says the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The UDF is a newly formed umbrella body including over 30 opposition organisations

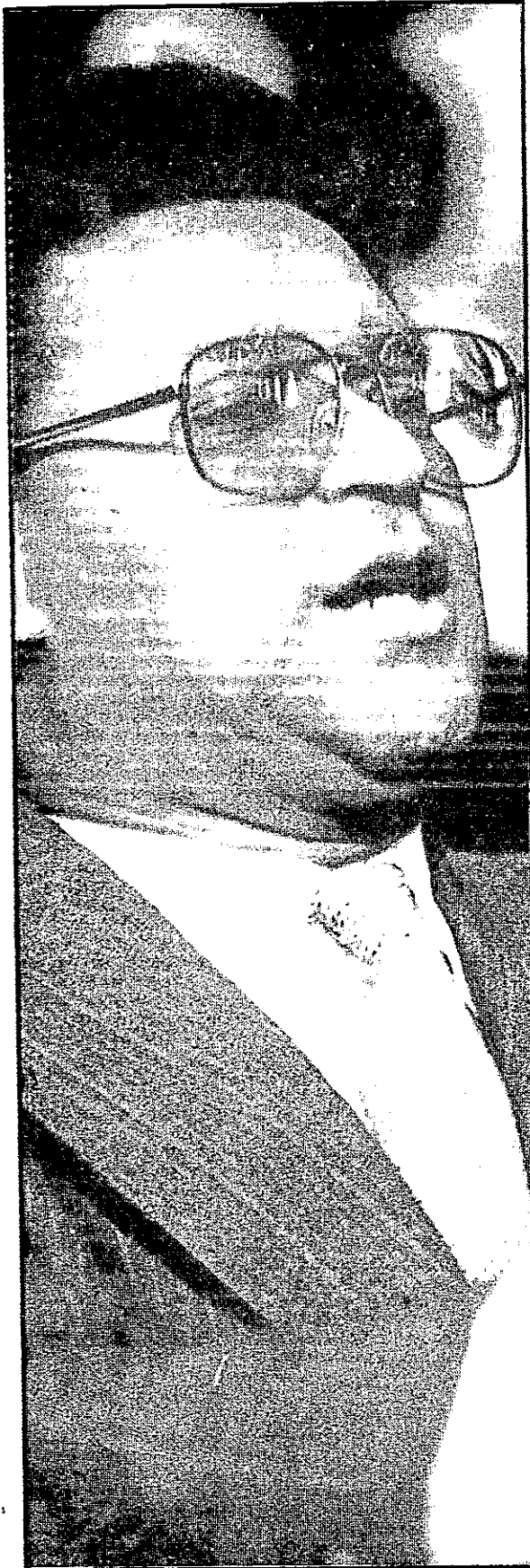
It says they are angered and disgusted by reports that the Government is attempting to block the implementation of the ruling.

"This Government is trying to slip out of adhering to laws which were formulated by this very same Government," it said in a statement yesterday.

"Apart from being audacious, it clearly exposes the so-called reform which the Government is trying to implement.

"The majority of people have a deep-seated suspicion of our rulers.

"The attempts to block migrant workers from getting their rights would only serve to further expose the cunning dishonesty of the Government," the statement said.



DR ALLAN BOESAK ... "We are committed to the struggle for a non-racial, unitary state".

United ^(11A) in politics of ^{ROM} ^{8/6/82} ref

ANTON HARBER

THE Government's constitutional proposals have sparked off the formation of a broad-based national resistance front ... the largest South Africa has seen in at least two decades.

Dozens of opposition organisations — representing workers, students, communities, churches and women from all over the country — have come together in recent weeks under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In Johannesburg, for example, the UDF was launched two weeks ago, when more than 30 organisations voted for a pledge "to fight together side by side against the Government's constitutional and reform proposals".

Similar steps are being taken in Durban and the Eastern and Western Cape.

The most striking feature of the Johannesburg meeting was the wide range of organisations taking part, representing a clear attempt to unite resistance across racial and class barriers.

And coming a mere 18 months after a major Security Police crackdown on many of the leaders and activists of non-racial opposition politics, it is also a clear sign that this opposition group has not only survived but has emerged as strong and growing.

Many of the prominent names in the UDF — such as Mr Ismael Monmoniat and Mr Samson Ndou — were amongst those held by the Security Police in their crackdown in the last few months of 1981.

They were all released at various stages during the last year, and the fact that they remain a force to be reckoned with is shown in the number of opposition organisations that have sprung up in recent months.

In the Transvaal alone, three major bodies have been formed: the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, active largely in coloured areas; and the Anti-Community Council Committee, active largely in Soweto.

The idea of the UDF was

originally floated by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in a passing remark during a National Anti-SAIC conference in February.

"We are all committed to the struggle for a non-racial, open, democratic South Africa, a unitary state in which all the people will have the rights accorded to them by God.

"There is, therefore, no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite on this issue, pool our resources, inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetuated in their name and expose those plans for what they are," Dr Boesak said.

"This is the politics of refusal, and it is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation," he said.

The Anti-SAIC conference formed a committee to investigate the feasibility of this suggestion, and within weeks steps were being taken to form a united front in various parts of the country.

In the Transvaal, the inaugural meeting formed a central council of two representatives of each member organisation.

This council should be meeting soon to elect an executive and a secretariat.

An organisation of such proportions, particularly under a non-racial rather than Black Consciousness banner, has not been seen in this country for many years.

The only comparison is the Congress Alliance, which was led by the ANC and which went into exile in the early Sixties.

But it is not easy to bring such a wide range of people together. The organisation has to accommodate an enormous variety of interests and views.

To accommodate this, the organisers have left the aims of the organisation fairly vague.

The broad principles of

UDF, as stated in a declaration adopted at its inaugural meeting, are:

- An unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations.

- An adherence to the need for unity in struggle, through which all democrats — regardless of race, religion or colour — shall take part.

- A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with and reflect accurately the demands of democratic people wherever they may be.

The constitutional proposals, the declaration said, have been imposed without genuine consultation with the people of the country.

The proposals make race and ethnicity the only criteria for participation in Government and do not begin to redress economic and social inequalities that are the result of centuries of white domination, the declaration said.

Although this wide range of people are united in their opposition to these proposals,

the usual

there are already signs of the strain of such a broad umbrella body.

For example, the member organisations vary enormously in size, but are equally represented on the central council.

This means that large trade unions with 10 000 or more members will have the same say as small community organisations without indefinite membership numbers.

UDF organisers are quick to point out that they are not a political party and are merely a grouping of different organisations.

This means that it will be an association of leadership, and the bulk of members will be organised in separate organisations as workers, students or members of a specific community.

The key to its importance will lie in its ability to mobilise at a grassroots level. This is being done not by the UDF itself, but by its member organisations and since many of these are new, they have not yet tested their ability to mobilise popular support.

If the UDF passes this test, the Government may be in for a tough battle over its constitutional proposals.



UNITED ... at the UDF's inaugural meeting

A SEPARATE bid for unity has been started by the National Forum Committee (NFC), made up largely of Black Consciousness groups and including some United Democratic Front members.

The NFC, according to Mr Ish Mkhabela, of Azapo, is not an organisation but only a committee intended to facilitate joint discussions among black groups.

It is "quite unlike UDF" and is only intended to provide a forum to bring together a broad spectrum of groups and individuals "who are not in Government structures" and to promote their solidarity, according to Mr Mkhabela.

It is to hold its first set of discussions at Hammanskraal this Saturday.

The meeting is intended to help various opposition groups and individuals crystallise their thoughts on issues such as education and resettlement.

It will be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Mr Lybon Mabasa, national president of Azapo.

"To think of organisation along the lines of the UDF would be premature from our point of view," Mr Mkhabela said this week.

"While unity is needed, it should not be improvised, because that could bring more problems rather than enduring unity.

"We would like to think of unity as an on-going pro-

And BC groups make a bid

cess rather than as coming through a two-day seminar. It must be principled and clearly defined. Unity around ad-hoc issues can mean only temporary unity.

"We fully support what UDF is working for and cannot undermine their constituency. We have looked at the possibility of co-operating with them, but we need clarification of what they say and what they believe," Mr Mkhabela said.

Ironically, with two separate organisations attempting to create unity, the oldest split in South African opposition politics — between those who believe the fight should be along non-racial lines and those who believe it must be led by black organisations and individuals — is likely to be reproduced.

But the situation is complicated by the fact that some organisations — such as the Soweto Committee of 10 and the Council of Unions of South Africa — are taking part in both the UDF and the NFC.

Clemency appeals at eleventh hour

UP TILL last night only hours before the expected hanging of the three condemned ANC guerillas, several black and white leaders made last-minute appeals for clemency while condemning the Government's refusal to change its mind on the hanging. 9/6/83 (S) (11P)

The Black Sash sent a telegram to the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, begging for clemency.

The President of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), Archbishop Denis Hurley, released a statement asking for God's mercy to inspire the State President to review his decision.

"When there is a denial of human rights and one side makes rules and the other must conform or suffer the consequences, it is sad to see young people going to the gallows for actions that though in themselves reprehensible, flow from certain stances induced by frustrations, humiliations and desperation.

"Bearing this in mind, on behalf of the SACBC, I earnestly plead with the State President to grant a reprieve to these three ANC men. This is all the more necessary in this tension-filled month of June, when people's minds are filled with bitter and tragic memories of Soweto 1976," the Archbishop said.

After a meeting held in Durban yesterday morning, the Catholic Clergy of the Archdiocese also appealed to the Government to grant a last minute reprieve to the three men.

"This is on the grounds that the execution will exacerbate feelings, intensify conflict and further reduce hope for reconciliation. In the name of Christ, the meeting appeals for mercy," the statement said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the Government would be credited a lot if it were to commute the death sentence.

"We have to point out that in many ways the odds are stacked against blacks in this country. The laws are in the first place not made by us and even without questioning the integrity of court officials who deal with such matters, it has been pointed out that a white man cannot jump out of his skin when try-

ing a black man.

"The value systems he upholds are those of the community from which he comes and for a country like South Africa, it would take a very exceptional situation for a person in that position not to yield to all subtle pressures of his community," he said.

The Save the Six Committee, whose prayer service for the condemned men was banned last Sunday, said the three men should not die because "they are not criminals, they should be treated as combatants in a civil war."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten said: "Even at this late hour, we black South Africans join other people in the world in urging the Government to stop the judicial killing as it serves no purpose whatsoever.

"Life is very precious and should be preserved at all times. This was no ordinary murder. We therefore urge the State President to exercise his powers to commute the death sentence even at this late hour."

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary said the execution was an indictment of a Government based on racial hatred and the interest of the minority.

"Blacks are going to view the death of the three men in the same

light as numerous deaths in detention which are a violation of justice and respect for human life

"Their death is not in vain. This present action should fuel the liberation movement. South Africa has once again shown itself to be insensitive to the call of world communities and this puts into question its relationship with America and Western countries which continue to support it to maintain racial oppression and exploitation."

Meanwhile a night vigil was to have been held at the Dube YWCA last night. At 1pm today Bishop Desmond Tutu will officiate at a lunch hour service to be held at Khotso House, and another prayer service will be held at the Methodist Youth Centre in Central Western Jabavu at 7 o'clock tonight.

11A ~~11A~~ 120M 9/6/83

ANC executions — protests gain a global momentum

Mail Reporters

THE British Government, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Italy's President and Canadian students yesterday joined the growing local and international chorus for clemency for three African National Congress members who are due to be hanged in Pretoria this morning.

The British Foreign Office yesterday wired urgent orders to its embassy in South Africa to plead with the Government for their lives.

It also announced that the hope of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym, that the executions be reconsidered had been made known to the South African Chargé d'Affaires in London.

The three African National Congress members, Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, Jerry Semano Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Thabo Motaung, 27,

were convicted on charges of high treason and are to hang today.

● Italy's President Sandro Pertini yesterday sent a message to President Marais Viljoen asking him to spare the prisoners' lives.

● In a statement in Pretoria yesterday, the President of the SACBC, Archbishop Denis Hurley pleaded with the State President to relieve the three. This was all the more necessary in a tension-filled month when people's minds were full of memories of the June 1976 Soweto riots.

● In a separate statement, the Durban Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church warned that the executions were "inseparable from political context and will exacerbate feelings, intensify conflict and further reduce hope for reconciliation."

● Canadian Students Organisation members serving in Mozambique yesterday sent a telex to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, expressing "our firmest opposition" to the executions.

● A statement issued by the Nusas head office yesterday called for the condemned men to be granted prisoner of war status "following the Geneva convention".

● Professor John Dugard, Director of Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand said yesterday: "In terms of the Geneva Convention of 1977, which South Africa did not sign but in terms of which the ANC has filed a declaration, the ANC is engaged in a war."

"If the South African authorities refuse to treat ANC members as POWs, there is a very real danger that S A Defence Force men abducted by

the ANC will be treated the same way," he said.

● Mr Mike Cowling, a senior lecturer at the University of Natal said "The South African Government is making the same mistake Jan Smith did in Rhodesia. He refused to accord any status to the guerillas so was never able to negotiate with them."

● Today the South African Council of Churches will hold a service for the condemned men. It will take place at Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street at 1pm. Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, will conduct the service.

● Sapa reports that 20 organisations representing the church, community, student bodies and trade unions will meet in Durban today to call for a reprieve.



People mass at a Lesotho border post as a result of the South African customs' "go-slow" after the recent bombings

PRETORIA has made clear its determination to use all the power at its disposal to dissuade neighbouring black-ruled states from offering the African National Congress bases from which its insurgents can launch attacks in South Africa.

The most obvious means of achieving its aim is through military action, as manifested in strikes by South African troops in Matola, Mozambique, in January 1981, and in Maseru, Lesotho, in December 1982, and, of course, the raid by Impala jets on Maputo last month.

The alternative method is to use the vast economic leverage enjoyed by South Africa over its neighbours, as evidenced by the decision to reduce border traffic to and from Lesotho to a mere trickle in the wake of the Pretoria and Bloemfontein terror blasts.

The economic power which Pretoria can mobilise against its neighbours is formidable. Use of it may be more coercive than a military response which stops short of outright occupation.

It is perhaps significant that the drastic slow-down in traffic across the SA-Lesotho border late last month brought the Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr E R Sekhonyana, scurrying to Johannesburg for face-to-face talks with the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, whereas the Maseru raid last December provoked defiant rhetoric from Lesotho.

The prospect of Pretoria increasingly using its economic muscle to achieve political ends makes it pertinent to delineate the extent to which neighbouring states are dependent on South Africa.

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SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION: The Customs Union was initially established in 1910 between South Africa and the then British Protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. It was re-negotiated in 1969 between South Africa and the independent BLS states.

The BLS states are entitled to a share of the revenue obtained by South Africa from tariffs imposed on goods brought into the territory covered by the agreement.

Their share of the revenue is calculated by means of a formula agreed on by the partners.

As the dominant partner South Africa occupies a pivotal position and it can use its power to delay payment to one or more of the BLS countries.

Delay can have devastating consequences, particularly for Lesotho whose government derives nearly two-thirds of its revenue from its share of the customs pool.

LABOUR: South Africa has traditionally employed labourers from neighbouring states, particularly Lesotho. In 1981 more than 300 000 foreign blacks were employed in South Africa, many of them as contract workers on the mines.

The importance of the South African labour market to neighbouring states is two-fold.

It helps reduce unemployment in the home territory and provides a vital source of revenue to nationals of that state and their dependents.

In his speech to the United Nations

How SA can get tough

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

immediately after the Maseru raid, the then South African ambassador to the UN, Mr David Steward, said: "Most recent figures reveal that 141 000 Basotho are employed in South Africa, of which 110 000 work in the mining industry... The remittance of their wages makes up more than 40% of the Lesotho's gross national product."

The dependence of Lesotho's fellow neighbouring states on South Africa is less marked: South Africa provides work to nearly 30 000 Botswana nationals, 13 500 Swazi nationals and some 59 500 Mozambique nationals.

Theo Malan, senior research officer at the Africa Institute, estimates that about R315-million was remitted in 1981 by migrant workers in South Africa to neighbouring states.

TRADE: South Africa is the dominant trading power in the sub-continent and all of its neighbours are dependent to a greater or lesser degree on it.

The BLS countries obtain more than 90% of their imports from South Africa, much of it food, on which their survival depends in the most fundamental sense.

South Africa serves as a market for goods from Botswana and Swaziland. Only a minute quantity of Lesotho products are sold in South Africa. Her main export commodity is her labour force.

South Africa is Zimbabwe's main trading partner, supplying more than a quarter of its imports and buying more than a quarter of its exports.

South Africa is also important to Malawi and Zambia as a trading partner, being the single biggest supplier of goods to Malawi and the second biggest source of imports to Zambia (with whom trade leapt by 150% in 1980 after President Kaunda re-opened Zambia's border to Zimbabwe and hence to South Africa).

Rampant inflation and rising transport costs push black-ruled countries toward increasing trade with South Africa.

Its geographical proximity and its efficient railway service means it can deliver goods at lower cost and higher speed than its competitors either on the sub-continent or further afield.

TRANSPORT: South Africa, which possesses 75% of the Southern Africa's railways, a large proportion of its main highways and its most efficient ports, dominates the transport complex.

It is along South African-controlled railways and roads and through South African ports that a large share of imports and exports to and from the black-ruled states move.

Of the neighbouring countries only Zimbabwe has succeeded in reducing

dependence on South Africa's transport network to a marked degree. In 1980 South African ports handled nearly 90% of Zimbabwe's trade, but by March 1982 the proportion had fallen to 60% and it could drop to 30% if plans to improve and upgrade Mozambique ports are successful.

Zimbabwe's fellow black states, however, remain heavily dependent on South Africa's transport network and ports to handle their exports and imports.

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IT IS true, of course, that the relationship between South Africa and its neighbours is one of inter-dependence and that South Africa would itself suffer in any sustained campaign of applying economic pressure to force its neighbours to close its doors to the ANC.

But South Africa, as the paramount economic power in Southern Africa, is far better equipped to absorb the damage.

Though South Africa appears to have all the trump cards, it cannot be sure of total victory in the use of economic power in the game of *machtropolitik* unfolding in the sub-continent.

Apart from moves by neighbouring states to lessen their dependence on South Africa through the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, there is always the risk of policies not achieving the intended result.

South Africa, it may be remembered, helped the Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, come to power by making maize available to him to distribute in Lesotho and by giving his party officials access to Basotho workers on South African mines.

But, in the end, Chief Jonathan did not grow into a pliable moderate. Instead he became a hostile and vociferous opponent of South African race policies.

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, it will be recalled, closed Rhodesia's border with Zambia in the firm belief that it would bring President Kaunda to his knees and cause him to expel Zimbabwean insurgents from Zambia.

It is a matter of history that Mr Smith miscalculated and that when he re-opened his side of the border Zambia failed to reciprocate — and continued to offer sanctuary to Zimbabwean fighters.

As Professor Deon Geldenhuys, of Rand Afrikaans University, has noted of attempts to pressurise neighbouring states into particular stances: "The target state's government might become even more hostile, or intransigent under South African pressure. It might, in other words, react 'irrationally' — a by no means unknown phenomenon in international politics."

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11th hour calls for clemency

DURBAN — In an 11th-hour attempt to save three young men from the gallows, more than 500 people from 20 community church, student and trade union organisations held a meeting at St Anthony's Church here last night.

Speakers at the meeting, calling for the death sentences on Mr Simon Mogerane, Mr Jerry Mosololi and Mr Marcus Motuang, to be commuted, included Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front, and Mr Jerry Coovadia, chairman of the Natal Indian Congress.

The 20 organisations, which formed the Joint Committee for Clemency, also sent a telegram to the State President asking for the death sentences on what are known as the "ANC three" to be commuted.

Archbishop Phillip Russell, head of the Church of the Province, and a deputation of church leaders added their appeal to the State President to commute the death sentences.

The Joint Committee for Clemency said in the telegram that many South Africans regarded the ANC three as prisoners of war who should be treated as such.

"Their deaths will only serve to increase the bitterness and frustration prevalent in our land. While there is time we urge you to stop this senseless killing — for the sake of our country's future."

In the Cape, an all-night vigil to plead for clemency for the three men was held at St Marks Church, Church Street, Athlone.

Organised by the Azanian Students Organisation, the vigil was observed by a "broad range of organisations," a spokesman said.

"We recognise that the three young men facing execution have been motivated by the highest ideals for a free and democratic South Africa. No matter how the government identifies them as 'terrorists,' many people in this country view them as

products of a violent and unjust system," a statement said.

In Johannesburg a newly-formed organisation, the United Democratic Front, said the planned execution of three ANC members would only embitter the majority of South Africans and would heighten the conflict in the country.

A spokesman said the 1979 hanging of another ANC insurgent, Mr Solomon Mahlangu, had shown that this did not deter those involved in armed activity against the state.

The front called on the State President to commute the death sentences.

The organisation has as its members over 30 opposition bodies, including the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Soweto Civic Association and the South African Council of Churches.

"In the eyes of the oppressed these men were prepared to sacrifice everything to fight for their freedom. The execution of these men will in no way solve the problems faced by this government," its statement said. "On the contrary, it can only serve to heighten the conflict. The oppressed masses do not regard the three men as enemies of the people but rather as enemies of an unjust government.

"While the hanging of these men will appease the white community, it would only embitter the majority of people."

In their last public statement during their trial, the three ANC men said they considered themselves to be "soldiers, fighting for the freedom of our people."

They also argued that they had not themselves pulled the triggers that led to the four deaths during their attack on the Wonderboom Police Station.

While giving evidence in mitigation of sentence all three gave detailed accounts of their upbringing in South Africa, their experiences during the uprising of 1976

and their reasons for leaving the country for military training.

They referred to the poor quality of the education they had received, the pass laws and unequal living facilities as the reasons for joining the ANC.

Mr Mogoerane said his experience in the 1976 uprising had the effect of "reinforcing the hatred I already had for the government. I could not develop an attitude of liking these people. Nobody wants to suffer. I hate the things that are happening.

"We decided it was pointless taking papers and making placards, because one would be shot whilst doing so. I decided to go out of this country to go and get myself a gun to fight these people," he said.

Mr Mosololi said many of his friends were shot during 1976. "I decided that we had tried to talk to the government and to bring to its attention how we viewed Bantu Education. But because of the police action against us, I decided that the government was not prepared to talk to us. We then decided to leave the country."

Mr Motaung said he had become interested in joining the ANC because of pass raids, the poverty of his people and the poor education he received.

He believed all this was caused by racial discrimination and had begun to find out if there had ever been an attempt to rectify it. When he learnt about the history of the ANC, he wanted to join it.

The events of 1976 hardened him, he said, and made him decide he "just had to fight for the liberation of the black person." The imminent executions also attracted attention in Washington.

Reacting to the State President's denial of clemency for the three ANC men, the US State Department said: "We do not believe that further deaths will contribute to a resolution of the problems of Southern Africa." — DDC.

Heavy guard at Pretoria jail

ANC 3 die as last-minute appeals fail

Star 9/6/83

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The three ANC terrorists who failed in their Supreme Court bid last night for a stay of execution were hanged this morning in Pretoria's Central Prison after international appeals for clemency had been rejected by the Government.

The three men, Simon Mogerane (23), Jerry Mosololi (25), and Marcus Motaung (27), were convicted of murder and high treason after a series of attacks on police stations between 1979 and 1981 in which four policemen were killed.

As dawn broke over the prison, the men were led to the gallows from the cells they had occupied since they were condemned in the Pretoria Supreme Court on August 6 last year.

At 5 am church bells tolled throughout Soweto in sympathy.

About 100 policemen in camouflage uniform stood guard outside the Pretoria prison, armed with 9-mm hand carbines, and kept a group of newsmen and photographers 100 m away from the walls. Passers-by were stopped and questioned on what they were doing.

Church Square, including the Palace of Justice where last night's bid to stay the execution failed, was sealed off by a tight security cordon.

About 12 police vehicles containing dogs were

posted around Potgieter Street near the prison. Traffic officers diverted all traffic headed for Church Square.

Photographs of the hanged men and notices confirming their execution were expected to be posted at the Pretoria Magistrate's Court later today.

The divisional inspector of police in the Northern Transvaal, Brigadier Albie Fourie, confirmed today that Mr Justice Dave Curlewis and the Acting Judge President, Mr Justice Jaap de Villiers, were under police protection.

Mr Justice Curlewis sentenced the three men to death and refused the stay of execution last night.

Mr Justice de Villiers condemned another three ANC terrorists responsible for the attack on Soekmekaar police station. Their sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

A spokesman for the Prisons Department refused to release details of today's hangings. He said only officials directly involved had witnessed the event.

Neither would he disclose details of the burials. At the discretion of the Commissioner of Prisons, bodies of executed prisoners were either privately buried or buried by the local prison authority. "But the families' needs are taken into account."

It is understood that legal representatives of the three men were negotiating for release of the bodies in accordance with the parents' wishes.

The men were executed despite appeals for clemency from the UN Security Council, the 10-nation European Economic Community, Amnesty International, the Christian Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and 20 other South African organisations.

There were no early reports of trouble in Pretoria, but it is believed the police riot squad is on standby.

● In Lusaka, a statement from the ANC's headquarters today strongly condemned the hangings as the "cold-blooded murder of prisoners of war". The statement thanked the international community for its "extensive protests".

Ambassador in heated debate over executions



Mr Fourie

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The impending execution of the three condemned ANC members was hotly debated in a live radio programme last night when South Africa's Ambassador to the United States, Mr Brand Fourie, answered questions telephoned in by members of the public.

South Africa's policies came under hostile attack by most participants, some of whom had earlier taken part in a demonstration outside the White House

debate over executions



Mr Fourie

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The impending execution of the three condemned ANC members was hotly debated in a live radio programme last night when South Africa's Ambassador to the United States, Mr Brand Fourie, answered questions telephoned in by members of the public.

South Africa's policies came under hostile attack by most participants, some of whom had earlier taken part in a demonstration outside the White House against the death sentences.

At one stage Mr Fourie said that the recent car bomb attack in Pretoria indicated the part that Communist-oriented people overseas were playing in directing such attacks.

The ANC, which had no bases inside the country, was able to carry out such attacks only because it had bases in neighbouring states, he said.

At another stage Mr Fourie, in a discussion with a listener about moves in Congress to restrict trade with South Africa, said that if the United States were to embark on trade restrictions it would be "a sad and disastrous route to follow".

In a world where so many countries were today ready to threaten each other with embargoes "the only salvation for the free world is through an honest, free trade", he added.

One caller said it was "insulting that this man" (Mr Fourie) should be allowed to put out "propaganda" on the radio only a few hours before the ANC men were to be executed.

The compere, Mr Fred Fisk, a black man, hotly defended the ambassador's right to speak and the value of such exchanges in promoting understanding.

During the demonstration outside the White House, in which about 60 people paraded peacefully with placards, the public were told through a megaphone that the South African Ambassador would be appearing on the radio show and were urged to phone in with hostile questions.

Mr Fourie came to the radio debate well prepared. He was able to read out part of the judgment of the court that condemned the ANC men to death to rebut an argument advanced by a caller who had quoted at length from the court record.

The caller was Miss Gay McDougall, director of the Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which organised the demonstration outside the White House.

and 20 other South African organisations.
There were no early reports of trouble in Pretoria, but it is believed the police riot squad is on standby.

● In Lusaka, a statement from the ANC's headquarters today strongly condemned the hangings as the "cold-blooded murder of prisoners of war". The statement thanked the international community for its "extensive protests".

Appeal to save ANC men fails

CAPC Times 9/6/83

11A

Political Staff
A LAST-MINUTE appeal to save three condemned members of the African National Congress from the gallows failed last night and they are due to be hanged this morning.

Lawyers for the three men lodged an urgent application for a temporary stay of execution with Mr Justice Curlewis in his chambers at the Pretoria Supreme Court last night, but the application was turned down. This comes after the government yesterday took a final decision on the fate of the ANC men following a rare demonstration from the 10 governments of the European Economic Community appealing for clemency.

This was announced yesterday by a spokesman for the Executive Council — the State Council with certain Cabinet ministers. The three are: Thelle Simon Moegerane, 23, Jerry Semano Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Thabo Motung, 27.

Asked whether the government had considered the 11th-hour plea from the 10 nations, the spokesman said: "Reference and similar content have already been considered."

11th-hour plea

Asked whether the government had considered the 11th-hour plea from the 10 nations, the spokesman said: "Reference and similar content have already been considered."

All-night vigil

Star Reporter

ABOUT 150 attended an all-night vigil in St Mark's Church in St Athlone, last night to show solidarity with the three ANC terrorists condemned to hang this morning.

The meeting was organised by the Azanian Students Organisation, who said the meeting would end with a candlelight procession to a nearby church where a service would be held until dawn.

'High spirits'

"I saw them this morning and they are strong and in high spirits," he said.

The three were visited in the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday by their families and lawyers, who persuaded them to reverse an earlier decision not to try for a late application. "It was also decided to bring the application in the light of recent developments."

Police search

Last night, dozens of police in camouflage uniforms surrounded the Supreme Court in Pretoria as Mr Jack Unterhaller, SC, argued for a stay of execution only a few kilometres from where the men waited in their cells to hear of their fate.

The police scoured Church Square and searched neighbouring buildings and parked cars.

After about 45 minutes, the grim-faced lawyers emerged to say the application had been refused.

"We have done all we can. They will hang them in the morning," Mr Unterhaller said.

Mr Krish Naidoo, one of the instructing attorneys, said he doubted the result would change the attitudes of the men.

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velopments and international pressure," Mr Naidoo said.

The application was made on the grounds that one of the men, Motaung, has still to testify in two matters.

He has a R10 000 civil action pending against the Minister of Law and Order and a complaint against a District Surgeon due to come up before the SA Medical and Dental Council.

Motaung has charged that a South African Security Policeman wrongfully and intentionally shot him while arresting him in Bophuthatswana in May 1982.

Since it is the policy of the Prisons Service to execute men together when they were sentenced together, it is probable that a stay of execution would have been extended to the other two.

The civil action will automatically fall away after the execution, according to the lawyers.

A spokesman for the SA Medical and Dental Council said, however, that the complaint before them would go ahead if Motaung was executed, since it was unlikely he would be needed to testify.

The three have been on Death Row since August 1982 when Mr Justice Curlewis sentenced them for high treason for their parts in attacks on the Moroka, Orlando and Wonderboom police stations and sabotage on the

Capital Park power stations and the New Canada railway line.

Four people died as a result of these incidents.

Mr Justice Curlewis found the three men guilty of high treason, murder (four counts), attempted murder (10 counts), robbery with aggravating circumstances and contravention of the Terrorism Act (five counts).

Last-minute protests against the decision to hang the condemned ANC men also came from the United Nations Security Council, United States congressmen and senators and British MPs.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday the European Community's decision to make a further bid for clemency was in line with the European convention condemning capital punishment and in recognition of the fact that blacks in South Africa had no constitutional channels through which to express their political grievances.

The Seychelles Government has also held out a carrot that it would "probably" free

six mercenaries involved in the abortive coup in 1981 in return for the lives of the ANC trio.

Three other condemned ANC members were reprieved earlier this week when the Executive Council decided to commute their death sentences to life sentences after representations from various organizations and governments.

Three other ANC members, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, also sentenced to death for high treason, had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment on Monday.

The National Union of South African Students (Nusas) has added its voice to the calls for clemency.

The State's decision to execute the three would contribute nothing towards a solution of the political problems confronting South Africa and would only serve "to fuel the anger and despair felt by millions of South Africans and to perpetuate the cycle of violence", the Nusas statement said.

SA troops can expect 'the same'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — If South Africa continues to hang ANC terrorists, it can expect the same treatment for captured SA soldiers, according to specialists in international law.

Professor John Dugard, director of legal studies at the University of Witwatersrand said: "In terms of the Geneva Convention of 1977, which South Africa did not sign but in terms of which the ANC has filed a declaration, the ANC is engaged in a war. If the South African authorities refuse to treat ANC members as POWs, there is a very real danger that SADF men abducted by the ANC will be treated the same way."

Mr Mike Cowling, a senior lecturer at the University of Natal who is writing a PhD thesis on the question of international legal regulations with specific reference to South Africa, said the cornerstone of international regulations for warfare was that participants be made prisoners of war. Full-scale warfare

across international boundaries was governed by the Geneva Convention of 1949. On the other hand provision was made in the Geneva convention for armed conflict not of international character and since 1949 there had been a number of conflict situations within this category.

"If we are hanging ANC members what kind of stand are they going to take in respect of captives from our forces?"

Mr Cowling said in terms of South African law, ANC members were classified as terrorists whereas the ANC was a liberation movement in terms of international law.

"The South African Government cannot afford to be seen to treat these people as criminals. Not only from a humane point of view but from a politically pragmatic aspect.

"It is making the same mistake Ian Smith did in Rhodesia. He refused to accord any status to the guerillas so was never able to negotiate with them.

Martyrs

"If you hang these men there can be no amnesty and you create martyrs."

Mr Cowling said there had recently been a few cases where the courts had not imposed maximum sentences but they were the exception rather than the rule.

Mr Nico Steytler, a senior lecturer in criminal law said the government's decision must have been a "totally political one".

Scenes of anger greet news of hangings

NATION

Sowetan 10/6/83

WEEPS

NOT long after the shock of the hanging of the three ANC men had sunk home in the minds of the people, the country exploded in scenes of anger, some violence and deep mourning.

A police vehicle was set alight when about 700 students of the University of Zululand took to the streets in protest against the hangings.

Twenty-three people were arrested and police used batons to disperse about 400 students and workers who marched through the streets of Durban waving banners of the outlawed ANC yesterday.

At Fort Hare University near Alice, about 400 students overturned a vehicle and stoned others. The angry mob also broke a few windows on the campus before they were dispersed by police called by university authorities.

By SAM MABE

Meanwhile the Supreme Court judges who refused the three ANC men a stay of execution on Wednesday night, Mr Justice D J Curlewis, and the acting Judge President Mr Justice J P O de Villiers, are reported to have been placed under police protection yesterday.

During the executions which took place at 7am, Pretoria's Central Prison was heavily guarded by dozens of policemen in camouflage uniforms and Pretoria's Church Square, opposite which the Palace of Justice is situated, was cordoned off by police.

All the demonstrations followed night vigils which were held in various parts of the country from Wednesday evening. At about 5am yesterday, church bells tolled throughout Soweto and a number of youths stood in silence while holding their clenched fists in the air in a salute to the hanged

trio.

This was after an emotional and anxiety-filled vigil held at the Dube YWCA where mourners chanted songs and delivered speeches praising the heroism of the three men and condemning the Government's decision to execute them.

The black, green and gold national flag used by the outlawed ANC was displayed in the hall and speeches were punctuated with shouts of "Amandla" and "iAfrika izwelethu".

The mourners also danced inside the hall while chanting freedom songs praising the leadership of the ANC's acting president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

The hanging of the three men was the talk of Soweto and other black townships throughout the country. The ANC's Lusaka headquarters yesterday strongly condemned the hanging of its members and also conveyed condolences to the families of the

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**Meeting
banned**

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R1 800 Soccerpot**

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tips**

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ANC men executed 11A 24A

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three men.

A Prisons Department spokesman declined to say whether the three ANC men had gone defiantly or quietly to the gallows, but their attorney said they were in good spirits.

He believed that the men had resigned themselves to the fact that they were going to die.

Also in London on Wednesday, a 24-hour

vigil was held outside the South African Embassy and a letter signed by more than 100 people urged the United Kingdom's Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to request the South African Government to call off the hangings.

During the vigil nine people, including Amandla and Stephen Kitson, whose father is in jail in South Africa for sabotage, were arrested by London police.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement called on the British Government to withdraw the British ambassador to South Africa and urged the British Government to undertake a review of British policy towards South Africa.

Demonstrations are also believed to have been held at Glasgow,

Manchester and Newcastle.

Meanwhile, various newspapers reported incorrectly yesterday that the Executive Council decided finally on Wednesday that the execution of the three condemned ANC men should go ahead as scheduled, according to the secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister.

In a Press statement yesterday, Dr J P Roux, secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister, said the Executive Council had not taken a final decision on the fate of the three men on Wednesday. A statement said that "a final decision has been taken" referred to a decision already taken by the council on a previous occasion.

Unions warned by Le Grange

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned last night of tough action to combat the increasing politicization of certain areas of the trade union movement.

Speaking at an Iscor function in Vanderbijlpark, the minister also warned of the machinations of the ANC/SA Congress of Trade Union Alliance.

What, he asked, should the police do when confronted by the real danger of subversion, infiltration and manipulation of, in some cases, yet unsophisticated trade unions.

Urgent attention was

being given to the danger.

The aim was clear — to seriously disturb the economy through unrest to an extent that it collapsed, and that the government would be forced to its knees.

The ANC/SACTU aimed to alert the total work force as an important component, and unfortunately some people and organizations, however well-meaning, played directly into the hands of the alliance.

The minister referred to the outcry over the "so-called" detention and harassment of trade union members, while the fact that the detentions and interrogations without exception had

to do with the country's security was lost sight of.

The trade unions were being seized on by the communist-orientated ANC as an instrument of incitement.

Significant was that local trade unions and trade union umbrella organizations were similarly busy with unity initiatives, and it could only be hoped they would be alert to a possible ANC/SACTU combination, and the serious danger of revolutionary manipulation.

One of the primary cornerstones of ANC/SACTU propaganda was the mobilization of the work force in South Africa against the existing order.

There were already examples of certain overseas organizations and trade unions making common cause with the ANC and SACTU.

The International Labour Organization was one of these, and its support of the ANC/SACTU was well-known.

The government was aware, however, of the scheming behind the scenes.

Meeting
E. Port
on bus
fares/83 (11A)

A DECISION on whether anything should be done about the proposed busfare increases proposed by the Port Elizabeth Tramways will be taken at a meeting organised by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) on Sunday.

The meeting to discuss the increases will be held at the Roman Catholic Hall, Seyisi, Kwazakele at 2pm.

Mr Vuyisile Oliphant, secretary of Pebco, said it was decided at a recent report-back meeting on discussions his organisation and trade unions had with the managing director of PE Tramways, Mr Carl Coetzer, that the matter be discussed on Sunday.

The proposed black "city councils" would also be discussed.

Hangings described as 'vicious'

Tutu slams executions

THE GENERAL secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Bishop Desmond Tutu, was yesterday applauded when he told an audience of about 800 people that he was committed to freedom and justice in South Africa at any cost.

The bishop was speaking at a prayer service held for the three ANC guerrillas who were hanged at the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday for their role in attacks on various police stations in which about four policemen were killed.

He described the hangings as a vicious penalty which may soon suffer from the law of diminishing returns. He said there was a time when in England people could be hanged for stealing a sixpence.

This, he said, made them even more desperate and they decided to commit more serious offences to make their hanging more worthwhile.

"Those who have opted for armed struggle, whom blacks regard as freedom fighters, and those who are prepared to make the supreme sacrifice, will say 'we must perpetrate the worst possible damage because we are going to hang in any case?'"

"The problems of our country cannot be solved by violence. Why don't the authorities hear us when we say they should go to the conference table

By SAM MABE

before we reach a point of no return when the bloodbath becomes inevitable," Bishop Tutu said.

In his speech, which was punctuated with shouts of "Long live the Freedom Charter", and "iAfrika izwelethu", Bishop Tutu said most whites believed that violence was something introduced into South Africa from outside.

"What blacks will tell you is that the real violence in South Africa comes from the legalised institutions. Apartheid is a daily total onslaught against blacks.

"It is a total onslaught against black children in the form of a deliberate, inferior travesty of education called Bantu Education to prepare blacks for perpetual serfdom.

"It is a total onslaught in the form of the migratory labour system which condemns men to an unnatural existence in single sex hostels — an onslaught deliberately armed at destroying black family life.

"So many of our people have said:

"What must we do to reclaim our lost birthright?' These have opted for armed struggle. We support them in their aim for a democratic South Africa. We do not support their methods," he said.



Ban slapped on pro-ANC meeting in Soweto

23 held after protest march

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Mail Correspondent

DURBAN.

CHARGES under the Internal Security Act are being drawn up by police against 23 people arrested in Durban while protesting against the hanging of the three members of the African National Congress yesterday.

The people were arrested when police stopped a protest march of about

200 students and workers which began at St Anthony's Catholic Church in Centenary Road, where about 200 people held an all-night vigil on Wednesday for the three men.

Meanwhile the Government yesterday clarified the circumstances surrounding the Executive Council decision not to reprieve the three ANC members, **ROB NUTTALL** reports from Cape Town.

In a statement Dr J P Roux, Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister, said newspaper reports which said the Executive Council had met on Wednesday to take a final decision on the fate of the men, were incorrect.

Police last night prevented a political meeting by the Save the Six committee in the Methodist Youth Centre in central Western Jabavu, Soweto, half an hour after the meeting was supposed to have started.

The decision by the Executive Council had already been taken on a previous occasion, the statement said.

"The Executive Council consists of the State President and a number of Cabinet Ministers involved or interested in a particular matter and not the State President and the whole Cabinet," said Dr Roux.

"There was no special meeting of the Cabinet on Wednesday to discuss the matter as this kind of decision rests solely with the Executive Council."

In the Durban protest march police also confiscated banners made up of the colours of the banned ANC when they stopped the procession in Sydney Road and ordered the marchers, who were singing and chanting, to disperse.

The arrested people, mostly Indians including some women, were taken to C R Swart Square police headquarters and were later released.

Brigadier Theo Scherman, Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, said yesterday charges under the Internal Security Act were being formulated.

Mr Paddy Kearney, director of Diakonia, said yesterday the protest marchers had obeyed a police order to stop singing but the police had then attacked and arrested about 15 students.

And in the Ciskei police were called out to Fort Hare University when a crowd of students gathered on the campus late on Wednesday night.

A police spokesman at Alice said about 700 students were creating a disturbance and singing freedom songs.

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21 held in protest against hangings

ALICE — Twenty-one students were detained at the University of Fort Hare in the early hours of yesterday morning after a demonstration against the hanging of three members of the African National Congress.

This was confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief of State Security in Ciskei, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe.

Students said there was a "total boycott of classes" yesterday in protest against the hanging of Mr Thelle Simon Mogerane, Mr Jerry Semano Mosoloi and Mr Marcus Thabo Motaung.

And later yesterday, representatives from the University's Athletics Union and its Central Cultural Committee said they met with the rector, Professor J. Lamprecht, to discuss the detention of their colleagues.

Prof Lamprecht was not available for comment last night.

Students spoken to yesterday said the detained students had been taken from their hostel rooms about half-an-hour after the demonstration at the university entrance, in which one car was overturned and the campus security office was stoned.

They said 2 000 students were involved in the demonstration. This was disputed yesterday by the university's public relations officer, Mr N. Holliday, who said 400 students had been involved.

In a statement, Mr Holliday said the "mob" of students had "broken a few windows" after overturning the car and "stoned several others".

Mr Holliday also said he was "unaware" of a boycott of classes.

"As far as I know things are normal," he said.

Lecturers spoken to said they had not given any classes yesterday.

Students said male students had marched to the security gate in the early hours of the morning and were confronted by a group of security guards.

Students said stones had been thrown at the campus security officers, who had then fled. The male students marched to the women's hostels, from where they moved back to the security gate.

Police arrived soon afterwards, they said, and the group dispersed. About half an hour later, police visited the hostels and detained 21 students.

General Sebe said last night that Ciskei's attorney-general would receive information on the detentions today and make a decision "soon" on whether to prosecute.

In Umtata a memorial service was held at the University of Transkei last night for the three executed African National Congress men.

A message condemning the execution on behalf of the SRC was read at the well-attended meeting.

Charges under the Internal Security Act are being drawn up by police against 23 people arrested in Durban yesterday after police stopped a march of about 200 students and workers protesting against the hanging of the three ANC terrorists.

In another protest demonstration at the University of Zululand at Ngoye on Wednesday night about 700 students went on the rampage and caused about R50 000 damage on the campus.

They set a police vehicle alight, broke into the campus tuckshop and shattered numerous windows with stones. No one was injured and no arrests were made.

In the Durban protest march police also confiscated banner slogans made up of the colours of the banned ANC when they stopped the procession and ordered the marchers, who were singing and chanting slogans, to disperse.

The arrested people were taken to C. R. Swart Square police headquarters and were later released after being questioned.

In London, nine people appeared before Bow Street magistrates following the 24-hour demonstration outside the South African Embassy on Wednesday night.

Steve and Amandla Kitson, whose father David is serving a 20-year sentence for treason in Pretoria Central Prison, were among the group charged with obstructing police and using threatening behaviour. Their cases were postponed to June 30.

Anti-apartheid activists gathered in several European capitals yesterday to pay tribute to the three dead men. There was a memorial service at a church near the South African Embassy.

The British Government, one of many which appealed to South African authorities to grant clemency, had no further comment yesterday.

The Dutch Government condemned the hangings, and in a statement from The Hague said:

"We deeply regret that these executions were carried out and we fear that they will escalate the chain of violence in South Africa." Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Bert Wildenburg said. — DDR-DDC.



The main security gate at students in the early hours broken at the car

CAPT. TINKS 10/6/83

(11A) ~~283~~

Song vigil in prison

Own Correspondent

PRISONERS at Pretoria Central Prison sing throughout the night before a hanging, to give support to those who are about to die.

The singing starts when the condemned prisoners eat their last meal — a special supper prepared by the Prisons Service.

It goes on through the night and reaches a climax when they are taken out of their cells at dawn.

Few details of the ritual of a hanging are known to anyone but those who have witnessed it. The Prisons Service will not give many details, saying they have to respect the prisoners' last mo-

ments.

They will only say that "food-stuffs additional to the normal meals are provided at the State's expense".

If the prisoner wishes, he may ask the district surgeon to prescribe a sedative for him.

Probably the only people present at the execution are a district surgeon, a priest and a couple of prison officials.

It is believed that the rope is used only once and a new one supplied for each person hanged, but the Prisons Service would not comment on this.

The family has to wait outside the prison until the district sur-

geon pronounces the prisoner dead and officials post at the gate a notice of the execution.

The Commissioner of Prisons then decides whether his department will bury the body at the place of execution or release it to the family for burial.

Poet Breyten Breytenbach, recently released from Pretoria Central Prison, created a controversy about the last meal.

White prisoners were given a whole chicken, black prisoners only half a chicken, he wrote recently. The Prisons Service denied there was any difference between the last meals of black and white prisoners.

Focus on black unity

SINCE the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC) took root in South Africa in the days of Steve Biko in the late 60s, the differences between those who supported and those who opposed it were treated subtly and were seldom — if ever — debated on public platforms.

This situation changed after the mass bannings of black organisations in 1977 when for some time, there seemed to be a political stagnation as there was no vehicle through which blacks could articulate their grievances.

Up till then, BC was overtly the dominant force in many spheres of political life among blacks and the Black People's Convention (BPC) was the mother body of all organisations subscribing to BC.

When a number of organisations were formed late thereafter, the emergence of ideological hostilities came to the fore, although at the time they were not obvious because they were not debated publicly.

An organisation like the Azanian Students

Organisation (Azaso) for instance, subscribed to BC at its formation. Its clashes with Azapo, started when it branched the Freedom Charter as the document around which all proponents of democracy should rally.

Azapo is strongly opposed to the Freedom Charter's pre-amble.

This was when Azaso changed its course and started pursuing a different line which has come to be known as the Progressive Democrat's line.

The same attitude was adopted by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

This heralded what appeared to be a mere difference of ideological thinking, but later developed to mud-slinging and sometimes personal villifications at public platforms by members of the two factions.

Of late, even services to commemorate national occasions like Heroes' Day, June 16 and the October 19 bannings, are organised along ideological lines.

The tendency has been for the first faction to release a Press



The unity talks to be held by various black activist organisations at Hammanskraal at the weekend should be seen as a significant step that could alter the course of events in the future of black politics in South Africa.

The talks come at a time when clashes among some of the groups supporting opposing philosophies and strategies in the liberation struggle are gaining momentum and heading for a stage where they could assume uncontrollable and regrettable proportions. Political reporter SAM MABE reports.

statement or to book a venue for the holding of whichever of the services, to assume an upper hand during that service and to exclude speakers from the opposing group from the day's programme.

One of the groups has gone as far as barring the singing of certain freedom songs at services it has organised if the songs are associated with events or personalities related to the ideology of the opposing group.

The clashes have also involved other organisations and leaders who have been criticised for their so-called pacifist or irrelevant strategies.

The disunity among blacks has also been bedevilled by the exis-

tence of Government-created institutions like bantustans and community councils whose leadership has been another thorny issue in the squabbles among blacks.

At a secret meeting held in Soweto about two years ago, the differences of the various groups were thrashed out and it was agreed that without necessarily forsaking their ideologies, the groups could work together in the interest of the common goal they pursued.

One speaker said that by highlighting their differences more than what they had in common, the groups would succeed only in creating disunity among blacks.

"This has the obvious

effect of twisting the minds of the people to leave them with a strong belief that we are indeed not one nation," said one speaker.

Another speaker said that while an ideology was important in shaping the policy of any liberation organisation, especially in a country like South Africa, differences of ideology should not be over-emphasised as they diverted attention from the real enemy of the people, which is apartheid.

"This has actually introduced a completely different item on the agenda of the struggle. We are busy confusing the masses who hardly understand what these debates are all about.

"That is why some of

the meetings seldom draw more than a handful of people," the speaker said.

The differences among the groups have even developed to a stage where blows have been traded in an attempt to win supremacy by one faction over another.

And there is growing fear that as it happened — although to a very small degree — last year and the year before, the clashes might erupt into further and more serious exchanges of blows at the forthcoming June 16 commemoration ser-

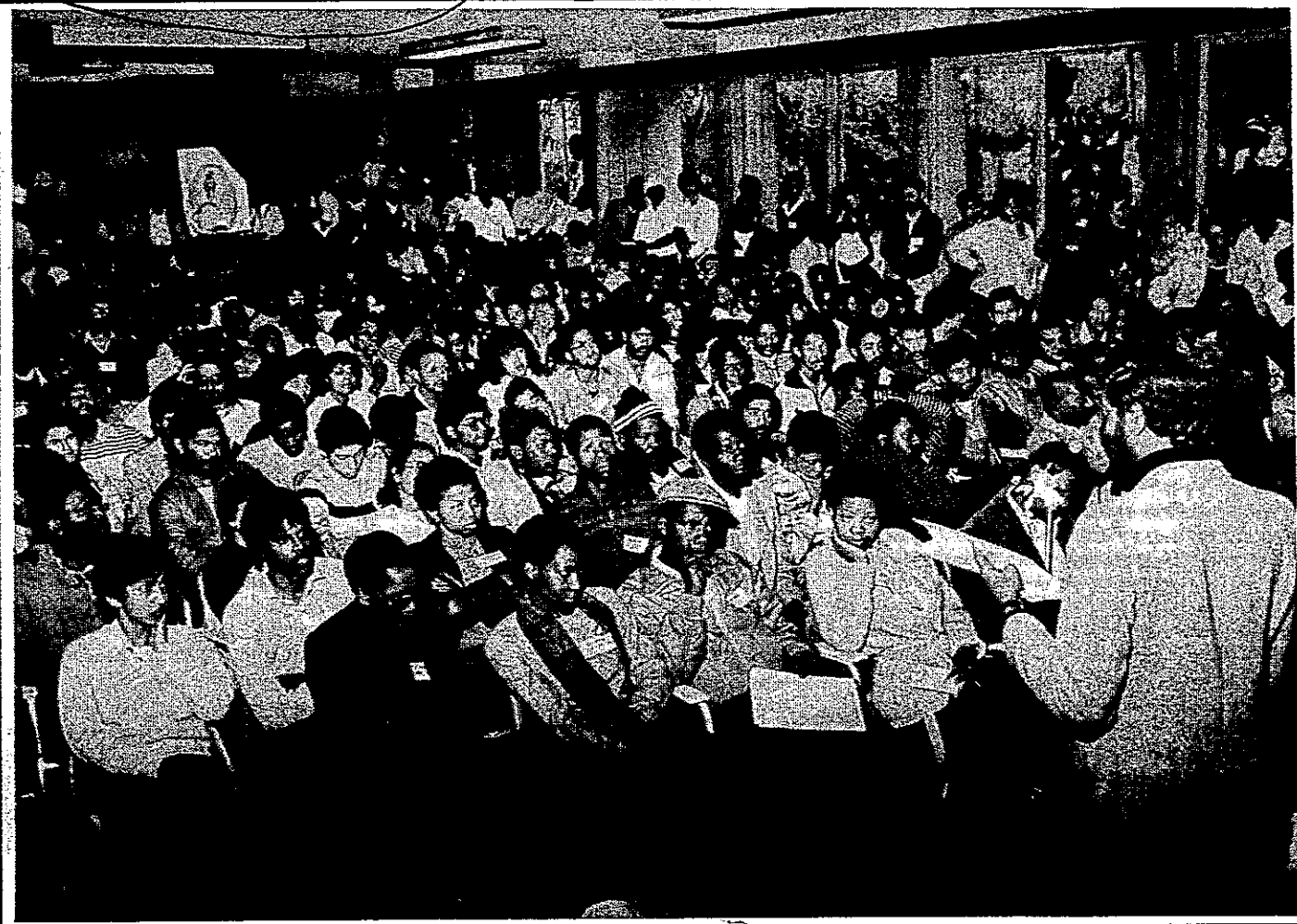
vices.

The acceptance of invitations to participate in the talks by the various organisations should be seen as an acknowledgement of the fact that there is conflict among black organisations in this country.

And the conference can best serve the interest of the struggle if it will not hold a trial to crucify those seen to be responsible for the conflict, but work out a nationally accepted approach which will make it possible for all to work together in pursuing the common goal



(11A)



**Two-day
meeting
sees BC
as uniting
formula
for
liberation**

MORE than 1000 people from activist organisations re-endorsed black consciousness as a vehicle for liberating and uniting the black oppressed.

The two-day conference held at Hammanskraal's St Peter's Seminary was opened by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC who said blacks could use their consumer power to attain freedom.

More terror to come?

FM 10/6/83

Ha

The likelihood of further ANC terror bombings, like that in Pretoria on May 20, would seem to depend on the outcome of an internal debate within the ANC itself. The indications are that the hardliners are gaining the ascendancy over those favouring a strategy that avoids civilian casualties.

Pretoria certainly seems to believe they are — judging from official warnings that similar attacks can be expected. However, the chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, told the *New York Times* this week that while the ANC could cause "single incidents," they would not be able to sustain high-intensity operations for a long time to come.

The change in ANC tactics seems to follow a debate on the organisation's options that began in 1981. At the time, according to a paper delivered in Washington by Wits University's Tom Lodge, elements in the ANC, including a group at leadership level, pressed for the soft-target approach — which means less caution about civilian casualties.

Until the Pretoria outrage, State installations were sabotaged primarily for symbolic "armed propaganda" value, and avoidance of indiscriminate killing characterised ANC terrorism. Even before Pretoria, however, Lodge pointed out that the ANC seemed to be taking "less care ... to avoid civilian casualties."

Despite official ANC policy, last year's explosions in administrative buildings "during working hours" and the attempted derailment of a passenger train in the eastern Transvaal "may reflect rank and file impatience with such a policy or inadequacies in the training of insurgents," said Lodge. This suggests that the carnage at Pretoria could have happened earlier. Another view is that the Pretoria blast was to avenge those killed in the SADF raid on ANC houses in Maseru last December.

It should also be pointed out that the May-June period has in recent years seen an annual peak in armed attacks — probably designed to coincide with Republic Day, the anniversary of the Soweto riots in 1976 and the Freedom Charter commemorations.

The change in ANC strategy, if such it is, would seem to reinforce an early 1981 report (denied by the ANC at the time) of "an undercurrent of change flowing through the movement." The report, in an authoritative international newsletter, said the ANC was becoming "increasingly sensitive to the wishes of thousands of young black South Africans who have swelled the terrorist ranks since the Soweto upheaval of 1976." It suggested that as part of this change, the ANC's "white military

supremo," senior SA Communist Party (SACP) man, Joe Slovo, could be moved sideways in favour of a younger black activist and possible future leader of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki.

Whether this key leadership post in fact changed is not known — except that the highest council of the ANC is made up of blacks alone. Slovo, who is high up in the revolutionary council, is said to spend some



ANC's Tambo ... looking for red Chinese support

of his time in Maputo, which is regarded as the ANC's military headquarters.

Slovo is credited, in a recent report, with having organised a build-up of arms caches and an "embryonic guerrilla network" inside SA. This supposed build-up leads observers of the movement, such as Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies, to expect attacks to continue for some time in spite of successful SA talks with neighbouring states about curbing terrorism launched from their borders.

US Intelligence estimates of the number of ANC terrorists inside SA were recently reported as between 1 000 and 2 000.

The 1981 report claimed that the "surge of up to 8 000 militant refugees from Soweto and elsewhere" since 1976 had "placed new pressures on the ANC hierarchy" and "forced Umkonto to begin thinking like an army about to do real battle." (Umkonto we Sizwe — Spear of the Nation — is the

armed wing of the ANC.)

Foreign journalists quote ANC sources as predicting that the armed struggle, in which lives would be lost, would be stepped up. Certainly the geographical spread of attacks — a classic pointer to stepped-up guerrilla war — seems to have widened, with a notable increase in previously "neglected" areas such as the OFS. It also seems likely that an ANC cadre was on its way to blow up the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building before being apprehended two months ago.

In his review of the ANC from 1976 to 1982, Lodge concluded that the "success of this early phase of 'armed propaganda' has been evident both within the country and externally." Opinion surveys and "massively attended funerals of ANC activists and veterans," said Lodge, bore witness to the ANC's "rising popularity amongst urban black South Africans."

According to Lodge the influx of young people to the ANC "has not led to a questioning of the authority of the movement's leadership and ideology." It was interesting, he said, that a large proportion of new recruits arriving in training camps expressed an interest in Marxism.

Externally, the ANC has been accorded "sole legitimate representative status" in several frontline African states and, Lodge noted, "its leaders are listened to with increasing seriousness in European countries and America." Whether this still holds post-Pretoria remains to be seen.

A significant new factor is ANC leader Oliver Tambo's trip last week to Peking. His meeting with Chinese Premier, Zhao Ziyang, is expected to bring the ANC material and political support. As important seems to be the waning of Chinese support for the rival black exclusivist body previously under Peking's wing, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which is in disarray and out of favour.

Lodge pinpointed some ANC weaknesses. Its political dimension inside SA, in particular, appeared weakly developed. There was also something of a spontaneous resurgence inside SA of groups influenced by the Congress tradition. And the Barbara Hogan trial last year revealed that attempts, initiated in Botswana and Lesotho in 1978, had been made to construct a permanent internal organisation. Its role was partly to infiltrate legal mass organisations. Hogan's arrest in 1981 was a setback.

Lodge concluded that because of the ANC's "militaristic tendencies" of the past, and if its resources continue to be channelled into armed attacks, the movement may become "increasingly elitist" in character.

Renewed storm of protest faces SA

South Africa today faced fresh protests over yesterday's hanging of three African National Congress guerillas after worldwide appeals for clemency were rejected.

The three members of the banned ANC, convicted of high treason and murder, were hanged at dawn in Pretoria Central Prison.

Church bells throughout Soweto tolled in sympathy with the executed men — Marcus Motaung (27), Simon Mogoerane (23), and Jerry Mosololi (25).

Later in the day, police arrested 23 people when about 400 students and workers marched through the streets of Durban carrying ANC banners and protesting against the executions.

In a Durban church hall, about 200 people of all races attended an all-night vigil. Police sprayed teargas into the building after the crowd started singing revolutionary songs.

Police were yesterday also called to the University of Zululand in Northern Natal, where about 700 black students demonstrated.

A police van was burnt and R50 000 damage done before the crowd dispersed. No arrests were made.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said South Africa's rulers should reform apartheid before conflict became inevitable.

He told a memorial service: "South Africa is going to be freed through bloodshed and violence, or through negotiations". — Sapa-Reuter.

Wreaths for ANC trio hung on rails at SA Embassy

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Three wreaths with photographs of the African National Congress men executed in Pretoria were hung on railings near the main entrance to the South African Embassy yesterday as a crowd of several hundred sang ANC songs.

In the crowd were several young white women wearing "Release Nelson Mandela" T-shirts.

The wreaths were carried in procession from nearby St Martin's-in-the-Field Church, where a service had been held for the men — Jerry Mosololi (25), Thelle Mogoerane (23), and Marcus Motaung (27).

During the service, Father Michael Lapsley, who once ministered in South Africa, said: "Today we salute our fallen heroes and call on all Christians to join us in our just struggle to rid the world of apartheid."

The Rev David Haslam, a prominent member of the End Loans to South Africa campaign, said afterwards that the service had been organised by Christians associated

with the ANC who had wished to express in a Christian way that they accepted the sacrifice made by the three men.

"We believe their sacrifice was in the same line as that of Christ himself."

Mr Haslam said he sympathised with the relatives of those who had died as a result of the three men's actions.

"But I would say that those actions were brought about by the intransigent policies of the South African Government and not by the young people who reacted against them."

Nine people who were arrested during an all-night demonstration outside the embassy have been remanded on bail. They are charged variously with obstructing the police, using threatening behaviour, and highway obstruction.

In Washington on Wednesday, ANC supporters staged two demonstrations outside the White House.

Several congressmen and their staff held a candlelight vigil on the steps of the House for the condemned men.

Magistrate bans Soweto 'Save the Six' meeting

The Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr J P M Duvenage, last night banned the proposed meeting of a Save the Six Committee to be held at the Methodist Youth Centre, Central Western Jabavu, Soweto.

The ban has been extended to include any other meeting of this organisation in Soweto from 6 pm on June 9 to 6 pm on June 11.

The banning was made in terms of article 46(1) of the Act on Internal Security 1982 (Act 74 of 1982). In a statement to the Press Mr Duvenage said that the meeting was banned because he had reason to believe it would seriously endanger public peace.

Star's first edition headline was misleading

A headline in the first edition of The Star on Wednesday incorrectly stated: "Govt to decide on reprieve for 3 today". The error was corrected in all subsequent editions, but it is necessary to clarify the misleading implications of the headline.

What in fact happened was that international protests at the impending hanging of three ANC terrorists were "transmitted to" the Executive Council. The Executive Council, which consists of the State President and a number of Cabinet Ministers interested in a particular matter (and not the entire Cabinet), had already taken a final decision on the matter.

Dr J P Roux, Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, points out that there was no special meeting of the Cabinet on that day. He makes clear that decisions concerning capital punishment rest solely with the Executive Council. The Executive Council never acts on instructions from the Cabinet and the Prime Minister never sits as a member of the Executive Council. Thus the State President does not act as chairman of the Cabinet.

The Executive Council cannot impose sentences, but can grant clemency under certain circumstances.

Organising to resist — a broad 'No' to new deal

By ANTON HARBER

THE Government's constitutional proposals have sparked off the formation of a broad-based national resistance front ... the largest South Africa has seen in at least two decades.

Dozens of opposition organisations — representing workers, students, communities, churches and women from all over the country — have come together in recent weeks under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In Johannesburg, for example, the UDF was launched two weeks ago, when more than 30 organisations voted for a pledge "to fight together side by side against the Government's constitutional and reform proposals".

Similar steps are being taken in Durban and the Eastern and Western Cape.

The most striking feature of the Johannesburg meeting was the wide range of organisations taking part, representing a clear attempt to unite resistance across racial and class barriers.

And coming a mere 18 months after a major Security Police crackdown on many of the leaders and activists of non-racial opposition politics, it is also a clear sign that this opposition group has not only survived but has emerged strong and growing.

Many of the prominent names in the UDF — such as Mr Ismael Monmoniat and Mr Samson Ndou — were amongst those held by the Security Police in their crack-down in the last few months of 1981.

They were all released at various stages during the last year, and the fact that they remain a force to be reckoned with is shown in the number of opposition organisations that have sprung up in recent months.

In the Transvaal alone, three major bodies have been formed: the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, active largely in coloured areas; and the Anti-Community Council Committee, active largely in Soweto.

The idea of the UDF was originally raised by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in a passing remark during a National Anti-SAIC conference in February.

"We are all committed to the struggle for a non-racial, open, democratic South Africa, a unitary state in which all the people will have the rights accorded to them by God.

"There is, therefore, no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite on this issue, pool our resources, inform the people of the fraud that is



UNITED ... and a new front against the Government is formed.

about to be perpetuated in their name and expose those plans for what they are," Dr Boesak said.

"This is the politics of refusal, and it is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation," he said.

The Anti-SAIC conference formed a committee to investigate the feasibility of this suggestion, and within weeks, steps were being taken to form a united front in various parts of the country.

In the Transvaal, the inaugural meeting formed a central council of two representatives of each member organisation.

This council will meet soon to elect an executive and a secretariat.

An organisation of such proportions, particularly under a non-racial rather than Black Consciousness banner, has not been seen in South Africa for many years.

The only comparison is the Congress Alliance, which was led by the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and which went into exile after its banning in the Sixties.

But it is not easy to bring such a wide range of people together. The organisation has to accommodate an

enormous variety of interests and views.

To accommodate this, the organisers have left the aims of the organisation fairly vague.

The broad principle of UDF, as stated in a declaration adopted at its inaugural meeting are:

- An unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations.

- An adherence to the need for unity in struggle, through which all democrats — regardless of race, religion or colour — shall take part.

- A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with and reflect accurately the demands of democratic people wherever they may be.

The constitutional proposals, the declaration said, have been imposed without genuine consultation with the people of the country.

The proposals make race and ethnicity the only criteria for participation in Government and do not begin to redress economic and social inequalities that are the result of centuries of white domination, the declaration said.

Although this wide range

of people are united in their opposition to these proposals, there are already signs of the strain of such a broad umbrella body.

For example, the member organisations vary enormously in size, but are equally represented on the central council.

This means that large trade unions with 10 000 or more members will have the same say as small community organisations with indefinite membership.

UDF organisers are quick to point out that they are not a political party and are merely a grouping of different organisations.

This means that it will be an association of leadership, and the bulk of members will be organised in separate organisation as workers, students or members of a specific community.

The key to its importance will lie in its ability to mobilise at a grassroots level. This is being done not by the UDF itself, but by its member organisations and since many of these are new, they have not yet tested their ability to mobilise popular support.

If the UDF passes this test, the Government may be in for a tough battle over its constitutional proposals.

11A

A SEPARATE bid for unity has been started by the National Forum Committee (NFC), made up largely of Black Consciousness groups and including some United Democratic Front (UDF) members.

The NFC, according to Mr Ish Mkhabela, of Azapo, is not an organisation but only a committee intended to facilitate joint discussions among black groups.

It is "quite unlike UDF" and is only intended to provide a forum to bring together a broad spectrum of groups and individuals "who are not in Government structures" and to promote their solidarity, according to Mr Mkhabela.

It is to hold its first set of discussions at Hammanskraal this Saturday. The meeting is intended to help opposition groups and individuals crystallise their thoughts on issues such as education and resettlement.

It will be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Mr Lybon Mabasa, national president

And now Black Workers, students, Consciousness churches, lawyers gets into step — joining for unity

of Azapo.

"To think of organisation along the lines of the UDF would be premature from our point of view," Mr Mkhabela said this week.

"While unity is needed, it should not be improvised because that could bring more problems rather than enduring unity.

"We would like to think of unity as an on-going process rather than as coming through a two-day seminar.

"It must be principled and clearly defined. Unity around ad-hoc issues can mean only temporary unity.

"We fully support what UDF is working for and cannot undermine their constituency. We have looked at the possibility of

co-operating with them, but we need clarification of what they say and what they believe," Mr Mkhabela said.

Ironically, with two separate organisations attempting to create unity, the oldest split in South Africa opposition politics — between those who believe the fight should be along non-racial lines and those who believe it must be led by black organisations and individuals — is likely to be reproduced.

But the situation is complicated by the fact that some organisations — such as the Soweto Committee of 10 and the Council of Unions of South Africa — are taking part in both the UDF and the NFC.

WHAT do the Durban Housing Action Committee, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Islamic Council of SA have in common? The answer is straightforward: they all oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and are members of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The dozens of groups that belong to the UDF across the country represent a wide range of workers, students, churches and community organisations. In the Transvaal alone, more than 30 organisations have joined the UDF.

Workers are represented by the Council of Unions of SA, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, among others.

Communities are represented by the Soweto and Vryburg civic associations and the Soweto Committee of 10. Nusas, Azanian Students' Organisation, the Black Students Society and Young Christian Students represent the youth.

The churches are represented by the

Witwatersrand Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops' Conference, women by the Federation of SA Women, teachers by the National Educational Union of SA, the Indian community by the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Detainees Aid Movement and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee are also taking part.

The first UDF was formed in the Eastern Cape in January when a local co-ordinating committee was formed. Eastern Cape member organisations include the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the EP Council on Sport, the Eastern Cape Council of Churches, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union, the General Workers Union of SA and the Congress of SA Students.

On May 14 a Durban branch was formed under the chairmanship of Mr Archie Gumede, from the Release Mandela Committee. It includes the Natal Indian Congress, the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the Islamic Council of SA and the Durban Housing Action Committee.

Church service for three hanged ANC men banned

By Trevor Jones

Spaul 10/14/83
A commemorative service for the three ANC members hanged this week, due to be held at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg today, has been included in a ban on meetings connected to the hangings.

This is the first time a church meeting in central Johannesburg has been banned.

The dean of Johannesburg, Father Mervin Castle, described the ban as "a damn shame". The notice prohibiting the service was delivered to him by security policemen yesterday.

The banning order was granted yesterday by the acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr J P M Duvenage. It specifically mentioned a prayer meeting scheduled for the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia at 2 pm tomorrow.

A security policeman who delivered the prohibition notice to The Star last night said, however, the St Mary's Cathedral meeting was included.

This was confirmed by a senior police spokesman who said "bona fide" church services were not banned unless they were connected to the hanging of the three ANC men.

The three men, Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung and two other men convicted of criminal charges were hanged at 7 am on Thursday.

Mr Duvenage also prevented the holding of "any gathering of the same nature, class or kind anywhere in the district of Johannesburg".

The meetings were banned from 6 am today until 6 am on Monday, extending an initial ban on meetings from Thursday until 6 pm today.

On Thursday night police prevented a political meeting due to be held at the Methodist Youth Centre in Western Jabavu by the Save the Six Committee.

The Lenasia meeting was organised by the Transvaal Indian Congress and a spokesman said the ban clearly indicated the National Party was well aware the "barbaric execution" only caused greater polarisation "between the oppressed people and the white community".

"We appeal to all religious organisations to observe the day with prayer. We appeal to all businessmen to keep their businesses closed on June 16 to observe the day," the TIC said.

Sorrow anger as ANC 3 die

CAPE Times 10/6/83
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JOHANNESBURG. — The first ANC members to be hanged in South Africa in four years went to the gallows at dawn yesterday as bells tolled in sympathy throughout Soweto and world governments condemned South Africa's rejection of pleas for clemency.

Marcus Thabo Motaung, 27, Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, and Jerry Semano Mosololi, 25, were executed at Pretoria Central Prison at 7am in spite of a last-minute bid by lawyers for a stay of execution and an international appeal for mercy.

The ANC men were convicted of treason for attacks on police stations, a railway line and a power station in which four policemen were killed and a number of civilians injured.

With murderers

Two convicted murderers — Eric Marshall and Telele Kunene — were hanged alongside Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung.

In a statement from Lusaka the ANC denounced the execution of its members as a flagrant breach of international law, and vowed revenge.

Zimbabwe said South Africa was cheating by treating freedom fighters as criminals.

The executions were also sharply condemned by the governments of Sweden, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy.

The Soviet news agency, Tass, called the executions "murder in cold blood".

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that a declaration of "deep sorrow and dismay" from the Security Council and an expression of shock and sad-

ness from Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar capped United Nations reaction to yesterday's hangings.

Groups of protesters demonstrated in several cities, including New York, Los Angeles and Washington.

A last message said to have come from the men was broadcast on some black radio stations. It declared: "The struggle of all oppressed peoples throughout the world should continue until the world is a peaceful place for all."

There was no immediate comment from Britain or the United States.

In South Africa, news of the executions was met with demonstrations in Durban, Alice and the University of Zululand.

Reports in Pretoria yesterday said Mr Justice DJ Curlewis — who rejected a last-minute appeal for a stay of execution on Wednesday night — and the acting Judge President, Mr Justice J P O de Villiers, had been placed under police protection.

Strict security was enforced at the Central Prison yesterday while policemen in camouflage uniforms sealed off Church Square.

UK protest

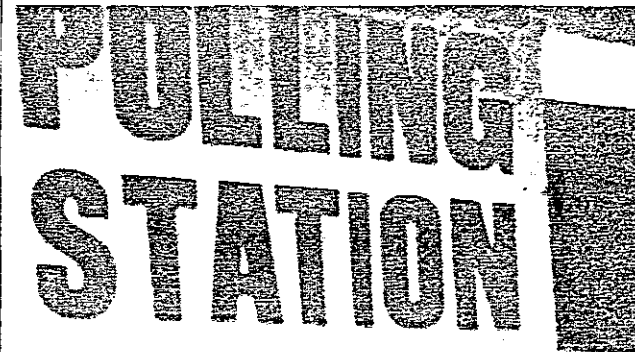
In London, nine people appeared before Bow Street magistrates following a 24-hour demonstration outside the South African Embassy on Wednesday.

Steve and Amabilia Kitson, whose father David is serving a 20-year sentence for treason in Pretoria Central Prison, were among the group charged with obstructing police and using threatening behaviour. Their cases were remanded to June 30.

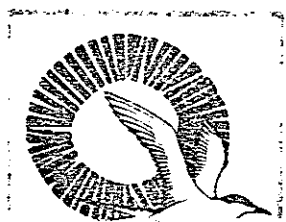
● An order was issued by the acting chief magistrate of Johannesburg last night banning under the Internal Security Act meetings of the Save the Six Committee until tomorrow. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

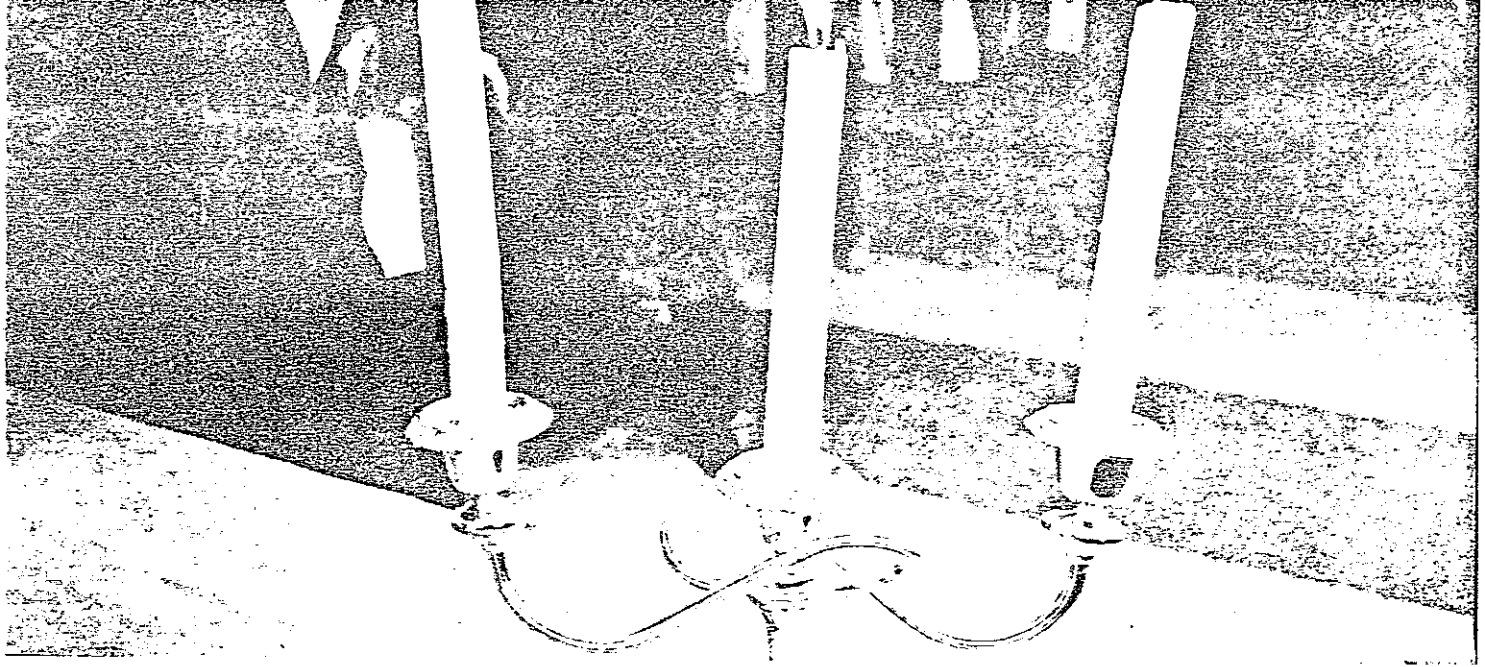


The leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Mr Michael Foot, Labour Party leader.



Mrs Thatcher and her husband Dennis leave a polling station.





Three candles burn for the ANC men who were hanged yesterday, and mourners sing hymns during a memorial service at the SA Council of Churches headquarters in De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

Picture: ROBERT TSHABALALA

Griefed

approaching the captain if in doubt. He would say he would query an instruction with the WO, but no further.

Commodore Silberbauer, asked by Mr Van Niekerk to assume Capt De Lange had been aware of this situation, said: "I can't believe it."

Mr Van Niekerk said Lient Pickstock would also say it was the practice on the ship and that Capt De Lange must have been aware of it.

The commodore agreed the situation was a "non-book" one.

The inquest continues. — Sapa.

Newborn baby survives crash

By DIANNA GAMES

A NEWBORN baby, only hours old, was in the back of an ambulance that was hit by the trailer of a haulage truck, yesterday afternoon.

Nobody was injured in the accident — on the busy Heidelberg road near Alberton — in spite of extensive damage to two of the vehicles.

Nigel's Fire Chief, Mr Louis Pretorius, said a haulage trucks, a Ford Louisville carrying a load of steel tubes, had allegedly not stopped at a red light, hit a stationary police car in the same lane and went out of control.

It then hit another haulage truck turning across the lights and the back of it jacked into the front of the ambulance at the intersection with its emergency lights on.

The ambulance was taking a baby, born by Caesarian section only hours before, from Nigel to the South Rand Hospital. A second ambulance was called after the accident to take the baby to the hospital.

"It's a pity about the accident because the ambulance was practically brand new. It only had 500km on the clock," Mr Pretorius said.

He said the ambulance driver, Mr G Cronje, from the Nigel Fire Department, had tried to reverse when he saw the back of the truck swinging towards him but did not have time.

The truck's driver, Mr Andries Moteli, said he had been travelling at about 60km/h, and when he saw a stationary car in front of him he applied his brakes but was not able to stop in time.

Families ask for the bodies of ANC three

11A 273 RDM 10/6/83

By ANTON HARBER

FAMILIES of the three African National Congress men hanged in Pretoria yesterday declined an offer to attend a prison funeral and asked for the bodies to be returned to them for burial.

Last night lawyers for the families said they were still uncertain whether the three had been buried or whether the bodies would be released.

The Commissioner of Prisons has the power to make the decision.

The three were Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung.

During the families' last visit to their sons on Wednesday they were asked if they wanted to attend a funeral for their sons conducted by the Prisons Service.

All three families declined the offer and said they wanted to bury their sons in the traditional way.

Yesterday the lawyers sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Prisons asking for the bodies and another to Prison Services asking for access to the graves if the three have already been buried.

Mr Krish Naidoo, one of the instructing attorneys, said the families had no idea what was happening, but said he would be surprised if the bodies were released.

The three ANC men were executed in a line alongside two murderers.

A small crowd of local and international journalists stood outside the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday morning as the three were hanged.

The only other sign of anything unusual was a massive police presence.

Police in camouflage uni-

form and carrying arms patrolled the surrounding streets and stood guard on all the corners.

They prevented the journalists from approaching the prison and all cars turning off the main road towards the prison were turned back.

A Rand Daily Mail photographer had a roll of film confiscated by a policeman. The film was later returned.

Most of the journalists were present before the sun rose and they waited in the cold until a prison official came out to tell them the executions had been carried out. The families were not present, and nothing further would be happening.

At least 200 people — including parents of the three — attended a prayer meeting at the headquarters of the SA Council of Churches in central Johannesburg.

The crowd, wearing black armbands heard Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, and the Rev Frank Chikane, pay tribute to the four men as heroes.

Such penalties would soon suffer from the law of diminishing returns. Bishop Tutu warned.

"Our people have been wonderfully patient and peace-loving and they have been rebuffed at every turn. We support them in their aims, but we do not yet support them in their methods," Bishop Tutu said.

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) issued a statement saying the Government had brought discredit to the very law and order it is pledged to uphold.

The parents of two of the hanged men — Mosololi and Mogoerane — will speak at a TIC mass meeting at the

Jiswa Centre in Lenasia on Sunday at 2pm. Mrs Zinzi Mandela, daughter of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, will also speak.

The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev M E Castle, announced that a requiem mass would be held in St Mary's Cathedral on Saturday at noon.

In Soweto, early yesterday morning, church bells tolled the news of the hangings.

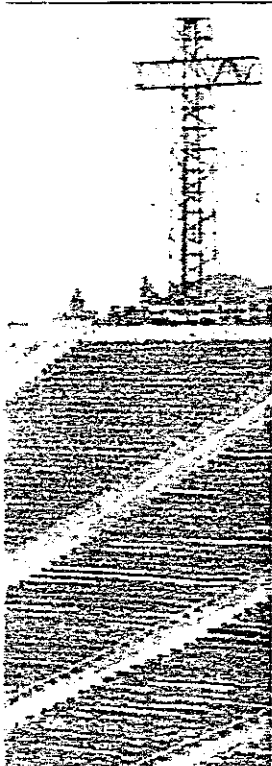
Companies reported black employees arriving for work as normal but students at Fort Hare University in the "independent" black state of Ciskei boycotted classes and marched through the campus singing freedom songs.

At the University of Zululand in Empangeni about 700 students protested against the hangings, burning a police car and damaging a food shop.

World's second largest dam

PARIS — A European consortium led by Dumez of France and the Impregilo group of Italy has been awarded a US\$1 600-million contract to build the second largest dam in the world on the Parana River between Argentina and Paraguay.

The contract concerns the civil engineering part of the \$10-million Yacyreta hydroelectric project being jointly undertaken by Argentina and Paraguay. The dam will be the largest after the \$1 900-million Itaipu dam further up the Parana River between Brazil and Paraguay. — Financial Times.



ss for the altar in the John Paul II will address of Polish people on

ANC 3

APK-TIME
families

10/16/83
ask for
17/11
bodies

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Families of the three African National Congress men hanged in Pretoria yesterday declined an offer of a prison funeral and asked for the bodies to be returned to them.

Lawyers for the families said last night that they were still not certain whether the men had been buried or whether the bodies would be released.

The Commissioner of Prisons has the power to make the decision.

The three were Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung.

The offer of a Prisons Service burial was made during the families' last visit to their sons on Wednesday. All three families declined, saying they wanted to bury their sons in the traditional way.

Yesterday, the lawyers sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Prisons asking for the bodies, and another to the Prisons Service asking for access to the graves if they had already been buried.

Prison vigil

A small crowd of local and international journalists kept a vigil outside the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday morning as the men were hanged.

Armed police in camouflage uniform patrolled the surrounding streets and stood guard on all the corners.

They prevented the journalists from approaching the prison.

At least 200 people — including parents of the three — attended an emotional prayer meeting at the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches in central Johannesburg.

The crowd, wearing black armbands and chanting "Long live the Freedom Charter", heard the SACC general-secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, pay tribute to the men.

Parents of two of the men — Mosololi and Moegerane — will speak at a TIC mass meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia on Sunday at 2pm.

The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev M E Castle, announced that a Requiem Mass would be held in St Mary's Cathedral on Saturday at noon.

India ^{Star} 11/6/83 condemns hangings

NEW DELHI — The Indian Government yesterday condemned the execution of three African National Congress members in South Africa.

The hanging "was in total disregard of the fervent appeal for clemency voiced by the international community and the United Nations Security Council.

"The continuation of the oppressive policies and destructive actions of the apartheid regime adds fuel to the already explosive situation it has created in the region and may pose a threat to international peace and stability," it said.

India called on the international community, "particularly those wielding considerable leverage with the Pretoria regime," to "oblige it to heed and respect international opinion and observe the basic tenets of human law, justice and international behaviour". — Sapa-AP

Peyco ~~2/2/83~~
leader 11A
calls for
ε. Post
members'
11/6/83
release

Post Reporter

THE president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), Mr Mkhusele Jack, today called for the immediate and unconditional release of all the organisation's members from detention.

He said Peyco had been watching the "police harassment" of its members and executive in the past four months with great concern.

"Peyco is aware of the overall security police campaign of intimidation, which is aimed at disrupting the official launching of the organisation on June 19.

"Peyco will not be intimidated by such action. Continued detentions can only worsen the already explosive situation in the townships."

Members of the organisation said to be in detention are two former Robben Island prisoners, Mr Tuli Bobo and Mr Nceda Faku, and Mr Michael Xhengo.

Mr Faku and Mr Xhengo were detained on June 1.

Mr Bobo was detained earlier under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

National Forum holds indaba

THE newly-formed National Forum aimed at promoting unity among blacks, is to hold a two-day conference at St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, starting on June 11.

Representatives from over 10 community organisations are expected to attend the meeting — the first since the body was formed about two months ago.

The President's Council's constitutional proposals, the Black Authorities and Orderly Movement bills will be under the spotlight at the conference.

Committee members of the new body, who have been drawn from 12 organisations, include the secretary-general of the South African Council of

Churches. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches, Mr Frans van der Horst, president of the South African Council of Sport, and the national president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa.

Mr George Wauchope, a NF member,

said yesterday: "The formation of the new organisation follows a resolution by Azapo earlier this year, that there was an urgent need for a joint front to fight matters of common interest."

He said new strategies would be formulated in preparation "for the hardships and challenges that lie ahead".

SEWETAN 26/83 (1A)

24-26 Nov 92 - 137b

Protest
against
hanging
banned

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — All meetings scheduled for this weekend, in protest against the hanging of three African National Congress (ANC) men in Pretoria this week, have been banned under the Internal Security Act of 1982.

The executed men were Thelle Simon Mogoerane, Semano Jerry Mosololi and Thabo Marcus Motaung.

The four meetings called by the "Save the Six Committee" and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) have now been banned by either the Chief or acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg.

For the third time yesterday, security police delivered an order to the Rand Daily Mail.

Three security policemen delivered a similar notice on Thursday night banning a service at the Methodist Youth Centre, in Central Western Jabavu, Soweto on the same night, and all similar meetings in Johannesburg until 6pm today.

Similar order

A similar order was delivered last Friday, banning a similar meeting scheduled for the St Francis Anglican Church, in Rockville, Soweto.

In banning the meetings, Mr J P M Duvange, the acting chief magistrate, said he feared the public peace would be seriously endangered if the meetings were allowed.

The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev M E Castle, has announced that a requiem mass will be held in St Mary's Cathedral, at noon today.

The latest order prohibits in particular the Lenasia meeting "or any gathering of the same nature in the district of Johannesburg" effectively from 6am today and will remain in force until 6am on Monday.

*E. Herald
11/6/83*

Forum to fight **(N.A.)** new Bills

A NATIONAL Forum of black political, sporting, civic, trade union, educational, cultural and religious groups will be held in Hammanskraal this weekend to work out a response to the Government's new constitution and "Koornhof Bills".

The forum was initiated by the Azanian People's Organisation and is convened by Azapo vice-president Saths Cooper.

Mr Cooper said in a statement: "All organisations working within the oppressed community and run by the oppressed themselves would be welcome to send delegates to air their views fully on how to mobilise and consolidate the oppressed people."

CRISIS

"This is necessary to meet the national crisis caused by PW Botha's reform proposals and the Koornhof bills.

"Interested organisations and individuals are requested to contact Dr Neville Alexander ☎ 73 4936, Nombulelo Melane ☎ 67 0358, the organising secretary George Wauchope ☎ 011 29 8033 or write to PO Box 347 Johannesburg."

ald, June 11 1983

3

Focus on *C. Herald* education evenings 11A

THE Western Cape Youth League will be having a "focus on education" on the evening on June 13 and 14 at the Catholic Hall, Manenberg.

They also intend having a cultural program in July but the venue has not yet been finalised. The programme will include music, dancing, drama and poetry reading.

The league, which was formed by seven youth groups in March, now has 10 affiliates.

They invite all community organisations and individuals to attend their activities.

All meetings on hangings banned

By MONTSHIWA MOROKE

ALL meetings scheduled for this weekend in protest against the hanging of three African National Congress (ANC) men in Pretoria this week have been banned under the Internal Security Act.

The men were Thelle Simon Mogoerane, Semano Jerry Mosololi and Thabo Marcus Motaung.

This means that altogether four meetings called by the "Save the Six Committee" and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) have now been banned in a period of one week by either the chief or acting chief magistrate of Johannesburg.

The parents of Mosololi and Mogoerane were to speak at a TIC mass meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia tomorrow. Ms Zinzi Mandela, daughter of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was

also due to speak.

Security Police yesterday delivered an order to the Rand Daily Mail offices prohibiting the Lenasia meeting "or any gathering of the same nature in the district of Johannesburg" effectively from 6am today and will remain in force until 6am on Monday.

ANTON HARBER reports that there is still uncertainty over whether the bodies of the three ANC members hanged on Thursday will be returned to the families for burial.

Late yesterday afternoon the Department of Prison Services and the Commission of Prisons had not replied to telegrams sent by a lawyer for the families asking for the bodies.

Students continued to boycott lectures at the University of Fort Hare at Alice yesterday in protest against the detention of 27 students during demonstra-

tions against the hangings.

And more than 2 000 University of the North students staged a two-hour march on the campus on Thursday night.

ANC and Swapo members, led by a member of Lusaka's ruling UNIP central committee, Mrs Chibesa Kankasa, held a demonstration yesterday.

The ANC has vowed to avenge the execution.

The Unesco director-general, Mr Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, said yesterday that the executions were part of "an infernal cycle of violence" set up by the South African Government that could lead to a general world confrontation.

"These executions should mark the beginning of new world awareness of the reality of apartheid," he said in a statement. — Own Correspondents. Sapa. UPI.

D. Dispatce

Order returns to Fort Hare

11/6/83
11A

ALICE — Lectures were held "as usual" at the University of Fort Hare yesterday

Students said they had attended lectures as planned after a one-day boycott in protest against Thursday's hanging of three members of the African National Congress.

They said a student delegation had tried to see the rector, Professor J. Lamprecht, yesterday to discuss the detention of 21 students who were arrested after a demonstration on Thursday.

The students said they were refused a hearing on the grounds that they did not represent the student body.

Prof Lamprecht's secretary referred Press inquiries to the university's public relations officer, Mr N. Holliday.

Mr Holliday said some students had been allowed to speak to the registrar of administration, Mr H. de Goede, and the registrar, Mr H. Jones, on Thursday. He was not aware of an application for a meeting

Mr Holliday added that classes went ahead as usual "and the students are walking round with smiles on their faces".

The 21 students arrested on Thursday will probably appear in court on Monday, according to a police spokesman here.

He said they would probably appear in the Alice magistrate's court on charges of public violence. — DDR

Missiles: Nato warns Moscow

PARIS — The Nato Alliance, in a final challenge to Moscow, warned yesterday that new US missiles will be installed in Western Europe in six months if arms negotiations remain deadlocked.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, said the West was resolved to go ahead with the basing plan unless concrete results could be achieved in US-Soviet talks in Geneva.

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Buthelezi call for West to assist Inkatha

Mercury
11/6/83
IIA

Mercury Reporter

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi has called on the Western world to recognise Inkatha and support it in bringing about change in South Africa.

At the meeting in Bonn yesterday, he appealed specifically to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for West Germany to help in guarding against racist excesses which he said were represented in the South African Government's constitutional proposals.

Chief Buthelezi said the West had so far exerted very little pressure on South Africa to set its affairs in order. This was most vividly illustrated by the freedom with which the Government was re-writing the constitution 'to enshrine racism'.

He emphasised that

black South Africa was committed to non-violent solutions, but added: 'Politics in South Africa will in future be characterised by an African and.'

As leader of Inkatha hope, a black drive, not only to achieve the vote but to do so in a State which we will have to reform.

'Black politics will in future be aimed at changing the nature of the State and not simply gaining access to the corridors of power in it,' he said.

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C. H. H. H.
11/14/83

Musicians guilty in ANC trial

(11/17)
JOHANNESBURG

TWO Rastafarian musicians were today jailed for six years (two years of which were suspended) for advocating violent revolution led by the African National Congress.

The magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, said that Jose Charles, 24, and Rufus Radebe, 18, had indirectly promoted the ideals of the outlawed ANC at the University of the Witwatersrand reggae concert in Roodepoort on February 12. They had pleaded not guilty to charges under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Aucamp said that the two musicians, members of the band Splash, had sung a song "Freedom to Mandela" and chanted: "Our music is revolutionary and will free our brothers through a revolution led by the ANC".

They had also chanted before 3 000 people: "Power belongs to us" and shouted slogans about Mr Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

Mr Aucamp dismissed a submission by the musicians' attorney, Mr G Dyson, that one of the principles of the Rastafarian cult was a belief in non-violence.

After sentence was passed, Mr Dyson immediately applied for bail pending an appeal against the sentence.

600 for 'new deal' summit

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

NEARLY 600 delegates representing about 100 organisations are expected to attend one of the most diverse meetings of blacks in South African political history at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, today.

The delegates, representing a wide range of movements in the religious, cultural, sporting, trade union, civic and political fields, will converge on the seminary at Hammanskraal for a two-day meeting, or National Forum, on the initiative of the National Forum Committee.

The National Forum Committee, whose 17 members reflect a broad spectrum of interests, has organised the meeting to provide a forum for black leaders to discuss the position of blacks in the "new deal" being promoted by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

"The committee feels we are confronted with a crisis in the face of the 'new deal'," Mr Saths Cooper, a member of the committee and a former Robben Island prisoner, said yesterday.

"The main purpose of the National Forum is to look at ways and means of achieving closer working relationships between organisations within the black community.

"We will be looking at ways and means of consolidating and mobilising the

people against the 'new deal'."

Members of the committee include Bishop Desmond Tutu of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Mr Phiroshaway Camay of the Council of Unions of South Africa, Mr Frank van der Horst of the South African Council on Sport, Mr Lybon Mbaso of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Tom Manthata of the Soweto Civic Association, and Mrs Emma Mashinini of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa.

Before dividing into working groups to consider specific issues pertinent to the unification of blacks, several keynote papers will be delivered to the forum as a whole.

Bishop Buthelezi will speak of the role of the church in promoting unity, Dr Neville Alexander, distinguished scholar and former Robben Island prisoner, will talk on the dangers posed by ethnicity and tribalism and Mr S E Moriyai of the University of the North, will deliver an address on comparative education.

Three men — Mr Mbaso, Mr Manthata and Mr Lebamang Sebidi, of the Soweto Committee of 10 — worked together on a paper which zones in on the core of the issue. Entitled "The Need for National Unity," it will be delivered on behalf of the three authors by Mr Mbaso.

L/E ARGUS
11/6/83

UCT's Azanian student leader held

~~11A~~ ~~11A~~
Weekend Argus Reporter

A UNIVERSITY of Cape Town student has been arrested in Worcester under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Major George Ker-shoff, police liaison officer for the Boland, today confirmed the arrest of Mr Saleem Badat, 25, who is studying for a master's degree in economic history.

The UCT Student's Representative Council has strongly condemned the detention of Mr Badat,

vice-chairman of the university branch of the Azanian Students' Organisation.

The SRC has demanded his immediate release.

The Azanian Student's Organisation (Western Cape) has deplored the detention.

"We know Saleem to be a freedom-loving democrat dedicated to the cause of justice in our country," a statement says.

Body to tackle youth issues

S. Times 12/6/83

(114)

BY SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

UNEMPLOYMENT, sex discrimination and even awkward library hours are all problems which young people can tackle, according to a recently-formed youth body.

And the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) — formed at a recent mass meeting — plans to get down to every issue that affects their members, ranging from parent-child relationships to the constitutional proposals.

"When it comes to the proposals, our emphasis will be on the question of coloured conscription, because this is what will affect the youth.

"Generally these proposals fall far short of the demands of our people," Cayco president Trevor Oosterwyk said in an interview this week.

This fledgeling organisation, which already has 35 local branches and a full-time, paid organiser, has provided a united platform for the various Western Cape youth movements that have sprung up since the 1980 schools' unrest.

From the experience students gained during 1980, they realised the need for co-ordinated youth movements.

Cayco is the first big youth organisation in the Western Cape and branches stretch from Ocean View and Hout

Bay, across the Peninsula — including Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu — and the Boland.

"We will work closely with church youth groups. Cayco is a non-racial organisation and we aim to unite all youth in the Cape," said Trevor.

Membership is open to youth of all races and Cayco already has a few white members.

The aims of the newly-formed youth congress include:

- Taking up demands and realising the social, cultural, political, educational and economic aspirations of the youth.

- Forging links with other organisations committed to a truly non-racial democracy.

- Instilling a proper understanding and acceptance of the equality

of men and women and eradicating sexual exploitation.

- Educating youth to value the dignity and meaning of labour and working towards the elimination of artificial divisions — for example the divisions between manual and mental labour.

- Normalising relationships between youth and their parents.

ANC RESTRUCTURES ITS OPERATION

11A

city Press
12/6/83

City Press 12 June 1983
The outlawed African National Congress has undergone major organisational changes over the last few weeks, according to sources in the Frontline States.

Although it is understood that the ANC's major allies, the South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, have surrendered all decision-making powers on the ANC's external military operation, several leading communists will continue to serve under the new operational system.

The old ANC structure, set up after the ANC's consultative conference in Tanzania in 1969, have now been dismantled.

The major change has been the dismantling of the ANC's Revolutionary Council — formerly its operational arm — and its replacement by a series of political, military and co-ordinating committees.

The Revolutionary Council was previously the site of the ANC's formal alliance with the SACP, and used to oversee the activities of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Under the new structure, members of the SACP will continue to serve — under the direct authority of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The sources said the new structure represented

no change in the political line within the ANC or in its alliance with the SACP and SACTU.

The ANC External Mission now consists of three committees to replace the old Revolutionary Council.

A Political Committee under the chairmanship of National Executive Committee member and former ANC representative to Mozambique John Nkadimeng, has been set up to monitor political and worker activities inside the country.

Parallel to it is a Military Committee, chaired by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, whose job it is to oversee the activities of the ANC's military wing, estimated by the SA Defence Force to be about 7 000 guerrillas.

Co-ordinating the activities of these two committees is a joint Political-Military Committee, comprising the executives of the two.

Linking the joint Political-Military Committee to the National Executive Committee of the ANC is a Working Committee. Both the ANC National Executive and the Working Committee are chaired by ANC President Oliver Tambo, alternatively ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, the sources said.

Other known members of the Political

Committee include ANC National Political Commissar Andrew Masondo and former head of the ANC's International Department (Foreign Affairs) Joe Jele.

ANC United Nations representative Mfanafuti (Johnny) Makatini has taken over Jele's old post as foreign affairs head. All three men remain on the ANC National Executive Committee.

Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar Chris Hani, the former ANC representative to Lesotho who survived a number of assassination attempts, is thought to be a member of the Military Committee, but this could not be confirmed.

A new propaganda post — that of publicity secretary — has been created and filled by Thabo Mbeki, son of imprisoned ANC leader Govan Mbeki. A national executive committee member, Thabo Mbeki was until recently political secretary to ANC president Tambo.

A Youth Secretariat was also set up at

an ANC youth conference held in Tanzania last year. And a long-standing women's section is charged with promoting women's interests in the organisation.

As far as can be ascertained, the make-up of the ANC's national executive committee is, at present: Oliver Tambo, president and chairman of the executive and "working committee"; Alfred Nzo, secretary general; Thomas Nkobi, treasurer general; Mazwai Piliso, a special aide to Tambo; Andrew Masondo, national political commissar; Mfanafuti (Johnny) Makatini, head of the International Department; Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar; Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; John Nkadimeng, chairman of the "political committee"; Joe Jele, a member of the "Political Committee"; Thabo Mbeki, publicity secretary; Gertrude Shope, head of ANC Women's Section; Florence Mophoshe, Moses Mabhida, general secretary of the SACP; John Motzabi, Simon Makena and five others who are unknown.

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weekending

12 JUNE 1983

ANC men go calmly to the gallows

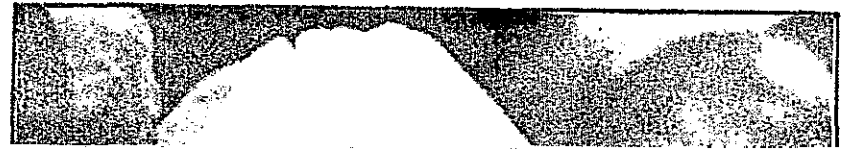
THE LAST MINUTES

11A

12/6/83 City Press

CP Reporters

PRETORIA — The three ANC men went to the gallows calmly yesterday, according to their attorney who

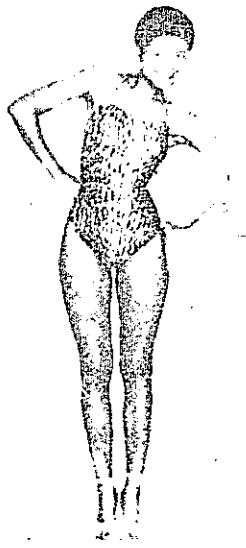


Durban dome

How do YOU vote on SA in world sport?

Coupon on Page 5

Miss Soweto '83



The

day, according to their attorney who saw them less than 12 hours before they died.

They were hanged together with a white and a black murderer.

Attorney Krish Naidoo, who battled until the 11th hour to save the lives of Marcus Motaung, Thelle Mogoerane and Jerry Mosoli, said: "The way they faced death was the bravest thing I have ever seen."

"When we wanted to apply for a stay of execution on Tuesday they were not interested," said the attorney. "But I told them to think it over."

"On Wednesday morning they said I could go ahead. But they were not optimistic."

Mr Naidoo said when he consulted with them, the trio "acted collectively and made their decisions quickly. No-one seemed to be the leader."

"The prospect of death did not seem to frighten them," he said.

Last time

When Mr Naidoo saw the men for the last time on Wednesday evening shortly before the urgent application was brought before Mr Justice Curlewis in the Pretoria Supreme Court, he found them quieter than usual.

Yesterday the prison was heavily guarded and newsmen were barred from the area.

Church Square, opposite which the Palace of Justice is situated, was cordoned off by police who were reported to be on standby in other parts of the city.

Four charges

The men were sentenced to death last August after being found guilty on four charges of murder, one of attempted murder, terrorism and treason.

Yesterday, the families of the three men said their sons were grateful for the support they had received from those who had tried to save them from the noose.

Mr Daniel Mogoerane said his son had told him they should not cry over his death.

"He said he was prepared to die", said Mr Mogoerane.

Meanwhile a battle for the bodies of the three hanged ANC men failed yesterday when lawyers for their families were told that they had been buried an hour after the executions.

Since 1978, families of hanged men cannot reclaim the bodies.

The families were invited to attend a service in Pretoria at 9 am . . . after the men had been buried.

The families declined.

Attorney Krish Naidoo said: "The families wanted to bury their sons according to custom."



● The grief-stricken mother of Marcus Motaung at a service for the hanged ANC trio in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon. The meeting, attended by a large crowd, was addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, who made an impassioned plea to the Prime Minister to dismantle apartheid.

memo. **Cops** **hold 23**

DURBAN — Police arrested 23 people when 400 students and workers marched through the streets of Durban yesterday waving banners of the colours of the ANC.

Police with dogs and batons broke up the march in Sydney Road.

Police were called to the University of Zululand on Wednesday night where about 700 students demonstrated against the hangings.

A police vehicle was burnt and damage done to the tuck shop area.

LAWSUIT **WON'T DIE** **WITH HIM**

PRETORIA — Marcus Motaung's lawyers say they will continue the case against the Minister of Police and the policemen who shot him at the time of his arrest.

Motaung was claiming R10 000.

His complaint against the Medical and Dental Council will also be pursued.

Motaung alleged that Dr Magdalena Snyman, a district surgeon who examined him two hours after he was shot, gave him only pain-killers and allowed police to take him away.

Motaung, who later underwent an operation, was shot in the genitals and in the lower part of his body.

Delicious
Dozen are
on Pages
8 and 9

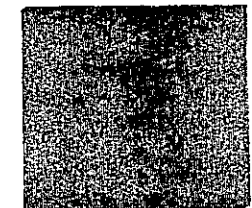
MAKE **OR** **BREAK** **FOR**



CHIEFS

Back Page

Superstar **MICHAEL** **JACKSON**



trapped in **nursery**

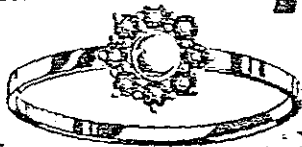
DION Jewellery for Pearls and Garnets

GROUND FLOOR — CITY STORE ONLY

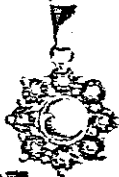
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No freedom yet for 6 in Seychelles

The Star's Foreign News Service 13/6/83

NAIROBI — After the failure of his bid to exchange three jailed mercenaries for the three ANC men executed in Pretoria last Thursday, the Seychelles leader, Mr Albert Rene, has begun reviewing the cases of scores of his soldiers who have been detained after a mutiny last August.

But Seychelles sources say he is unlikely at this time to review the cases of the six white mercenaries who were captured after taking part in a Seychelles coup attempt mounted from South Africa in November 1981.

The six are Jeremiah Puren, Aubrey Brooks, Roger England, Bernard Carey, Robert Sims and South African Martin Dolinchek.

They escaped from their cells in Mahe jail when it came under mortar fire from the mutineers, but when offered freedom in return for their support, they refused.

Then Dolinchek released a captured Seychelles army officer and helped direct a counter attack which resulted in the prison's recapture.

Conditions for the mercenaries have since improved and they were allowed visitors.

Search still on for

The Star's Foreign News S

PERTH — The search for British rower Pe heavy seas off the Great Barrier Reef.

Mr Bird (36), a London photographer who August 23 last year to try and become the across the Pacific, has been in radio contact.

He said yesterday that his boat, Hele-on on Saturday night. The boat is built along World War 2 lifeboat and is self-righting.

Several boats left Lizard Island at first late afternoon had still not made contact with

ms, but too soft nearly enough

CAPE TOWN 13/6/83

Calls for release of student

Staff Reporter

DR STUART Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, yesterday called for the immediate release of Mr Saleem Badat who was arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on Friday.

Mr Badat, 25, a master's degree student in economic history, was arrested in Worcester. He is vice-chairman of the university branch of the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso).

In separate statements at the weekend, the Western Cape branch of Azaso and the UCT Students' Representative Council also demanded the unconditional release of Mr Badat and all other political prisoners.

Dr Saunders said the courts of the land were available to bring to justice those accused of an

alleged crime.

"Detention without charge or trial has no place in a civilized society and when it affects a member of a university community it compromises the work of all universities.

"I object most strongly to the detention of Mr Badat and call for him to be charged and brought to trial or to be released immediately."

● The Western Cape branch of Azaso said the detention of Mr Badat was "another attack by the State on democratic organizations opposed to apartheid".

"We know Saleem to be a freedom-loving democrat dedicated to the cause of justice in our country," the statement said.

In a statement calling for his release, the UCT SRC also demanded that all security legislation be scrapped.

Blacks can cripple economy says Buthelezi

S. A. Times 13/6/83 (11A)

THE HAGUE — Blacks had a stranglehold on the South African economy which they could use to eliminate the apartheid system, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at a Press conference in The Hague on Friday.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-zulu and leader of Inkatha, said blacks "already have a stranglehold on the economy. They can use their economic clout in their country to liberate themselves."

The Chief, who is on a tour of European capitals, added that the recent legalisation of black trade unions could swell that economic power once the unions acted together.

He pointedly refused

to condemn black nationalist violence, such as the recent Pretoria bomb attack, but added that "the situation in South Africa is such that if violence is pursued by any side, there won't be any victors or any vanquished."

However, he characterised the Government's proposed constitutional reforms as a "recipe for violence," that "slams the door completely" on the possibility of peaceful negotiations for change.

"They are saying in a sense that you (the black majority) should have no hope of ever appearing in the decision-making machinery of the country," Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi, who has held meetings with foreign ministry officials in West Germany and the Netherlands, described Western Government attitudes toward South Africa as "hypocritical."

He charged that they condemned apartheid, but offered no financial aid to help blacks' struggle against it.

After talks with Dutch Foreign Ministry officials, which he described as "non-committal," Chief Buthelezi said "I think it would be a good thing if Holland puts its money where its mouth is and not just condemn South Africa."

He called for increased Western aid to improve the education,

economic and cultural well-being of blacks in South Africa.

"Our people have sought friendship in the East because the West has not played ball with us," he said, apparently referring to the banned Africa National Congress' ties with East bloc nations.

Chief Buthelezi said he opposed international economic sanctions against Pretoria as ineffective, and added that he recognised other countries "have got their own interests" regarding South Africa.

He is scheduled to visit London, and plans to visit Geneva before returning to South Africa. — Sapa-AP.

Battle against councils grows

Cusa supports anti-council body

THE 100 000 strong Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), emerged at the weekend in full support of the newly established Anti-Community Council Committee, urging Soweto residents to boycott the forthcoming community council elections.

Sowetan 19/10/83

In a statement the union said: "Cusa wishes to endorse the call of the Anti-Community Council Committee to boycott the elections in September. Cusa believes in common citizenship in an undivided land and the separate community councils are in conflict with this.

"Instead we call for municipal rights for everyone. Community councils, like homelands, are farcical and do not even remotely fulfil the civic and political aspirations of black people.

11A

By MONO BADELA

"Cusa repeats its call to its members and other workers to increase their commitments to their communities through participation in activities aimed at creating a just society."

Cusa said this could be demonstrated by refusing to vote in all future community council elections. "We therefore support the efforts of the Anti-Community Council Committee to boycott the forthcoming elections," the

statement concluded.

Last month the Soweto Civic Association headed by its chairman Dr Nthato Motlana fired the first shots against the proposed new Black Local Authorities Board which will soon be tabled before Parliament.

An Anti-Community Council Committee (ACCC) which is to campaign vigorously against the participation in the forthcoming elections, was formally constituted in Soweto.

11A ~~BK~~ *Sowetan*

Mother claims she was fired over politics

THE MOTHER of one of the three ANC men who got a last minute reprieve, Mrs Olive Tsotsobe, claimed yesterday that after working for 25 years, she was "summarily fired" by her employer, the Soweto Community Council, because of her son's political activities.

Mrs Tsotsobe, the mother of Bobby Tsotsobe, who with Johannes Shabangu and David Moise had their death sentences commuted to life sentences by State President Mr Marais Viljoen, said she had worked first as a social worker for the Johannesburg Municipality then the West Rand Administration Board and later the Soweto Community Council.

She was posted at the Zondi Township Welfare Offices until January 7, 1982 when she was summoned to the office of the chief personnel officer and had to account for her, as well as her son's political activities.

She claimed she was forced to resign from her job on the spot despite her pleas that she be given a three months

By MONO BADELA

notice to sort out her financial obligations.

"I was forced to resign over my son's political activities. I did not get my benefits. I was told I would receive leave money due to me after a thorough investigation into the sick leave I took in 1981. I have been unemployed for 18 months and up till now, have not received my pension benefits," she said.

Mrs Tsotsobe, whose husband Ruthven was paralysed in December 1981, is a very bitter woman. She said they lived on the mercy of others.

She has been looking for employment but because of her age has been finding job-hunting difficult.

Mrs Tsotsobe said the

decision of the State President to reprieve her son made no difference to her life because she knew she would never live a normal life with him again." Kuyafana nje. It is all the same," she commented.

She was one of those who addressed a night vigil organised by the Save The Six Committee held at the Dube YWCA centre last Wednesday.

Mr Isaac Germihuys, Chief of Personnel at the offices of the Soweto Community Council, denied that Mrs Tsotsobe was fired. He said he believed that Mrs Tsotsobe resigned from the council. "However I am not prepared to discuss the domestic affairs of the council with the Press. If you want to take up the matter you can make an appointment with the Chief Executive Officer, Mr Nico Malan," said Mr Germihuys.

Mr Malan was not available for comment.



UNEMPLOYED: Bobby Tsotsobe's mother.

~~2~~ (11A) ~~3~~

13/4/83

SOWETAN

Cops keep watch on St Mary's

BAN ANGERS CHURCHMEN

THERE was a high concentration of both the Security Police and high ranking uniformed policemen with two-way radios and cameras at the St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg, where a prayer meeting for the dead ANC men was called off after it was banned.

"The church has to decide whether to obey God or man," agreed churchmen. The security police mingled and watched people arrive at the St Mary's Cathedral where the Dean of Johannesburg, Father Merwyn Castle was to have conducted a requiem mass.

Scores of mourners expressed disappointment when they learnt on their arrival that the service had been banned by the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

Father Castle told The SOWETAN that two high ranking security police, Colonel Mafan and Captain van Wyk had brought the order, signed by Mr J P M Duvenage, the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg to his office late on Friday. The order banned any service or protest meeting held in Johannesburg for the men between 6 am on Saturday and 6 am today.

The banning of the requiem mass and a commemoration service at the Jiswa hall in Lenasia was strongly condemned by church, community and political leaders.

By **MONO BADELA**

of the strong reaction in black communities against the hangings and refused to allow the expression of these feelings."



STUDYING NOTICE: Rev Frank Chikane.

"I do not think any Christian would condone violence for the sake of violence. Sometimes you are driven to a point where there is no alternative," said Father Castle.

The Rev Frank Chikane said: "I am deeply shocked that we are stopped from praying. To me, this is a direct assault on the church. The church has no alternative but to listen to God rather than man."

Mr Chikane said reactions such as banning church services and meetings embittered people more and convinced the oppressed masses that there was no peaceful alternative for bringing about change in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), whose planned commemoration service for the three hanged ANC men scheduled for Jiswa Centre yesterday was also banned, said: "The government knows

Buthelezi: Blacks can end apartheid

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THE HAGUE. — Blacks had a stranglehold on the South African economy which they could use to eliminate the apartheid system, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at a press conference here on Friday.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu and leader of Inkatha, said blacks "already have a stranglehold on the economy. They can use their economic clout in

their country to liberate themselves".

The chief, who is on a tour of European capitals, added that the recent legalization of black trade unions could swell that economic power once the unions acted together.

He pointedly refused to condemn black nationalist violence, such as the recent Pretoria bomb attack, but added: "The situation in South

Africa is such that if violence is pursued by any side, there won't be any victors or any vanquished."

However, he characterized the government's proposed constitutional reforms as a "recipe for violence" that "slams the door completely" on the possibility of peaceful negotiations for change.

Chief Buthelezi, who has held meetings with Foreign Ministry officials in West Germany and Holland, described Western governmental attitudes toward South Africa as hypocritical.

He charged that they condemned apartheid but offered no financial aid to help blacks' struggle against it.

He said: "I think it would be a good thing if Holland put its money where its mouth is and not just condemn South Africa." He also called for aid for education.

Chief Buthelezi said he opposed international economic sanctions against Pretoria as ineffective, and added that he recognized that other countries "have got their own interests" regarding South Africa.

He is scheduled to leave tomorrow for London, and plans to visit Geneva before returning to South Africa. — Sapa-AP

Riots, 3 hangings are linked

By Michael Tisong

On the seventh anniversary of the 1976 riots is commemorated on Friday, it is bound to carry over the tradition of events surrounding last year's execution of the three African National Congress men.

The three were among the thousands of young people who left the country as a result of the upheavals that tore the country apart after June 16 that year.

The men — Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mashaba and Marcus Motaung — told the court before they were sentenced, that they left the country to wage the armed struggle against South Africa.

The troubles of 1976 can be traced to a crisis started in 1974 when the regional director of Bantu Educa-

tion for the Southern Transvaal, Mr WC Ackermann, issued a directive that Afrikaans and English were to be used on a 50-50 basis in junior secondary schools. At the time, all subjects were taught in English.

The directive met with numerous protests from many educationists. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said four black educational bodies called on the government to change the language ruling. But, he added, the Government had the right to determine what the medium of instruction should be.

Members of various school boards were sacked when they refused to obey the directive. The entire school board of Meadowlands Tswana School resigned in sympathy.

Seven years ago South Africa was shaken by the ferocity of the Soweto riots. Among the young blacks who fled to join an armed struggle against the Government were the three men executed in Pretoria last week.

On May 17 1976, the students made their stand on the language issue when Form 1 and Form 2 scholars at Phefeni Junior Secondary in Orlando West refused to go into class until their demands to have Afrikaans dropped as a medium of instruction, were met.

Within a week, three schools joined Phefeni and the number of scholars boycotting classes swelled to 1 600. By the end of May more than 2 000 students were involved in the boycott.

The turning point of the protest came on the morning of Wednesday June 16 when a 13-year-old pupil, Hector Peterson, was shot dead by police at Orlando High School.

The dimension of violence was then added to the language issue. The day wreaked a heavy toll when 23 people including two whites who were in the township, were killed. The two, Dr Melville Edelstein and Mr Nols Esterhuizen, worked for WRAB at the time.

On the same day, about 220 people were injured with 69 of them suffering from bullet wounds. Ten WRAB offices

were burnt down. Two hostels, an office of the Urban Bantu Council, six liquor stores and two schools also went up in flames.

Twenty other buildings were damaged. Twenty police and eight Bantu Affairs Board vehicles and a private car were also damaged. Four Putco buses and a roadscraper were also burnt out. Two police dogs were hacked to death with pangas and burnt.

About 10 000 students who gathered at Phefeni School, faced a contingent of armed policemen. Violence broke out there when a teargas cannister was thrown to disperse the students and the students retaliated with stones.

About 1 000 heavily armed policemen were massed in the township that day. Troops at Doornkop military base near Soweto were put on standby.

The Prime Minister, Mr BJ Vorster, said the Government was not going to be intimidated and that the police should maintain order at all costs.

The Minister of Justice and the Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, warned that the police were going to act "very firmly".

He blamed the South Africa Students' Organisation, the Black People's Convention and the African National Congress for the unrest which was spreading country-wide.

On June 22, Mr Kruger announced in Parliament that 140 had died in the violence with 1 128 people injured. Putco lost more than R1 million in burned and wrecked buses.

The Soweto circuit inspector, Mr Thys de Beer, advised the Bantu Education Department that it should not step down on the language issue. "If we give in to student power on this issue they will in no time be demanding something else," he said.

On June 22, Soweto school principals called on the government to scrap Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. They also put the blame for the riot deaths squarely on the shoulders of BED which they said refused to listen to pleas to stop teaching in Afrikaans.

"The riots were sparked by children who hated the imposition of a language they resented.



Former Robben Island prisoner and national vice-president of Azapo, Mr Saths Cooper, is held

shoulder high by some of the participants at the Hammankraal gathering.

young people to leave the country and join the ANC in neighbouring countries.

20/6/83
ANC in
UN bid
for radio

11A
B3C
Ray

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK — An African National Congress request for a powerful radio transmitter to beam at South Africa is to be circulated to all United Nations' agencies.
The decision was taken by a panel of the UN decolonisation committee, along with a recommendation that governments should also be handed a hefty inventory of communications equipment requested by the ANC.
The list includes smaller mobile transmitters, a large printing press, 20 portable projectors, 15 telex machines, 10 duplicating machines and five movie cameras.
The powerful transmitter was needed "for internal and international communications", the decolonisation committee's sub-committee on petitions, information, and assistance reported. It would be positioned in Southern Africa and operated by ANC personnel.
The printing press was needed for "large-scale production of educational and publicity material, for distribution both inside and outside South Africa," the committee stated.



SUSPENDED: Moloko.

CALL

DEFIED

THE CALL BY the rector of Medunsa for students to return to classes today following the closure of the university last week, was yesterday rejected by the entire student body who pledged to stay away until the two student leaders are reinstated.

A meeting attended by more than 400 people, including students, parents and organisations such as Azaso, United Democratic Front, the Black Students Society, Witwatersrand University SRC and the Conference of Academics for a Democratic Society, at the Khotso House, Johannesburg, condemned the suspension of student leaders Mr Paul Sefularo and Mr Confidence Moloko by the rector, Professor Thomas Dunston.

The medical university near Pretoria was closed after more than 800 students went on strike following first the expulsion and then the suspension of the two student leaders.

The meeting rejected the rector's call to return to campus without the suspended two who are to appear before the university's disciplinary committee which will sit after July 5.

A statement released by the meeting yesterday said:

- We, noting that the rector has not met students' demands that the two suspended students be reinstated unconditionally;
- that the suspension was unjust and unwarranted as Professor Dunston failed to prove allegations of intimidation of some students by the two;

- that the sitting of the disciplinary committee will only take place after July 5 and therefore the academic careers of the two students will be adversely affected;
- that the students of Medunsa are morally bound to support

the suspended students because they were elected by them to execute the very duties for which they were victimised, resolve not to take part in any academic activities until they are reinstated unconditionally.

The meeting also re-

solved that four parents, including a parent of one of the suspended students, should meet and inform the rector of this decision and to enlist the support of staff members at Medunsa, parents and public, to secure the reinstatement of Mr Sefularo and Mr Moloko.

If, at the report back of the parents, the two are still excluded, the students will continue with the boycott.

The action of the university was described as "highly provocative and insensitive" compared with the attitudes of other university authorities at Fort Hare, Turfloop and Ngoye.

By MONO BADELA

Schoolgirl beheaded

By TOM GWEBU

THE head of a Pretoria schoolgirl was cut off completely from its body in one of the most gruesome accidents in the area on Friday afternoon.

Eight-year-old Mandovi Hilda Mathibela of 197 Moroe Street, Atteridgeville was knocked down, then dragged for about 17 paces before the car came to a standstill.

Blood patches on the

tar road told the woeful tale.

An eye-witness and cousin to the dead girl, Phindile Skosana related the accident.

Car

The dead girl was crossing Moroe Street to a nearby fun playground. She was about five paces into the street when a car hit her. "When the driver finally stopped, after dragging her body underneath the

front part of the car. I saw a lot of blood. I was confused," she said.

Other people rushed to the scene. They gave help. The head was found later, separated from the body and also badly crushed.

Hilda was a Standard Two pupil at the Bud Mbelle Lower Primary School. No funeral arrangements have been made.

The matter has been reported to the police, who are investigating.

THAN
City
SAYS MR J

THIS IS A GENUINE
MR J

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City

Council 'plot'
— PAGE 2

INSIDE TODAY
R1 800 Soccerpot
— PAGE 15

Shame Benoni
— PAGE 16

(S) (IA) ROM 13/6/83

Mandela's fame grows as the long years roll on

NELSON Rolihlahla Mandela, 64, South Africa's most celebrated black prisoner and leader of the African National Congress (ANC), has had an impressive list of honours conferred on him since 1964.

Mandela, a BA graduate of the University of South Africa, presently in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, has not personally received the more than dozen honours because he has been in prison for 19 years.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for plotting the overthrow of the Government by revolutionary means.

Topping the list is the honorary Doctorate of Laws degree awarded to the ANC leader last week by the City College of New York, for his "unselfish commitment to the principle of freedom and justice".

Other honours for Mandela include

● In February the City of

By MONTSHIWA MOROKE

Rome conferred honorary citizenship for "generous and fearless work in favour of equality among men and progress for African people".

● In March he was declared honorary citizen of the Greek village of Ancient Olympia, original site of the Olympic Games.

● In 1982, the Leeds City Council named the gardens in

front of the city hall after the ANC leader in "tribute to a man who is paying the price for struggling for freedom".

● In 1981, the Austrians conferred the Bruno Kreisky Foundation Award for "meritorious work in the field of human rights".

● In the same year, he was granted the Freedom of the City of Glasgow, Glasgow's

highest honour.

● He became the winner of the 1979 Jawaharlal Nehru Award, for his support of African Liberation struggles — an award to honour people who have made outstanding contributions to the promotion of international understanding.

● Also in 1979 he was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Laws by the National University of Lesotho.

● An honorary life membership was conferred on him by

the University of London Union in 1975, "in recognition of the historic role he has played in the world-wide fight against racism".

● A nuclear particle discovered by Leeds University was named after him in 1973.

● In 1965, he was made honorary president of the Leeds University Union, and

● In 1964 he was made honorary president of the University College of London.

Other honours include a street in Camden, North Lon-

don, where the Anti-Apartheid Movement has its headquarters, to be renamed Mandela Street.

The South African Government has refused permission for some of the awards to be conferred on the ANC leader at Robben Island or Pollsmoor. The Government has also refused to ease restrictions on banned and banished Mrs Winnie Mandela, his wife, to travel outside the country to receive the awards on his behalf.

A 'Socialist' SA is the aim

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

EIGHT-HUNDRED blacks, representing about 200 organisations, unanimously adopted a manifesto at the weekend identifying "racial capitalism" as the real enemy and pledging them to work for the establishment of an "anti-racist, socialist Republic".

The manifesto was adopted at a conference at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, convened by the National Forum Committee, whose 17 members represented a wide spectrum of black leaders drawn from all spheres of community life.

Delegates from political, religious, student and trade union movements, reflected the same diversity, only in greater measure, although the driving force behind the conference appeared to be the pro-black consciousness Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The conference, whose keynote speakers included Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Dr

Neville Alexander, of the South African Council of Higher Education, and Mr Lyon Mabasa, of Azapo, was called to unite blacks against the Prime Minister's pending "new deal".

"Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism, which holds the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class," the manifesto said.

"The struggle against apartheid is no more than the point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism."

The manifesto - which will be reviewed at a second unity conference, or national forum, scheduled for April next year - included a list of fundamental principles, which, it was hoped, would secure the "liberation struggle" from capture by "teacher-outs opportunists" posing as leaders.

These included anti-racism, non-collaboration with the "oppressor" and refusal to serve in any of his

political institutions, and opposition to all alliances with "ruling class parties".

The socialist tenor of the manifesto was reflected in its call for control by workers of the "means of production, distribution and exchange".

The itinerary of demands embraced, however, many of the objectives of non-socialist opponents of apartheid, including abolition of influx control and resettlement and reintegration of the "bantustans into a unitary Azania".

Notably absent from the conference were members of movements subscribing to the Freedom Charter adopted by the African National Congress and its allies at Kliptown in 1955.

Movements operating lawfully within South Africa today which are strongly pro-Freedom Charter include the recently revived Transvaal Indian Congress, the Azanian Students Organisation and the Congress of South African Students.

The movements are characterised by their willingness to co-operate with all "progressive democrats", Ir-

respective of colour, whereas the pro-black consciousness organisations wanting to take over and subvert the black struggle.

But, on the question of whites, the differences between the two camps appears to have narrowed with the willingness of black consciousness organisations to admit white journalists to their meetings and to concede that individual whites may be genuinely opposed to racism.

Bishop Tutu focused on the unresolved differences between the two groups in his speech.

"What does it really matter whether you say you are an exponent of black consciousness and somebody else is an upholder of the Freedom Charter?" he asked.

"The struggle itself is for our total liberation and the liberation of all the people of South Africa, black and white, to live in a South Africa where the rule of law obtains, where habeas corpus holds sway, where all have full citizenship rights and obligations. Is that not what we are all striving for?"

MARKING

No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.

Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.

No part of an answer book is to be torn out.

All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Examiners' Initials									



Although Dr Neville Alexander ponders a point made by the National Forum Committee, attended by at least 800 blacks, at Hammanskraal at the weekend.

Vervaardig in Suid-Afrika

8 Aug 13/6/83 (11A)

Tutu says total freedom is the only goal

Forum appeals for black unity

By Jon Qwelane

Total freedom was the only goal of the black people and they would not ask whites for it because it was their inalienable right, Bishop Desmond Tutu said at the first gathering of the black National Forum at Hammanskraal at the weekend.

Bishop Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, is a member of the forum committee.

Other members are the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak; the national president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Lybon Mabasa; the secretary of the Committee of Ten and the Soweto Civic Associations, Mr Tom Manthatha; the general secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union, Mrs Emma Mashinini; and Dr Neville Alexander of the Cape branch of the South African Council for Higher Education.

About 800 delegates took part, representing more than 170 black organisations including lawyers' groups, domestic workers' organisations, sporting bodies, trade unions and political and student organisations.

It was described as the first time that blacks not "operating within the system" had gathered in such numbers to iron out their differences.

Bishop Tutu said: "We have been created free, for freedom's sake. That is why we are not asking the whites' permission to be free.

"Even God, who has the sole right to be totalitarian, has given us freedom.

"He would rather have us go to Hell of our own free will than go to Heaven by force."

He urged the groups to unite because what mattered ultimately was strategy in reaching the common goal, the total liberation of the black people.

The Bishop said he would not like to think there would be civil war after liberation because of differences among blacks.

"I believe we are divided because we have not suffered enough. If we had, we would be holding hands together in brotherhood.

"Let us resolve our differences so that when we leave here we will be new people."

The Lutheran Bishop of Southern Africa, Dr Manas Buthelezi, said that in any quest for unity there were certain non-negotiable points. One was the rejection of racism and all the institutions that entrenched it.

Bishop Buthelezi said it was in the interests of



The General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, addressing the crowd in Hammanskraal at the weekend.

black people to limit, as far as possible, potential enemies within black ranks.

"In South Africa apartheid is a way of life based on fear of neighbours. As in all forms of human behaviour motivated by fear, distance becomes the measure of security in the instance of apartheid.

"But the security of distance does not solve the problem of deep-seated fears which racism tries to resolve," the Bishop said.

"Instead racism denies itself the opportunity of neutralising fear by transforming the imagined enemy into a friend. It is natural for the minority to fear the majority — but I know of no shortcut solution other than that the minority should make friends with the majority," Bishop Buthelezi said.

● See Page 7, World section.

Black unity talks show up gaps of dissension

Star 13/6/83 (11A)

By Jon Qwelane

Black unity, or disunity, was highlighted at Hammanskraal at the weekend when more than 170 black organisations conferred.

The participants comprised representatives of political groups, trade unions, sporting and student organisations, lawyers, academic, civic and church bodies, and domestic workers' groups.

The single important factor about the conference — dubbed a national forum — was that differences expressed were not between organisations working “within the system” and those working outside it, but between organisations united under the umbrella of the Black Consciousness philosophy.

That there are differences between groups on strategy and policy — on the very interpretation of the Black Consciousness ideology — has been evident for some time.

Two years ago, during a service the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto to commemorate the uprisings in June 1976, matters came to a head when speakers from the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) were apparently excluded from addressing the crowds by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which had convened the gathering.

The students took umbrage. The situation was saved in time by the general secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, who appealed for calm between the students and Azapo.

Again, when the Sharpeville shootings were commemorated at Dube YWCA in Soweto in March, speakers under the Black Consciousness banner criticised “charterists”. They said that, unlike the “charterists”, Azapo's policy was not directed from plush suburbs like Lower Houghton. This was intended as a criticism of those black groups willing to work with white liberals.

The label “charterists” has sneeringly been applied to those groups which have declared that they accept the Freedom Charter, adopted 28 years ago by, among others, the outlawed African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites), and the Coloured People's Congress.

CO-OPERATION

The “charterists” refer to themselves as “progressive forces of the liberation struggle”, and advocate co-operation with those whites committed to dismantling apartheid.

On the other hand, Azapo and the staunch adherents of Black Consciousness hold that while their movement is pro-black, it is not necessarily anti-anybody — and if co-operation with whites cannot be avoided, it must be kept at a minimum.

Azapo is the eminent exponent of Black Consciousness still operating legally inside South Africa.

TWO CLASSES

The fundamental pillar of Black Consciousness is that in the South African context there are two classes of people: the oppressor and the oppressed.

The oppressed and exploited are the disenfranchised, and can therefore not join hands with whites — no matter how sincere those whites may be.

That is the crux of the differences among the organisations which met in Hammanskraal.

At the end of the talks it was agreed unanimously that the only way to fight apartheid was by presenting a united front.

In his address, Bishop Tutu emphasised to delegates that they had to be like the fingers of a hand.

“Outspread, those fingers can be easily broken, but clenched into a fist they are very difficult to break.”

The National Forum — a first step towards unity

14/6/83

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

THE National Forum Committee, convenors of the two-day conference at Hammanskraal attended by some 200 black organisations, undoubtedly succeeded in its primary aim of promoting closer working relations between black movements operating outside Government-approved institutions.

The conference — or national forum — ended with the unanimous adoption by about 300 delegates of the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" as a unifying and overarching declaration of objectives.

It thus helped to narrow differences between black consciousness movements and the Charterists.

Those who voted for the manifesto included members of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the General Organisation and Allied Workers' Union, the Congress of South African Students — all strongly Char-

terist in outlook — as well as "leading personalities" of the United Democratic Front, Mr Mabasa said.

Formed last month, the United Democratic Front is an umbrella organisation of 25 organisations, most of which subscribe to the Freedom Charter, which was ori-

ginally adopted by the Congress Alliance in June 1955. The now outlawed African National Congress was a

member of the Congress Alliance, as was the recently revived Transvaal Indian Congress, which played a leading role in the formation of the United Democratic Front.

A factor which will unquestionably work strongly to promote close links between black consciousness organisations — of which Azapo is perhaps the foremost exponent — and the Charterists are those movements which members of the United Democratic Front.

They include the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union and the Soweto Civic Association.

Leading members of these movements — Mr Phiroshah Camay, of CUSA, Mrs Emma Mashinini, of the CCAWU, and Mr Tom Mambatha, of the SCA — are all members of the National Forum Committee.

In addition there is the influence of men such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the Council



Azapo president Lybon Mabasa (second from left) scribbles a note while three fellow convenors of the National Forum conference of black organisations listen intently to a speaker. The three are: Dr Neville Alexander, Mr Piroshah Camay and Mr Saths Cooper

of Churches, who have already urged blacks to forget their ideological differences and work together on a common programme of agreed objectives.

Bishop Tutu, a member of the National Forum Committee, was a keynote speaker at the national forum.

English language medium

THE idea of English serving as a *lingua franca* in South Africa and helping to facilitate communication between different sectors of the community and to forge a new nation out of its diverse elements was mooted at the black unity conference at the weekend.

"The liberation movement has to evolve and implement a democratic language policy, not for tomorrow but for today," Dr Neville Alexander said in a keynote address.

Dr Alexander, a former Robben Island prisoner, mooted a two-tier language policy for the "liberation" movement.

"All Azanians must have a sound knowledge of English, whether as a home language or a second language. All Azanians must have a conversational knowledge of the other regionally important languages."

"For example: In the Eastern Province, every person will know English. Afrikaans-speaking persons must have a conversational knowledge of Xhosa, and Xhosa-speaking persons will have a conversational knowledge of Afrikaans."

In another paper, Mr John Samuels, director of the South African Council of Higher Education, developed a similar theme when he spoke of the National English Language Project (NELP).

"Politically, the project is essential because of the fact that only a *lingua franca* or linking language can in the long run guarantee the unity of the nation of South Africa," he said.

"The nation-building aspect of this project is its most fundamental feature. Because of the National Party Government's sectarian insistence on treating English and Afrikaans as co-equal

official languages, state resistance will be forthcoming.

"However, since such a project is necessarily community-based and national... it will be impossible for any government to stop it.

"This language movement will become simultaneously a cultural movement since it is clear that different cultural elements will be, or can be, conveyed to all sections of population through the same language medium.

"The NELP will also constitute a guarantee that South Africa will not be isolated from the rest of the world."

Mr Samuels ended on a cautionary note, warning that some English language programme could be inimical to the black cause.

"There are a large number of English language programmes whose sole aim is to slot their students more effectively into the apartheid machinery."

There are a large number of English language programmes whose sole aim is to slot their students more effectively into the apartheid machinery."

Leading members of these movements — Mr Phiroshah Camay, of CUSA, Mrs Emma Mashinini, of the CCAWU, and Mr Tom Mambatha, of the SCA — are all members of the National Forum Committee.

In addition there is the influence of men such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the Council

Few Charterists would quarrel with the opening sentences of the manifesto.

"Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism, which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of a small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class," the manifesto declared.

"The struggle against apartheid is no more than a point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism."

The same point was made strongly by Mr Letsatsi Minsala, of the Black Allied Miners' Union, when discussion was opened to the general

among the whites who are committed to the ideal of liberation and who are prepared to make sacrifices.

"They must be allowed to play a part in the struggle, but the leadership of the struggle must remain with the black working class."

Another delegate, Mr Imran Moosa, defined blackness as a state of mind: a state of mind possessed, he said, by men like Dr Neil Aggett, the white trade union leader who died in detention, but not by the deviant class of blacks, the "non-whites," which collaborated with the ruling whites.

But there are, of course, still points of differences between two camps. One of them was highlighted by Mr Alexander's statement, Dr Alexander said: "The danger inherent in this kind of talk is quite simply that it makes room in theory and in practice for the

He was levelling a serious charge, because he had earlier identified the "theory of ethnicity" as one which had replaced the ideology of race after racism had fallen into disrepute because of Nazism.

But, Dr Alexander continued, the theory of ethnicity was a superior instrument of policy to racial theory for South Africa's ruling class, because it could be used to "justify even greater fragmentation of the working people whose unity held within itself the message of doom for the capitalist-apartheid system."

Referring to Mr Yacoob's statement, Dr Alexander said: "The danger inherent in this kind of talk is quite simply that it makes room in theory and in practice for the

On the idea of establishing separate organisations for each of the "national groups," and then linking these organisations in an overall alliance along the lines of the Congress Alliance of the 1950s, Dr Alexander said:

"It is a reactionary, not a progressive, policy from the point of view of the liberation movement taken as a whole. Imagine us advocating 'Indian,' 'Coloured' and 'African' trade unions or student unions today."

He added: "Middle class and aspiring bourgeois elements quickly seize control of such colour-based ethnic organisations and use them as power bases from which they try to bargain for a larger share of the economic cake."

Honing his attack to a fine point, he concluded: "This is essentially the kind of thing that the bantustan leaders and the bantustan middle classes are doing today."

As a scholar with a fine brain, a man who has served 10 years on Robben Island and a member of the National Forum Committee, Dr Alexander is held in great esteem by many supporters of the manifesto.

His criticism of the Transvaal Indian Congress constitutes a major point of difference, which will require a great deal of discussion and give and take on both sides if it is to be resolved amicably.

saying that "we collaborated very closely with South Africa in this matter" The spokesman said the arrest was kept secret until yesterday "to allow investigations to continue".

However, there had been no other arrests and nobody else had been implicated so far.

Mystery

The report from Zurich could be seen as partly clarifying the five-month-old mystery which has surrounded the circumstances of the Gerhardts' detention since Mr Botha's announcement on January 26.

The exact date of the detention is not public knowledge. On January 26 Mr Botha said only that the Gerhardts had been detained "a few days ago", and did not elaborate.

Son

At the time the Cape Times established that on January 21, a Friday, Mrs Gerhardt telephoned the school attended by her son Gregory to say he would not be present that day. She said the school would "hear all about it".

On Monday, January 24, the school was phoned by a man, apparently not a member of the family, who said Mrs Gerhardt and Gregory were in Pretoria and Commodore Gerhardt was overseas, the Cape Times was told.

Midweek Homefinder tomorrow

IN Midweek Homefinder tomorrow: New R20-million town-house plan for Hout Bay.

Watchdog

- How can you win in the car-buying game?
- Do you believe in fairies?
- What can you expect from your insurance broker?

PAGE 1

Teleletters



IF YOU would like to air your views on any subject from capital punishment to the banning of rugby players who try their skills at gridiron football, please phone Teleletters ☎ 41 3361 ext 219 between 9am and 12 noon.

Armed ANC men arrested

Political Staff

TWO African National Congress insurgents who infiltrated South Africa from Zimbabwe over the weekend have been arrested in a joint police Defence Force follow-up operation, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, announced last night.

Mr Le Grange said in a statement that the two men, who were in possession of Soviet-made arms and ammunition, had been identified as ANC terrorists.

Four people had entered the Messina district on Friday after cutting through the border fence.

Follow-up actions were launched by the police and the Defence Force leading to the arrest of two of them on Saturday.

The other two insurgents had escaped to Zimbabwe. Mr Le Grange said the four insurgents had flown from Maputo to Harare on Wednesday last week after which they had travelled to the South African border.

During the follow-up action, two AK-47 rifles, four AK magazines, 2153 rounds of AK ammunition, 19 rounds of RPD ammunition, three Soviet-made hand-grenades and four backpacks containing food and clothing had been seized.

Viljoen defends quota bill

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, last night rejected calls for universities to be allowed to decide which students they would admit without regard to race.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Universities Amendment Bill, he said the quota system was not a method of excluding students or of erecting barriers as the Progressive Federal Party claimed.

He resented the allegation by Dr Alex Boraine (PFP, Pinelands) that the quota system was similar to anti-Jewish measures imposed in Hitler's Germany and Stalinist Russia.

● Full report, page 4

deration upset by violent

ARTIN WELLS
 Fusioned South African Federation team, at a "violent" Sport match against South Africa on Saturday, are a complaint with the Board.
 deration intends lodging complaint about playing matches in Windhoek, manner in which Sat-

urday's game was refereed. In an interview last night, Mr Cuthbert Loriston, the president of the federation, said he had been "very deeply upset" since the match.

He said the referee should have clamped down early, instead of allowing numerous infringements, and the harassment of Federation players.

"There are some people who

make it as hard as possible for others to play. This has happened to us so many times in the past, that we loose by a few points in the last moments of a game."

Contacted in Windhoek last night, the president of the SWA Rugby Union, Mr Gert Muller, said he did not know what the Cape side were going to complain about as they had

chosen the referee, Mr Jan Augustyn of North West Cape.

"Their players taunted and swore at the referee, who kept his cool," Mr Muller said. "When they missed a goal kick, for instance, they said they wanted another try."

SWA won the match 13-12 after a disputed try — scored by SWA fullback Andre Stoop in the seventh minute of in-

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Two ANC men held in SA, two in Zimbabwe

ARGUS
14/6/83
11A

Argus Africa
News Service

HARARE — Two African National Congress insurgents, one wounded, are being held by the Zimbabwean authorities at Beit Bridge on the border with South Africa, according to sources here.

They are believed to be the two who escaped a South African security force follow-up operation in which two other insurgents and an assortment of Soviet-made weapons were captured at the weekend.

There is no indication here yet what the Zimbabwean authorities intend to do about the two ANC men who, according to South Africa's Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, were members of a band of four who infiltrated the Republic after cutting the border fence.

SERIOUS MESSAGE

News of the Zimbabwean arrests came soon after Mr le Grange told The Argus Political Correspondent that there was a serious message for Zimbabwe in the arrest of two ANC "terrorists" in Northern Transvaal.

Mr le Grange said this was one specific instance where terrorists had crossed the border in a planned and calculated way. This was shown by the weapons and ammunition they brought.

They went from Maputo to Harare and from there to the South African border near Messina without being identified.

PROTESTS

This was an indication of what was going on in Mozambique in spite of the protests of its Government that it was only harbouring refugees.

Mr le Grange said he was not blaming the Zimbabwean Government at this stage, but he hoped it would get the serious message of how its territory had been used by "terrorists".

South Africa is likely to make representations to Zimbabwe about the incident, the first involving that country.

According to Foreign Affairs sources, Zimbabwe has, in spite of other tensions between itself and South Africa, so far not harboured terrorists.

FOUR ARRESTED

Mr le Grange said four insurgents, two of them positively identified as ANC terrorists, were in the Messina district.

It was discovered "on June 10 that four people had entered South Africa from Zimbabwe after cut-

A committed, remorseless

Death



RODNEY AX, who was sentenced to death in Johannesburg

Naked body of teenage girl found near railway

Staff Reporter

THE trussed, naked body of a teenage girl has been found in a ditch next to the railway near Newlands station.

The girl, about 18, is believed to have been strangled.

A piece of material was tied round her neck. Her ankles were tied together with another piece of material.

Police have begun a

The regional chief of Railways Police, Brigadier D F Malan, said the body was found yesterday afternoon in a ditch between the Campground Road bridge and Newlands station.

A post-mortem would be held to find out if the girl had been sexually molested.

He appealed to parents of missing teenage girls to contact the nearest Railways Police office. He declined to give details

railways labour. Hendrik Olivier, walking to the toilets from where gang was working. Mr Olivier called foreman. Mr Hendriks, who called Railway Police.

Mr Geldenhuys knew by the colour hand sticking out plastic foam she the body, that the was dead.

Mr le Grange said there was a serious message for Zimbabwe in the arrest of two ANC "terrorists" in Northern Transvaal.

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FOUR ARRESTED

Mr le Grange said four insurgents, two of them positively identified as ANC terrorists, were in the Messina district.

It was discovered "on June 10 that four people had entered South Africa from Zimbabwe after cutting through the border fence".

Joint follow-up action by the police and the Defence Force led to the arrest of two of the insurgents on Saturday, but two others fled back to Zimbabwe, Mr le Grange said.

The two who were arrested were trained in Russia, Angola and East Germany, among other countries.

ASSAULT RIFLES

The Minister said that according to information the four fled from Maputo to Harare last Wednesday.

Two AK assault rifles, four magazines and 2 000 rounds of ammunition for them, other ammunition, hand-grenades and other equipment were seized.

Sources in Harare said one of the two men held by the Zimbabwean authorities was wounded, though not seriously.

Although Zimbabwe supports what it calls South African liberation movements diplomatically, it has not in the past allowed them to operate militarily from here.

Both the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress have a low-profile diplomatic representation in Harare.

It is understood that the men held in Zimbabwe were not carrying weapons when they were picked up.

● The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, is in Europe and is not expected back until the weekend.



RODNEY AX, who was sentenced to death

Naked body of teen girl found near rail

Staff Reporter

THE trussed, naked body of a teenage girl has been found in a ditch next to the railway near Newlands station.

The girl, about 18, is believed to have been strangled.

A piece of material was tied round her neck. Her ankles were tied together with another piece of material.

Police have begun a murder investigation.

The body was partly concealed by grass. A pile of clothing was neatly stacked on the girl's back.

The regional chief of Railways Police, Brigadier DF Malan, said the body was found yesterday afternoon in a ditch between the Campground Road bridge and Newlands station.

A post-mortem would be held to find out if the girl had been sexually molested.

He appealed to parents of missing teenage girls to contact the nearest Railways Police office. He declined to give other details.

The ditch is in an overgrown area next to a parking lot frequented by vagrants.

The body was found by

railways Hendrik O walking t toilets fro gang was v

Mr Oliivi foreman, J denhuys, w Railway P

Mr Gelder knew by th hand sticki plastic foa the body, th was dead.

He saw s head injuri.

"I have s dies, but th time I hav across ar this," he sa



Manifesto damns 'racial capitalism'

Cape Times 14/6/83 (119)
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight hundred blacks, representing about 200 organizations, unanimously adopted a manifesto at the weekend identifying "racial capitalism" as the real enemy and pledging them to work for the establishment of an "anti-racist, socialist Republic".

The manifesto was adopted at a conference at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, convened by the National Forum Committee, whose 17 members represented a wide spectrum of black leaders drawn from all spheres of community life.

The conference, whose keynote speakers included Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Dr Neville Alexander of the South African Council of Higher Education, and Mr Lybon Mabasa of Azapo, was called to unite blacks against the the Prime Minister's pending "new deal".

"Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism, which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class," the manifesto said.

"The struggle against apartheid is no more than the point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism."

The manifesto included a list of fundamental principles, which, it was hoped, would secure the "liberation struggle" from capture by "treacherous opportunists" posing as leaders.

These included anti-racism, non-collaboration with the "oppressor" and refusal to serve in any of his political institutions, and opposition to all alliances with "ruling class parties".

The socialist tenor of the manifesto was reflected in its call for control by workers of the "means of production, distribution and exchange".

The itinerary of demands embraced, however, many of the objectives of non-socialist opponents of apartheid, including abolition of influx control and resettlement and reintegration of the "bantustans into a unitary Azania".

14/6/83 RDM
11A

Heavily-armed ANC pair captured near Messina

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Two African National Congress insurgents who infiltrated South Africa from Zimbabwe over the weekend had been arrested in a joint follow-up operation by the police and the Defence Force, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced last night.

Mr Le Grange said in a statement that the two men, who were in possession of Soviet-made arms and ammunition, had been positively identified as ANC terrorists who had undergone their training in Angola, Russia and East Germany.

He said that four people had entered the Messina district illegally on Friday after cutting their way through the border fence.

Simultaneous follow-up actions were launched by the South African Police and the SADF, leading to the arrest of two of the insurgents on Saturday.

The other two had succeeded in escaping to Zimbabwe.

Mr Le Grange said that according to information at his



MR LOUIS LE GRANGE
Two held, two escaped

disposal the four ANC members had flown from Maputo to Harare on Wednesday last week, from which they had travelled to the South African border.

During the follow up actions two AK-47 rifles, four AK magazines, 255 rounds of AK ammunition, 19 rocket-propelled grenades, three Soviet-made hand grenades and

four back packs containing food and clothing had been seized.

The infiltration of ANC insurgents from Zimbabwe marks a departure from the recent pattern of ANC infiltration into South Africa.

Zimbabwe has specifically not been one of the targets of South Africa's recent diplomatic and military squeeze on neighbouring states to flush out the ANC.

It is known that the Government regards relations with Zimbabwe as cordial on this crucial level and that daily meetings take place between South African representatives and senior Zimbabwean Cabinet Ministers at the trade mission in Harare.

If the latest infiltration of ANC insurgents from Zimbabwean soil is indicative of a new trend it could lead to renewed tension between the two governments and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, could find himself at the receiving end of South Africa's hard-line crackdown on neighbours that harbour subversive elements.

Handwritten mark resembling a stylized 'W' or 'V' with a diagonal line.

11A
COPIES 10/6/83

Prisons Dept burial ANC 3

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The parents of the three ANC members hanged in Pretoria last week have been informed that their sons will be buried by the Department of Prison Services and they will be told the location of the graves "at a later stage".

A telegram from the Prison Services to lawyers for the families yesterday ended their uncertainty since the executions on Thursday.

The telegram said the parents had been given the option of attending a memorial service at Pretoria Central Prison shortly after the executions, according to Mr Krish Naidoo, one of the

attorneys.

The parents declined and asked for the bodies to be given to them for traditional burial.

The telegram said the department would bury the three and give full details of the graves to the families at an unspecified later date.

The three — Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mokololi and Marcus Motaung — were executed for treason for their part in a number of attacks on police stations, a power station and a railway line.

The government banned a number of commemoration meetings for the three over the weekend, including a Requiem Mass at the Anglican Cathedral.

Pupils protest (NA)

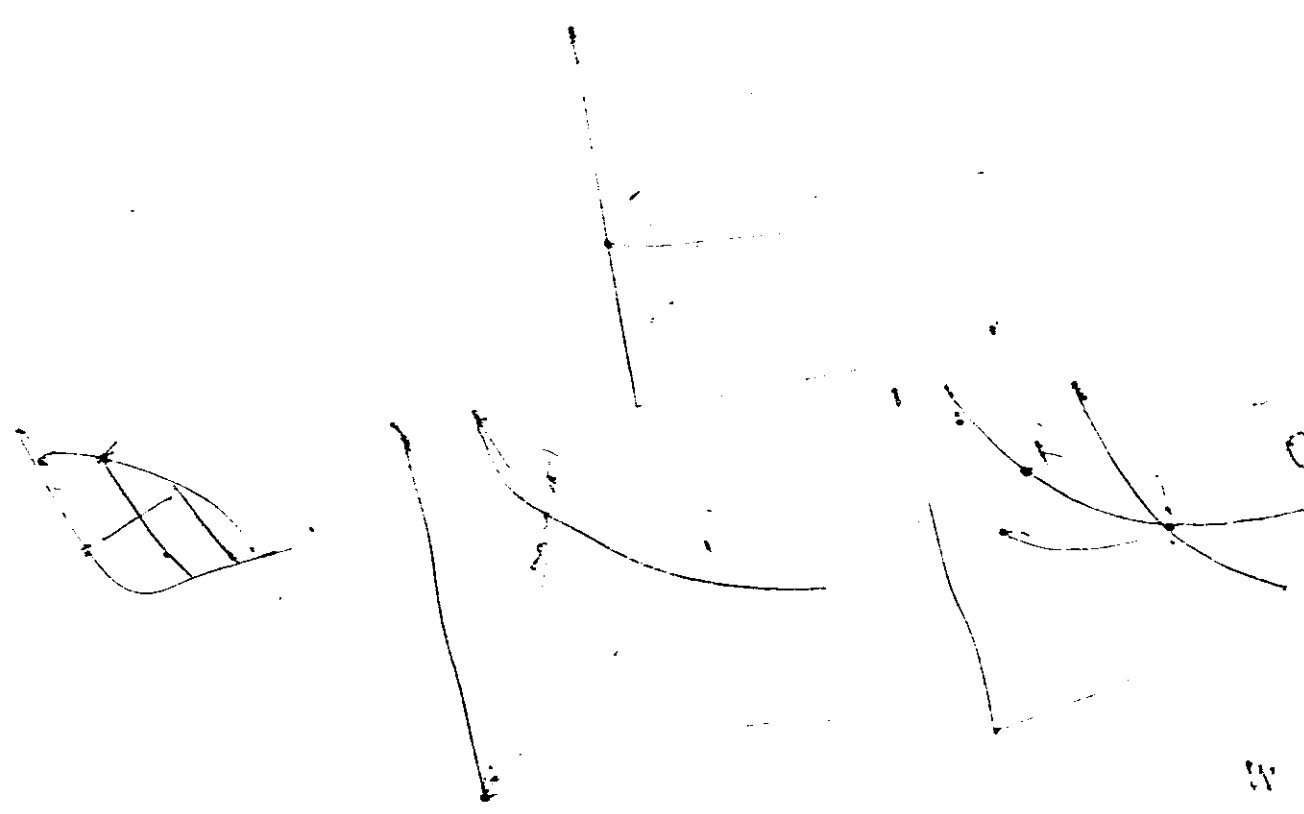
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MORE than 100 placard carrying kids, most of them school children, took to the streets of Vosloorus, Boksburg, at the weekend in protest against the hanging of the three ANC men last week.

Earlier the group attended a night vigil service held at the Vosloorus home of Thelle Mogoerane, one of the executed men. The two other men executed were Marcus Motaung and Jerry Mosololi.

The crowd is said to have stoned passing cars, smashing a few windscreens while marching to the police station.

Sowetan 14/6/83
Colonel Wallis, a district commander for the Kempton Park Police, said yesterday that the police were not aware of the incident. He said: "There is nothing I can say at the moment because this matter has not come to the attention of the police."



D.P. / XPRATC 4 14/6/83

Expel ANC appeal sent to Thatcher

EAST LONDON — An appeal to Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to expel African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) representatives from London has been addressed to her from South Africa.

A copy of the letter, signed by Mr J. J. Leontsinis in his capacity as chairman of an organisation based in Lyndhurst, Johannesburg, and called the Security Forces Support Committee

(SFSC) was sent to the Editor of the Daily Dispatch.

The letter expresses the SFSC's anguish over the Pretoria car bomb explosion set off by the ANC.

Mr Leontsinis said although the atrocity had been condemned "right across the political spectrum in South Africa", the ANC and the SA Communist Party were allowed to occupy safe sanctuaries in their respective headquarters in London.

Mr Leontsinis complained that the carnage caused in Pretoria had been defended in a British Broadcasting Corporation world service interview with Mrs Ruth Mompoti, the London representative of the ANC.

The letter asked Mrs Thatcher to expel Mrs Mompoti and other active ANC and SACP "terrorists" and "terrorist propagandists" from the United Kingdom.

Mrs Thatcher was also

asked to close the UK offices of the two organisations and to enforce strict visa control against would-be visitors "from the ranks of active terrorists".

The letter also suggested steps should be taken to ensure that no British money was donated to "the terrorists and their propagandists".

A fifth request was for Mrs Thatcher to launch an unequivocal condemnation of the ANC and

the SACP and of the Pretoria bomb attack.

"We believe these requests are in the interests, not just of the South African people but also of the people of the entire free world."

The letter to Mrs Thatcher had attached to it a question and answer transcript of the "no regrets" BBC interview Julian Marsha had with Mrs Ruth Mompoti of the ANC about the Pretoria bomb attack. — DDR

Star 14/6/88

~~Star~~ (11A)
Two more
ANC men
held at ~~Star~~
the border

The Stars's Foreign
News Service

HARARE — Two African National Congress insurgents, one of them wounded, are being held by the Zimbabwean authorities at Beit Bridge on the border with South Africa, according to sources in Harare.

They are believed to be the two who escaped a South African Security force follow-up operation in which two other insurgents and an assortment of Soviet-made weapons were captured at the weekend.

There is no indication yet what the Zimbabwean authorities intend to do about the two men who, according to South Africa's Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, were part of a band of four who infiltrated into the Republic after cutting the border fence.

In Cape Town Mr le Grange today warned Zimbabwe that there was a serious message for it in the arrest of the two alleged terrorists in the Northern Transvaal.

He said this was one specific instance where terrorists had crossed the border in a planned and calculated way.

This was shown by the weapons and ammunition they had brought with them.

They had come from Maputo to the capital of Zimbabwe, Harare, and had from there found their way to the South African border near Messina without being identified.


On the one hand this was an indication of what was going on in Mozambique in spite of the protestations of its Government that it was only harbouring refugees.

Mr Le Grange said he was not blaming the Zimbabwean Government at this stage but he hoped it would get the serious message of how its territory had been used by terrorists.

South Africa is likely to make representations to Zimbabwe about the incident, the first involving that country.

CITY / COURTS

Boycotts 'perhaps led to Klipfontein violence'

ARGUS 14/6/83 ICA 

By CAROL GEY VAN PITTIUS
Supreme Court Reporter

THE bus boycotts in 1980 could have been a contributing factor to the violence at Klipfontein Road in August of the same year, the Supreme Court was told today.

During the violence two motorists were dered and several mur- ricade had been set up at Klipfontein Road on Au- gust 11, 1980.
Dr Oscar Wolheim, a former chairman of the Institute of Race Re- lations of the Western Cape region was giving evidence in extenuation for 10 accused giving guilty of terrorism and murder at the marathon Mpetha trial on June 6 this year.

Tension

Dr Wolheim told the court that enormous ten- sion had built up when bus fares were substan- tially increased.

These fares were sig- nificantly higher and not within the income and told the commuters. He seen people queuing at bus terminals. He bray and Claremont waiting for transport and had seen commuters being harassed by armed police.

The mood in the town- ships was then one of an- ger and frustration, he said.

This resulted in a meeting between a dele- gation from the Institute of Race Relations and the then-Minister of Transport, Mr J C Henris.

Memorandum

A memorandum was drawn up in an attempt to relieve the situation during the boycott, Dr Wolheim said.

The memorandum stated that on August 11, 1980 pirate taxis defied riot police and plainclothed manhandling commuters out of the taxis and forc- ing them to board empty buses.

Such a confrontation was explosive and could well have contributed to the resentment and could have erupted later behind the terrible violence that and the next day that memorandum stated.

Understanding

Dr Wolheim told the court the aim of the in- stitute was to bring about a better under- standing between under- various racial groups in South Africa and to bring about peace and goodwill.

(Proceeding)
Mr Justice Williamson is sitting with two assessors Mr C H van Gend and Mr G Titterton. Mr C van Wyk appears for the State. Mr J Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyilya appears for the accused.

Day of remembrance (11A) 14/6/83 Soweto

THE COMMEMORATION of the 16 June 1976 students' uprising in Soweto this year will be the biggest since 1977, with at least 12 services planned for all over the country.

The main service in Soweto will be at the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church, and the programme for all services has been drawn up by the Congress of South African Students. Several church, student, worker, civic and political organisations including the Azanian Students Organisation, the Black Students Society of the University of Witwatersrand, the Soweto Civic Association, the

By MONO BADELA

Women's Federation of South Africa and the General and Allied Workers Union will take part.

The chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, Mr A Mogasi, will be the main speaker at Regina Mundi. The former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, whose three year banning order expired last month, will break his long silence by addressing the service at the Turfloop University of the North.

The full programme will be as follows

(speaker in brackets): Regina Mundi (A Mogasi); Vaal Triangle: Roman Catholic Church (Amanda Kwadi of the Women's Federation); Alexandra: N.G. Kerk (Eric Molobi); Pretoria: Mamelodi St Francis Church (Tshedisa Matona, Cosas); Krugersdorp: Lutheran Church (Frank Chikane. Apostolic Church Mission); Ikageng (Potchefstroom): Methodist Church (Samson Ndou, President Gawu); Johannesburg (Klerksdorp): Roman Catholic Church (Bogosi Mogale, Azaso); Khuma (Stilfontein): Church of Christ.

Other services will be

held at: Mohlakeng (Randfontein): Roman Catholic Church, (Tiego Moseneke, Black Students Society chairman); Duduza (Nigel): Roman Catholic Church (Ivan Pharakge, Cosas); Pietersberg: Turfloop Campus (Curtis Nkondo); Benoni (Donovan Mateman).

In a statement the Transvaal Indian Congress (Tic) called upon all businessmen to close their businesses for the day.

Meanwhile the police have offered to make special arrangements for reporters and photographers covering the anniversary to facilitate such coverage.



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MAGNUM WH
14 WANDERERS S

Racing tips
— PAGE 14

INSIDE TODAY
Plight of jobless
— PAGE 2

Soccer boost
— PAGE 16

Nun gives evidence in trial

11A
Cape Times 15/6/83

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

A DOMINICAN nun told the Supreme Court yesterday that the attitude of blacks towards whites changed during the "crisis" of August 1980 when "the suppressed anger they had to carry all the time" emerged.

Sister Aine Hardiman, who has worked as a teacher in the Cape townships for more than 10 years, was giving evidence in extenuation for 10 young men found guilty of murder following events in Crossroads in August 1980.

The charges followed the stoning and burning of cars and the death of two motorists.

The men were charged with murder and terrorism with 73-year-old trade unionist Oscar Mpetha and seven other men.

In the judgment last week, seven men were acquitted and Mpetha was found guilty of terrorism, but not guilty of murder. Nine of the young men convicted of murder were also found guilty of terrorism.

'Crisis'

Sister Hardiman said there was great evidence of a changed attitude towards whites in August 1980 because it was a time of crisis. August 11 was a day of commemoration for those who died in the 1976 unrest, while a bus and school boycott were in progress.

During that time, children who would normally greet her, adopted threatening attitudes when they saw her, she said.

The bus boycott created "a great deal of anger" in all the sections of the community that she was involved in — the church as well as people she met in the street.

Sister Hardiman took part in the boycott — walking each day from her convent in Elsie's River to St Mary's School in Nyanga, where she was working at the time.

There was general resentment at what the people felt was the police support for the bus company, she said. She once saw an incident in which a pirate taxi was stopped by another car. A young white man, who was not in uniform, leapt out and chased the passengers of the taxi, who had started to run away.

"It made a deep impression on me," she said.

Memorandum

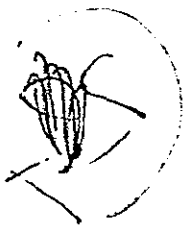
A memorandum compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations to present to the then Minister of Transport, Mr Chris Heunis, during August 1980, was handed in to the court as evidence.

It stated: "The insensitive and provocative manner in which Road Transport regulations are being rigorously enforced has changed a patient, good-humoured protest against high fares into one of anger and resentment.

An incident in which riot police had "man-handled commuters" from taxis to empty buses "could well have contributed to the resentment behind the terrible violence which erupted that evening and the next day", it stated.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors, Mr G H Titterton and Mr C H van Gend. Mr C J van Wyk appeared for the State. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank, Bernadt and Joffe, appeared for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya appeared for the other men.



Tight security for Mpetha

CALL TIMES 11/6/83

(11A) ~~33~~ 551 Staff Reporter

MORE than 20 policemen blocked traffic to Keerom Street yesterday afternoon while the prison van carrying Oscar Mpetha and the 10 young men convicted of murder and terrorism left the Supreme Court on its way to Pollsmoor Prison.

The van, which has travelled unaccompanied between Pollsmoor and the Supreme Court since March 1981 — when the trial began — was escorted by two traffic policemen on motor-cycles and a traffic car with blaring siren. A police van followed.

A large crowd lined the street and joined the convicted men in a "freedom song" as the van drove off. One of the men saluted the crowd through the mesh.

A group of about 50 people then marched from the court to the station, singing "freedom songs".

During the hearing, about 12 armed policemen stood outside the court building — one with a sub-machine gun. A further group of 12 or so stood in the entrance to the building and in court one, where the trial was held. A police car containing dogs was also parked outside.

Hundreds of people queued outside the building to get into the packed public gallery.

As they entered the court yesterday morning, the young men gave "black power" salutes while shouting "Power" in unison.

11A

E. Post 15/6/83

Soweto riots commemoration: appeal for calm

By JIMMY MATYU

CIVIC, political and youth leaders in Port Elizabeth townships are urging people to mark the seventh anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots with "calmness, sobriety and dignity" tomorrow.

The period of commemoration this year is from tomorrow to Sunday.

The South African Council of Sport (Sacos) has asked its affiliates to cancel fixtures arranged for tomorrow and Friday, but those planned for the weekend could go ahead.

Sacos also asked its

affiliates to remember the day by observing a moment's silence before the start of matches on June 18 and 19.

Roots, a cultural movement, has appealed to all churches in Port Elizabeth to observe tomorrow by ringing their bells at 6am.

"We also appeal to the community to remain calm and dignified, and for the police to exercise restraint in this crucial period," said Mr Mzuzima Mayekiso, a

Roots council member.

Commemoration services have been arranged nationally for tomorrow.

In Port Elizabeth, the Congress of South African Students will hold a service in the new Daku Hall, Kwazakele, at 5.30pm.

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold a service in the Roman Catholic Church Hall, Stofile Street, Kwazakele, on Sunday at 2pm.

The president of the Port Elizabeth and Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce, Mr Monwabisi Mkaza, has appealed to traders to close their shops from noon to 3pm tomorrow.

"I want to make it clear that we have not been pressurised or ordered to do this. It is a decision our chamber executive took on its own, since June 16 is regarded nationally as a mourning day," he said.

Mr Welcome Duru, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Taverners Association, has made a similar call to their members to observe tomorrow.

"We will take a final decision whether to close for the whole day or for certain hours at a meeting today," he said.

Cosas has arranged a three-day programme of seminars starting today at the Centenary Small Hall at 5.30pm.

Commemoration services are also to be held in East London, Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Uitenhage and in Soweto tomorrow.

factually based

Value -

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$$r = \frac{\Delta P}{\Delta D}$$

$$\Delta D = \frac{r + r}{1}$$

APL Times 15/6/83
Student detention:

'Detrimental' effect

1000 ~~KL~~ ~~ST~~ Staff Reporter

THE detention of a post-graduate University of Cape Town student, Mr Saliem Badat, could have long-term effects detrimental to his health and studies, a spokesman for the Department of Economic History at the University said yesterday.

A statement issued on behalf of the Department of Economic History, and endorsed by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor C de B Webb, called for Mr Badat's immediate release and condemned his arbitrary arrest and detention.

Mr Badat was arrested and detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in Worcester on June 9. He is presently writing a thesis on population relocation in South Africa.

"We wish to express our opposition to detention in principal and also to register our concern that detention may have longer-term effects, detrimental to Mr Badat's health and his studies. We call for his immediate release," the statement said.

JUNE 16 RECALLED

By SAM MABE

TOMORROW, thousands of blacks in Soweto and elsewhere around the country will be mourning. They will be recalling the tragic events of June 16, 1976, a day that has since become a significant item on the agenda of the liberation struggle and on the calendar of black education in South Africa.

In the beginning the day was no different from any other day, except that it started with a protest march by Soweto students whose intention was to demonstrate their abhorrence for the system of Bantu Education.

But their contact with armed police who were allegedly trying to halt the march and disperse them succeeded only in setting the whole country alight.

POLICE

The events of the day, the weeks and months that followed and the police detentions and harassment of those suspected of involvement saw hundreds of youths fleeing the country to join the military wing of South African National Congress (ANC), Umkhonto we Sizwe, to receive training in subversion.

Earlier, many youths had been impatient with the process of change, but had still accepted the idea of peaceful change.

But after the uprisings during which hundreds of pupils were killed, the youth started seeing the answer to the country's problems in terms of a Russian AK-47 rifle

which has become a symbol of hope in the eyes of proponents of violent change.

Determined to get things moving fast, the dust had hardly settled when some of these former pupils started filtering back into the country to commit acts of subversion like the Carlton bomb blast by the now imprisoned Isaac Seko and the Gogh Street shooting by Solomon Mahlangu, who has since been hanged.

This heralded a new era in the ANC's strategy of violence. Since then, the banned movement has claimed responsibility for a number of bomb attacks in many parts of the country.

Some of the major acts of subversion during the last four years are as follows:

1979: • Attack at Moroka Police Station in Soweto where one policeman was killed.

• Hand-grenade attack at Orlando Police Station — two policemen killed.

1980: • Bomb blast at the Sasol petrol plant.

• Silverton siege — two people including a policeman killed.

1981: • Attack at Voortrekkerhoogte Military Base in Pretoria.

• Attack at Sibasa Police Station in Venda — two policemen killed.

1982: • President's Council offices in Cape Town bombed — one person killed.

• Koeberg nuclear Power Station in the Cape bombed.

1983: • Military headquarters in Pretoria blasted — 19 people killed.

Between 1979 and 1982 there were 118 acts of sabotage altogether including assassinations of so-called sell-outs and collaborators.

After the Pretoria attack, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said more similar attacks should be expected in future.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, lecturer in Political Science at the University of South Africa, says there is going to be an escalation of violence in South Africa unless there is more meaningful change than there has been so far.

CHANGE

He says the 1976 uprisings generated some change whereby a few blacks could now own houses. Whites were rubbing shoulders with blacks in theatres, on sports fields and were sharing a few public facilities with them.

"But this is too minimal, too peripheral to secure a future in terms of peaceful co-existence between race groups in this country. If the pace of change does not improve, we may be heading for a serious situation in this country. We are sitting on a volcano whose explosion could result in many deaths," he said.

undi Cathedral gives the black power salute while singing the em, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

ANC burial puzzle



Mrs. Mosololi.

THE DEPARTMENT of Prison Services, which is to bury the three ANC men hanged in Pretoria last week, declined yesterday to say when and what time they will be buried.

Replying to a request by The SOWETAN to furnish the information, a spokesman for the Department said: "It is a long-standing policy of the South African Prison Services to furnish this information only to the nearer relatives and only on receipt of a

written request by them."

On Friday lawyers representing the families of the three, Simon Mogoerane, Marcus Motaung and Jerry Mosololi sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Prisons requesting the release of the bodies of the men.

LOCATION

In reply, the parents were told their sons would be buried by the Department Prison Services and that they would be told the loca-

tion of the graves "at a later stage".

SERVICE

According to Mr. Krish Naidoo, one of the attorneys, the parents had been offered the opportunity of attending a memorial service at Pretoria Central Prison and they declined the offer. Instead they asked for the bodies of their sons.

According to Mrs Sarah Mosololi the three had agreed that they be buried in one grave.

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 (11A)
~~Handwritten scribble~~

Zimbabwe denies SA's ANC claim

15/6/83
By David Thomas
The Star Bureau

HARARE — The Zimbabwe government has officially denied charges by Pretoria that two African National Congress insurgents crossed into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe's Minister responsible for security, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, said last night of South African claims: "They are a flimsy excuse to unleash aggression on us."

Mr Mnangagwa was responding to a statement by South Africa's Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, which said SA security forces had captured two ANC insurgents near Messina after they had crossed the border from Zimbabwe.



Mrs Keke and Khanyisa at the East London airport before flying to Johannesburg and then to London

Ciskei woman flies out to exiled husband

EAST LONDON — An Mdantsane woman flew from here yesterday on the first leg of a journey to join her exiled husband in London.

Mrs Nomthunzi Keke (nee Mtshawulana), wife of a former Duncan Village man, Mr Zolite Hamilton Keke left with their 22-month old son, Khanyisa, who was born after his father left the country via Lesotho in 1981.

Mr Keke, a former Robben Island prisoner, was in the marathon trial of PAC members, heard in Bethal in 1978-79. He was found guilty of furthering the aims of a banned organisation and was given a five-year suspended sentence.

He was serving articles with a firm of attorneys when he left the country.

Mrs Keke said she was going for an indefinite stay in London.

She is travelling on a Ciskei passport and her

visa is due to expire in September.

She resigned her job as a nursing sister in Mdantsane recently in preparation for her departure.

She said she was looking forward to her reunion with her husband who had only seen his son on photographs.

A large contingent of friends and relatives were at the airport when Mrs Keke, who was late for the flight, was allowed to go through a few minutes after other passengers had boarded.

A spokesman for the South African Airways said this was common practice when passengers were not too late.

The spokesman added that where they could help people they always tried to meet them.

"If anything was done for her it was done in the normal way we handle our passengers who are late," he said. — DDR

ANC seeks more UN aid

From RICHARD
WALKER

NEW YORK.— The African National Congress is seeking increased support from the United Nations and has presented the world body with a "shopping list" of priority needs — starting with a powerful radio transmitter.

Its appeal, and similar approaches from Swapo and the Pan-Africanist Congress, flies in the face of heated United States objections to the UN giving them direct aid of any kind.

The US said last year that it would cut its share from programmes that benefit Swapo.

One consequence was to hold up for a year a \$500 000 contribution to the UN Institute for Namibia.

'Support'

But yesterday, a UN sub-committee was asked to advocate support for "all forms" of struggle directed at seizure of power in the Republic and SWA/Namibia.

Most forceful was the presentation of the ANC, which concluded with a list of "resources" required on a priority basis.

They included:

- A 500kw radio transmitter to be stationed in Southern Africa and operated by ANC personnel.

- Smaller mobile transmitters.

- A printing press for large-scale production of documents and publicity material.

- 20 film projectors, 15 telex machines, ten duplicating machines and five movie cameras for shooting ANC publicity films.

The ANC is also seeking expanded educational support from the UN.

Subjects listed range from mining and civil engineering to hotel management and catering.

South African officials say the UN channels about R29m a year to the three movements — most of it to Swapo — but figures are in dispute because of the large amount that is in the form of general refugee aid.

Refugees

Swapo told the UN panel yesterday that 80 000 refugees were now in its care in Angola, while seven UN agencies and departments were said to be providing technical, financial and other assistance to the PAC.

The panel was told of PAC concern over long delays in some programmes and the shelving of others, while there was also a complaint of pro-ANC bias in UN radio broadcasts.

The major funding agency is the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), while others are largely executing agencies.

A few days ago it was reported that the ANC and PAC would have their own vocational training centres in Tanzania, financed by the International Labour Organization at a cost of R7.6m each.

The ANC centre will be built in Morogoro, nearly 200km from Dar es Salaam, while the PAC centre will be at Bagamoyo, about 60km from Dar es Salaam.

June 16 services ^{Sowetan} 14/6/83

TODAY'S commemoration services at Regina Mundi, Soweto is expected to be the biggest of its nature since the 1976 student unrest.

An impressive array of speakers from a cross-section of political and student organisations has been lined up. This was told to The SOWETAN by the vice-president of Azapo, Mr Saths Cooper last night.

Among the speakers will be Mrs Sarah Mosololi, mother of Jerry Mosololi, one of the three ANC men hanged at the Pretoria Central Prison last week; Mr Sydney Mafumandi, secretary-general of the General and Allied Workers' Union

(Gawu); Mr Tiego Mosenke, president of the Black Students Society at Wits University; Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten and Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of Azapo.

Mr Letsatsi Mosala, president of the Mining and Construction Workers' Union; Bishop Desmond Tutu of the SACC and Mr Saths Cooper.

All business houses and concerns have been requested to close and observe this day and also to release their workforce to attend the services. More commemoration services are planned for today and for the weekend.

Mrs Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu, the ANC man hanged on April 6, 1979 for the Goch Street shootings, will speak at the St Bernard's The Martyr Anglican Church, Atteridgeville at 7 p.m. today.

Other services: Regina Mundi (12 noon); Roman Catholic Church, Sharpeville (1 p.m.); Alexandra (1 p.m.); Ikageng Methodist Church (1 p.m.); Jouberton Roman Catholic Church (1 p.m.); Stillfontein (Khuma) (1 p.m.); Roman Catholic Church Duduza, Nigel (1 p.m.); St Barnabas Anglican Church, Kwa-Thema, Springs (1.30 p.m.).

Krugersdorp Lutheran Church (1 p.m.); Makwaneng Lutheran Church (2 p.m.); St Francis, Mamelodi (2 p.m.); Kallebong Methodist Church (2 p.m.); Turfloop Campus (2 p.m.); St Boniface Anglican Church, Vosloorus (6.30 p.m.); Jiswa Centre, Lenasia (3.30 p.m.); St Bernards, Atteridgeville (7 p.m.).

There will be services in the Eastern Cape, Western Province and Natal at the weekend.

SA seeks Zimbabwe assurance

on ANC

117 Political Staff
Spur 14/2/83

CAPE TOWN* — South Africa is seeking renewed assurances from Zimbabwe that it will not harbour African National Congress insurgents.

This comes after the capture near Messina, Northern Transvaal, last week of two armed men who are said to have been sent to South Africa by the ANC.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said they came from Mozambique through Zimbabwe, but Harare has denied the South African charges.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed today that South Africa had been in contact with Zimbabwe but refused to give details.

Despite other tensions between the two countries, Foreign Affairs sources said that, so far, there had been no indication that Zimbabwe was actively harbouring terrorists.

If Zimbabwe responds to the South African message, the two countries may get together to discuss the matter.

Kangaroo 'tribunal' ordered him to flee

11A

See 10/6/83



Mr Cedric Mayson

Pretoria Correspondent

Mr Cedric Radcliffe Mayson (55), who fled South Africa during his high treason trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court, was forced to leave by a "people's tribunal".

Reliable sources say the tribunal ordered the former clergyman to leave South Africa to protect people associated with "liberation politics".

Damaging evidence was believed to appear in notes Mr Mayson sent to South Africa addressed to a fictitious Denise Fogherly.

The notes dealt with an alleged meeting between Mr Mayson and a member of the ANC Revolutionary Council, Mr Tabu Mbeki, in London in 1981.

The names of more than 100 people were recorded in the cryptic notes on which an expert was to have been called to give his interpretation.

The tribunal is believed to have consisted of at least three people associated with white "liberals".

Mr Mayson allegedly came before a kangaroo court after leaving his Yeoville home on April 14 and before he crossed the border at dawn the following day.

In February this year Mr Mayson was granted bail of R1 000 when the case was postponed for two months after a key State witness, Mr Auret van Heerden, was thought to have disappeared.

On the eve of the resumption of his trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court Mr Mayson fled to London, leaving a personal letter addressed to the trial judge, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, explaining why he had left. The contents of the letter have not been disclosed.

NEWS CONFERENCE

On his arrival in London Mr Mayson told a news conference he did not leave South Africa because he was scared to face trial or was forced to leave.

He said he fled to prevent Dr Beyers Naude and other friends going to jail. It had been a firm principle in liberation circles that no one in any circumstances would give evidence for the State against a colleague.

The Deputy Attorney-General, Mr J A Swanepoel, leading the prosecution, told reporters Dr Naude had made a statement to the police and he understood the defence was prepared to admit certain aspects to save Dr Naude the embarrassment of being called as a State witness.

Other witnesses subpoenaed by the State included banned lawyer Mrs Priscilla Jana, former Nusas president Mr Auret van Heerden, his banned brother Mr Clive van Heerden and "other members of white liberation politics".

Mr Mayson's flight from South Africa left friends and family stunned. Mr Mayson, a former Methodist clergyman, had said repeatedly during his trial that he wanted to be brought to court to put his case.

He testified that when he realised the notes had been intercepted by the Security Police he knew he would be detained. Then he made his choice between exile and detention.

When he was granted bail Mr Mayson said he had every intention of seeing his trial through, according to a statement released by his family after his flight.

It was during these two months that the decision was taken to leave the country which had been his home for 30 years.

Call for peace on 1976 riot anniversary

CAPR Times 76/6/83 (118) etc

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — On the eve of today's commemoration of the Soweto disturbances seven years ago, black leaders last night called for "a peaceful day of rededication to our ideals".

Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the newly-established National Forum, said he hoped "employers and others in authority" would recognize the solemnity of the occasion "and not provide provocation..."

Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, appealed to people "to bear themselves with the necessary decorum, and rededicate themselves to the struggle to weed out racism and apartheid in our society".

Both men are among speakers at today's major commemorative service which starts at noon at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto.

Among the speakers are Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), and Mr Tiego Moseneke, representing the Cosas and Azaso student organizations.

Trade unionists who will speak are Mr Letsatsi Mosala, president of the Black Mining Construction Workers' Union, and Mr Sidney Mōsumadi, secretary-general of the General Allied Workers' Union.

In a statement yesterday, the Cosas and Azaso student organizations condemned "the senseless killing of our people".

"The challenge June 16 throws on our shoulders is to carry on the fight of those who died in 1976," the statement added.

The United Democratic Front has called for church bells to be rung.

Warning on ^{11A} ^{16/07/83} ^{ROM} June 16 services

Mail Reporters

POLICE would keep a low profile during today's June 16 commemoration services, the Soweto Divisional Commissioner Brigadier, D J D Jacobs, pledged yesterday.

However he warned that his men would take action if the services "got out of control" or were "misused by vandals and for political gain".

As Brig Jacobs spoke, police were manning roadblocks on all roads leading to Soweto. Occupants were ordered out of their cars while police in camouflage uniform searched the cars thoroughly.

The Soweto police chief warned at a Press conference yesterday: "People can go on with their meetings as long as they don't misbehave because police will be obliged to act."

Black leaders last night called for "a peaceful day of re-dedication to our ideals".

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in authority will recognise the solemnity of the occasion and will not provide provocation ..."

Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, appealed to "people to bear themselves with the necessary decorum and dedication, and to re-dedicate themselves to the struggle to weed out racism and apartheid in our society."

Both men are among speakers at today's major commemorative service at Regina Mundi church in Soweto. The service starts at noon.

Other services are at Alexandra township (1pm), Coronationville (2 pm), Lenasia (3.30 pm) and Kwa Thema (1.30pm).

Shebeens and sporting bodies especially have been asked to suspend business for the day.

All business houses and concerns in black areas have been asked not to defy "this national day" and have urged them "to release all their workforce on this most important day".

*commentary
and used here.*

12014
Burial for
16/5/83
ANC trio

Pretoria Bureau

THREE members of the African National Congress, who were hanged in the Pretoria central prison for high treason last week, were apparently buried in the Mamelodi cemetery yesterday. However, the Department of Prisons Services would not confirm or deny the burial.

The Mail understands a convicted murderer was buried at the same time.

The three ANC members were Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semano Mesololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung.



to a home of her own
ring a fixed deposit

16/5/83

Calm as Soweto riots are marked

11A

E. Post
16/6/83

IT was quiet throughout the country today at the start of the seventh anniversary of the outbreak in Soweto of the worst riots in South African history.

Police on the alert for trouble in the major centres reported calm.

In Johannesburg a call for a stay-away from work by black workers has apparently failed.

Before the riots petered out in 1977, 575 people had died. Of the nation's major cities, only Durban escaped unscathed.

In Port Elizabeth a contingent of security police arrived before the start of a seminar in New Brighton's Centenary Hall last night. The seminar on the riots was organised by the Congress of South African Students. The police left before the start of proceedings.

The acting police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Annelize Melville, said today there had been no reports of any kind and "it was all quiet".

The letters 'ANC' were painted on a wall at the Big D shop in the Greenacres complex. Some other buildings in the city were also daubed.

In Cape Town, scene of some of the worst clashes, two major trading associations asked members to observe the anniversary by closing their shops.

The Athlone Business and Professional Association's 113 members would close their shops from 2pm

as a mark of respect for those who died in 1976, a spokesman said.

The Western Cape Traders' Association asked its 2 000 members to close between noon and 2pm — something they did last year.

In Johannesburg, where the Azanian Peoples' Organisation asked Sowetans to boycott work today, thousands of blacks streamed to the city unhindered.

Local and foreign journalists were not permitted to roam individually in Soweto, but were conducted by police on a bus tour.

The Soweto Divisional Police Commissioner, P. J. Jacobs, said police should keep a low profile at meetings or church services commemorating the uprising.

In Soweto a service was held at the Regina Mundi Church. Among the speakers were the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthatho Motlana, and Mr Saths Cooper, the convener of the newly formed National Forum.

All was peaceful in Pretoria's black townships.

Shops, cinemas and other cultural centres were closed as a mark of respect.

Early-morning rail commuters to Cape Town were met by Black Sash protesters holding posters.

In Port Elizabeth a service will be held by Cosas in the New Daku Hall in Kwazakele at 5.30pm. — Sapa

Sowetan 16/6/83

INKATHA ANGER

~~SECRET~~ (11A)



YESTERDAY: Buthelezi.

CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI yesterday warned that insulting comments by the Azanian People's Organisation's Saths Cooper would be faced with the wrath of Inkatha.

Condemning the recent hangings of the three ANC members which, as a black leader, made him sick as there was no retribution from other countries abroad, he said the situation could be like the Irish Republican Army if his 750 000 strong Inkatha members opted for violence.

"But while we believe that black people are angry, I would not lead black people to death. Non-violence has been pursued by the late Chief Albert Luthuli and the ANC. I would not allow black people to be mowed down by the arsenals of Mr P W Botha as shown by the two attacks on Maputo and in Lesotho in which innocent people were killed," he said.

Mr Botha, he said, was smiling all the way to the political bank be-

By SELLO RABOTHATA

cause of mud-slinging among blacks.

The remark by Azapo's Saths Cooper in a Johannesburg newspaper that Inkatha was a collaborationist organisation, was not to be taken lightly by Inkatha, especially the Durban members, but was an insult to 750 000 people, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said on his arrival from Overseas yesterday.

"Coloureds and Indians have always been better off than Africans. Their salaries and schools and the fact that they do not have to carry passes around, is proof of this. That is why they are now being co-opted into Parliament," he said.

However, he regretted the fragmentation of the people be-

To Page 3

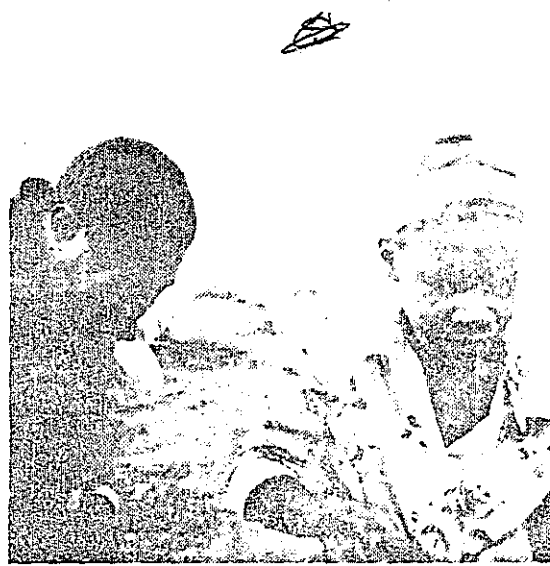
June
16
service
ends
in
stoning,
teargas
in
Soweto

They came in their thousands, but teargas brought agony to many . . .

11A



TEARGAS: Miss Stella Mokwena in The SOWETAN's car in a state of collapse.



ATTENDED: Miss Mokwena of Rockville, being attended to by mourners outside Regina Mundi.



BETTER: Miss Mokwena feeling a little better after her ordeal at the June 16 service.

Sowetan 17/6/8

CHAOS

VIOLENCE ERUPTED in Soweto yesterday when hundreds of youths went on the rampage burning and stoning vehicles, including buses, after an emotional service attended by 4 000 people at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville.

Uniformed and camouflage police, wearing masks and carrying truncheons, who had earlier watched proceedings from a distance, used sneeze machines and fired teargas to disperse

SOWETAN REPORTERS

tions, some turned round and stoned the police vehicles. The commemoration too yesterday marked the return of the dreaded "hippo" and several other shielded police vehicles. A police helicopter flew around the township and seemed to be monitoring scenes of violence.

Several people, including Mr George Wauchope, an executive member of Azapo, were taken away by police.

HÉLIO
SHOE BOUTIQUE
WE ARE THE ONLY
IMPORTERS OF
GENUINE CHARLES SHOES

R64,95

R59,95

**stoning,
teargas
in
Soweto**



TEARGAS: Miss Stella Mokwena in The SOWETAN's car in a state of collapse.



ATTENDED: Miss Mokwena of Rockville, being attended to by mourners outside Regina Mundi.

CHAOS

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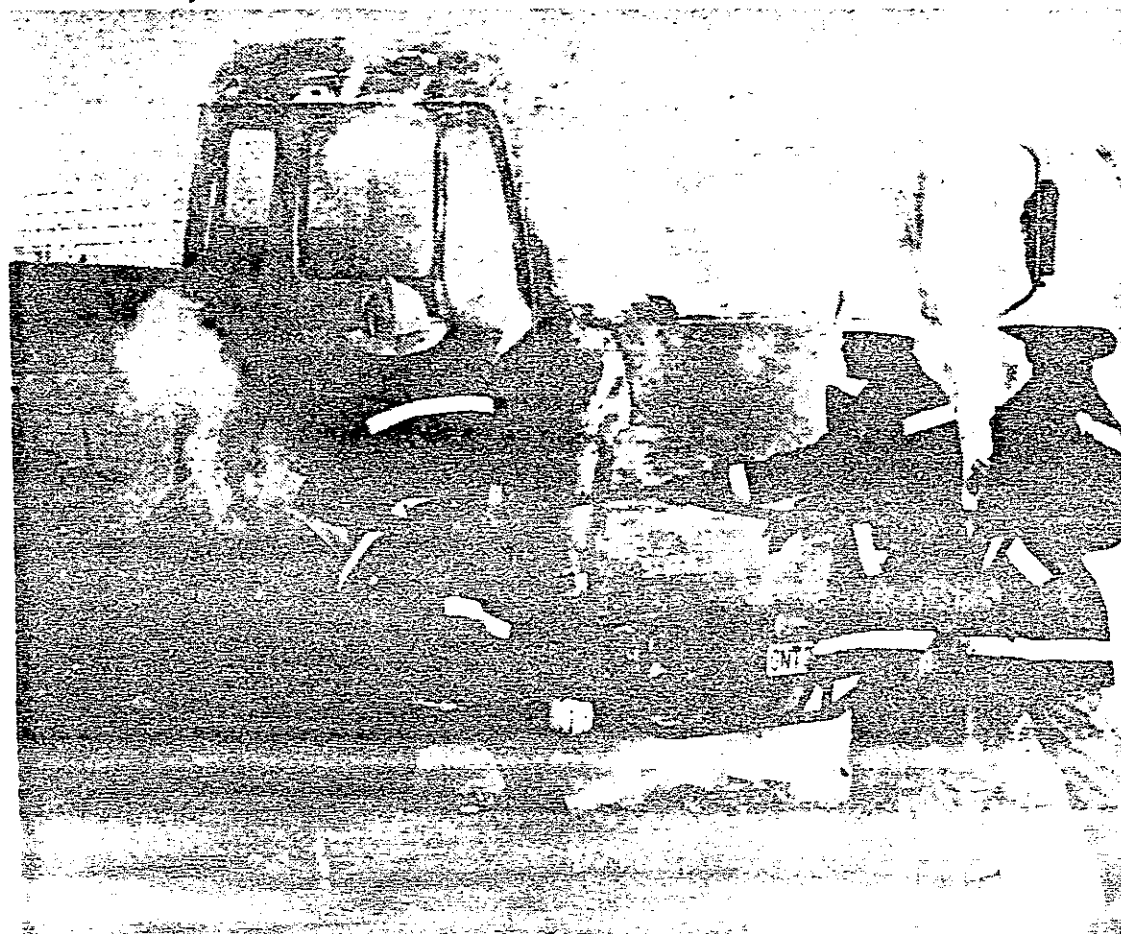
As hundreds of youths scattered in different direc-

SOWETAN REPORTERS

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To Page 2



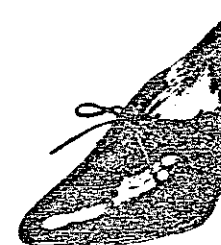
FIRE: Members of the fire brigade extinguish a truck that was burnt by youths after the commemoration service yesterday.

**H
SHOE**

**WEA
IMP**

GENUINE

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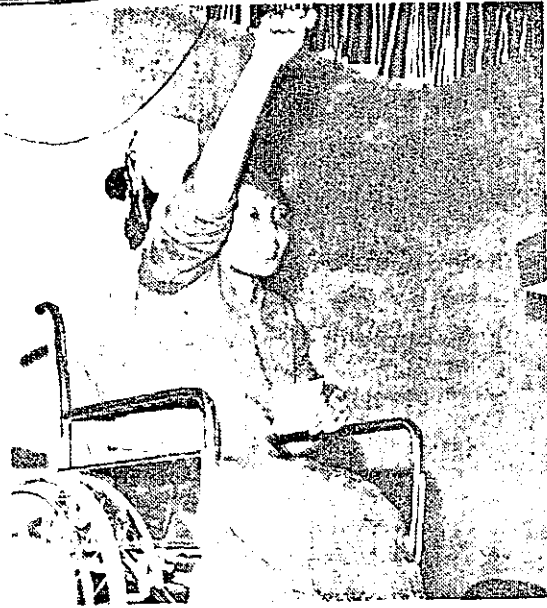


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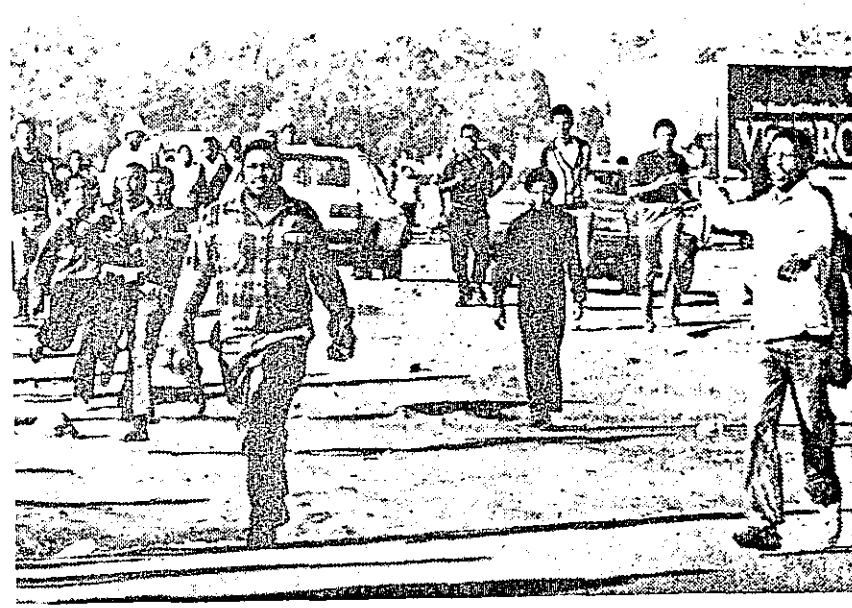
ALL PRICES



BURNT: An armed policeman at the scene where a truck was set on fire by stone throwing youths after the service yesterday.



VICTIM: Miss Popple Buthelezi who was crippled in the 1976 shootings was the main speaker at Jiswa Centre in Lenasia yesterday.



STONES: Part of the youths who were throwing stones at police near Regina Mundi Church yesterday.

From Page 1

Youths stone police cars

During the pandemonium, six people were injured and treated at Baragwanath Hospital. Also injured was Warrant Officer S Twala, who was cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle.

West Rand Administration Board policemen, who had reinforced the SAP and Security Police contingent

were seen sjambokking three youths before throwing them into their vans.

As smoke billowed around Regina Mundi, members of the Soweto Fire Brigade battled frantically to extinguish the numerous burning vehicles, which comprised company and Wrab trucks.

The service was emotion-packed with hun-

dreds of people hanging on windows and others milling around outside the church.

Mrs Sarah Mosololi, the mother of Jerry Mosololi, one of the three ANC men hanged last week, was given a thunderous applause when she related events leading to her son skipping the country.

She was one of the main speakers in a service which was marked by the chanting of slogans and the singing of freedom songs. The end of speeches was marked by the raising of clenched fists.

Commuters returning

from work during a day when many stayed away, were stranded when Putco buses dropped people on the precincts of the township. This was after several buses, estimated at 30 by a Putco spokesman, were stoned.

Buses entering the greater part of Soweto were re-routed around Baragwanath Hospital, Dobsonville Police Station, New Canada and at No 17 Shaft on the Soweto Highway.

Police also used a helicopter in Alexandra township where people attending a service were closely watched by cops

who surrounded the Methodist Church.

A Black newspaperman and a white were earlier taken away by police.

The Jiswa Hall in Lenasia, was packed to capacity and was addressed by Miss Popple Buthelezi, crippled during the June 16, 1976 riots and Mr Don Mattera.

In Cape Town there were sporadic cases of stone-throwing on the N2 National Road past the D F Malan Airport, the SABC reported. A traffic spokesman attributed the stone-throwing to gangs of youths.

Reports by SAM MABE, LEN MASEKO, NKOPANE MAKOBANE, MONO BADELA, ELLIOT TSHINGWALA, SELLO RABOTHATA, JOSHUA RABOROKO, ALINAH DUBE, HORATIO MOTJUWADI and MZIKAYISE EDOM.

A spokesman for the Athlone Business and Professional Association said that its 113 members would close their shops after 2pm "as a mark of respect for those who died in 1976".

In Durban roadblocks were set up at the entrance to Lamontville. Police said there was stone-throwing in the township on Wednesday night. One of their vehicles was set on fire and they had to use teargas.

Most businesses in Soweto, Lenasia, Newclare, Bosmont, The Plaza and many others were closed. Clinics in Soweto closed early.

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He then walked out of the hall followed by a group of sympathisers.

Other services:

- Kagiso — St Mary's Catholic Church had a peaceful service with police in camouflage watching from a dis-

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Most businesses in Soweto, Lenasia, Newclare, Bosmont, The Plaza and many others were closed. Clinics in Soweto closed early.

The police, however, said generally the other townships in Durban were quiet. Shops in Clermont closed for the day yesterday, while those in Klaarwater and Chesterville were open. A spokesman for the University of Zululand said the campus was quiet and about 30 people attended an all-night vigil in Durban on Wednesday.

Teargas was used to disperse hundreds of people who attended the service at the Roman Catholic Church in Sebokeng Zone 12.

Several vehicles were stoned by mobs outside the church, but there were no injuries. Vaal Transport buses used different routes to avoid driving past the scene. Most residents returning from work were later left stranded as buses off-loaded outside of the township. Shops closed early and the atmosphere was tense.

A service in Mamelodi nearly came to an abrupt end when a local doctor, Dr Fabian Ribeiro refused to address the gathering of 200 people because he "would not share a platform with people who sell their brothers".

Dr Ribeiro was to

have given the main speech at St Francis Anglican Church. He said there were people who normally attended political gatherings knowing that they were representatives of the system. He called on the audience to take all informers out of the hall and said he would not continue if they did not do so.

He then walked out of the hall followed by a group of sympathisers.

Other services:

- Kagiso — St Mary's Catholic Church had a peaceful service with police in camouflage watching from a distance;
- Bekkersdal — the service was peaceful at the Methodist church;
- Mohlakeng — the meeting was not held as people did not turn up;
- Atteridgeville and Saulsville were quiet during the day;
- Western Coloured Townships — all shops were closed and at the meeting held at Methodist Church in Coronationville, The Rev Cecil Begbie said he had received anonymous calls to halt the meeting;
- In Welkom Cosas held the meeting in a house as there was no accommodation available;
- Three hundred people attended the St Barnabas Anglican Church service, which ended peacefully.



PANIC: Some panicked and ran away.

Pictures by LEN KUMALO, ROBERT MAGWAZA and JOE MOLEFE



BETTER: Miss Mokwena feeling a little better after her ordeal at the June 16 service.

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Star

UK warned SA activists to quit

Schoons flee from Gaborone

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The Star's Foreign News Service

Gaborone.

Two prominent South African political activists who have been living and working in Botswana since 1977 have left the country on the advice of the British Government.

Mr Marius Schoon (45), who served 12 years in jail in South Africa for sabotage, and his wife Jeanette, who was detained in 1975, have not disclosed their destination.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office in London confirmed that the Schoons had moved as a result of a British warning.

Asked if the warning had been prompted by fear of South African action against the couple, he said: "I can't go into that. I have to leave you to draw your own conclusions."

He said Britain was concerned about the safety of all young British volunteers in Botswana because the security situation in the region was clearly dangerous.

The Schoons were employed in Botswana by the International Voluntary Service, a British-sponsored organisation similar to the United States Peace Corps.

A letter to members in Botswana said the Schoons feared that Marius's association with the African National Congress put not only their own lives in danger, but those of other volunteers.

'Hot pursuit' fears

Botswana's fear of South African "hot pursuit" raids was reflected earlier this week when President Quett Masire said there was suspicion that South Africa was preparing the world psychologically for a cross-border attack.

The Schoons fled to Botswana in June 1977 — five years after Marius had finished a 12-year jail sentence for his part in sabotaging the Hospital Hill Police Station in Johannesburg.

Mrs Jeanette Schoon (formerly Curtis) was once archivist at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg. She was detained for two months in 1975 after the arrest of poet Breyten Breytenbach.

Last night in Leicester, England, IVS secretary Mr Nigel Watt said he did not know where the Schoons had gone. "They were on a contract which was due to finish anyway in the near future, and security reasons have prompted them to finish it earlier."

He would not elaborate on the security reasons, but said: "Obviously, we are conscious of dangers in all countries of the region." Other volunteers work in Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique.

Asked to comment on the possibility of a South African attack, an official in the Office of the President in Gaborone said: "The possibility is always there. You have seen what they have done in other countries."

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Examiners' Initials		

WARNING

No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.

Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.

One part of an answer book is to be torn out.

Answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

communication and to possible exclusion from the University

Tutu tells 4 000: We're most important

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time talking about us." Bishop Tutu said.

He said there was "no doubt whatsoever" that blacks would be free, and asked the congregation to commit themselves to freedom.

The chairman of the Committee of Ten and executive head of the Soweto Civic Associations, Dr Nthato Motlana, said the total onslaught facing South Africa did not emanate from Russia but from white racism.

"We suffer as black people in South Africa. When we think of those in exile, on Robben Island and those who have died from police bullets, what is our response?"

"Our response must be to identify the enemy, as the children of 1976 did, and

bring racism down on its knees," Dr Motlana said.

The vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Saths Cooper, said all institutions which entrenched racism should be boycotted.

The former senior member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, told a commemoration service at the University of the North (Turfloop) that no education system was ideal in South Africa, including the exclusive white system.

He said: "Black education is designed to domesticate blacks like cats. It makes them sit and memorise lies. On the other hand the so-called national education

for whites brainwashes the pupils with its Herrenvolk mentality."

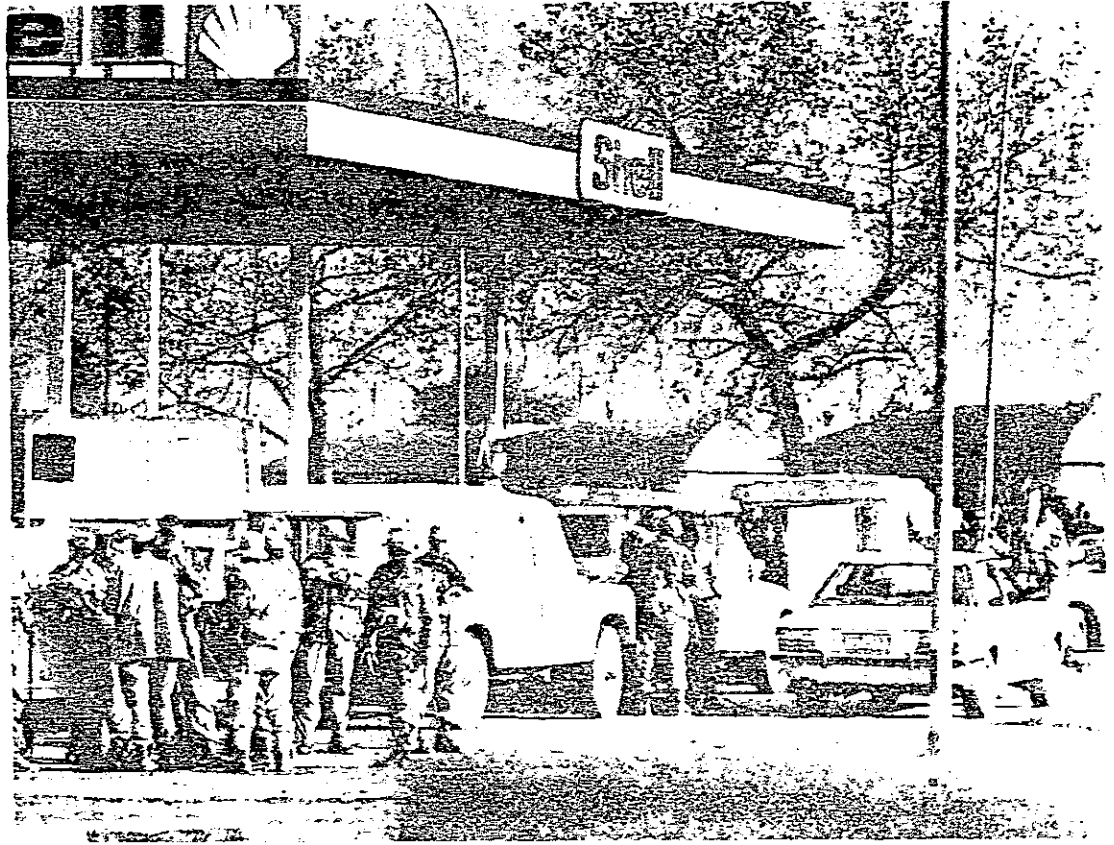
The hanging of the three ANC men last week was condemned at a commemoration service held at the St Barnabas Anglican Church in Kwa-thema yesterday.

About 250 people at a commemoration service in Coronationville were told that the recent execution of the three ANC men showed the battle lines were drawn.

A Co-ordinating Residents' Action Committee member, Mr Elvis Daniels, said it was common knowledge that the survivors of the 1976 unrest had swelled the ranks of the military wing of the ANC and the "hands which held stones now hold AK 47s and RPG 7s".

A standing ovation was given to Mrs Paulina Moloise whose son, Malesela Ben Moloise, is awaiting execution.

She said: "We should not cry for those who are being hanged. We must continue the fight for freedom that they were engaged in."



ABOVE LEFT: A cloud of tear smoke thrown from a helicopter swirls around two people as they run for cover during a stone-throwing incident in Soweto yesterday. The canister of teargas was thrown from the hovering helicopter that was called in to support units of police that monitored a service to commemorate the 1976 riots. Six people are known to have been injured and were treated at Baragwanath Hospital. A policeman was also injured.

ABOVE: A contingent of police in camouflage dress gather at an intersection in White City Jabavu, Soweto, before the outbreak of violence after the June 16 commemoration service in the township yesterday. Police monitored activities throughout the area during the day and were later involved in several incidents with stone-throwing youths.

● Pictures by Alf Kumalo.

e youths. An eyewitness saw a rock go through the man's wind-screen and hit his face.

Police used teargas to disperse mobs in Durban after petrol bombs were thrown at members of the force.

At Klaarwater, near Pine-town, police dispersed crowds of stone-throwers with teargas but no serious damage was reported.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred at Nyanga and Settlers' Way. A few cars were damaged — Own Correspondents and Sapa.

Mob violence erupts on Soweto riots anniversary

Mobs hurled petrol bombs at policemen and stoned and set fire to vehicles yesterday in incidents around the country on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. Forty-one people were arrested and five detained.

The Divisional Commissioner of the Soweto Police, Brigadier D.J.D. Jacobs, said today that during yesterday's stone-throwing incidents in Soweto, 25 police cars were damaged, six private cars were burnt and 60 Putco buses were damaged.

Last year 39 buses were damaged on June 16.

He described yesterday's rioting as vandalism. He said he congratulated the Soweto public for not participating in the riots and described them as law-abiding citizens.

"I would like to emphasise that the riots were perpetrated by minority groups in the various townships," he said.

Out of a population of 2 million people in Soweto and Lenasia, only 5 000 people attended the service and only a few were involved in the stone-throwing incidents, he said.

Police were compelled to take action after youths scattered stones at them near Regina Mundi Church after a service to commemorate the 1976 riots.

An SADF helicopter was used by the police to disperse bands of youths around Regina Mundi and Moroka Township, Brigadier Jacobs said.

At least five people were detained by the Soweto Police in connection with the riots.

The brigadier said that all those detained might appear in court not later than Monday to face charges of incitement or public violence.

He added that while these people were being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, the police were compiling their dockets and would hand them over to the Attorney General who would decide whether to go ahead with the charges or not.

Staff Reporters

Blacks constituted the most important group in South Africa and that was a fundamental statement of fact, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said yesterday.

He was addressing about 4 000 people crammed inside the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto, to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the Soweto riots.

Banners inside the church proclaimed that blacks would be free, that the ANC men who were hanged last week would be avenged and that they had not died in vain.

The black, green and gold flag of the ANC was held aloft by two people while three others held burning candles to symbolise mourning for the three as well as those who died during the unrest.

"We are important because if we were to disappear now there would be nothing the whites would talk about in Parliament. They spend 99 percent of their

Tutu: We're

time talking about us."

He said there was "never" that blacks would ask the congregation selves to freedom.

The chairman of the Committee of Ten and executive head of the Civic Associations, Dr. M. M. M. said the total onslaught on Africa did not emanate from white racism.

"We suffer as black Africa. When we think of Robben Island and died from police bullet sponse?"

"Our response must be to our enemy, as the children



Brigadier Jacobs also confirmed two Rand Daily Mail journalists were held for about seven hours at Protea Police Headquarters and statements were taken from them. They might be called in as State witnesses should the five detainees be charged.

Colonel Leon Mellett, the Chief Press Officer of the Minister of Police said one member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people arrested for various offences, including stone-throwing. Police used teargas to disperse the stone-throwing crowds.

The commemorative service was addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Committee of Ten, Mr Saths Cooper of the Azanian People's Organisation and Mrs Finini Mosololi, mother of Jerry Mosololi, one of the three ANC members hanged last week.

The injured policeman was Warrant Officer S Twala, whose vehicle's windscreen was shattered by a stone. A black bus passenger was also injured.

A white man is also believed to have been injured when the bakkie he was driving along Roodepoort Road was stoned by

youths. An eyewitness saw a rock go through the man's windscreen and hit his face.

Police used teargas to disperse mobs in Durban after petrol bombs were thrown at members of the force. No-one was injured.

At Klaarwater, near Pine-town, police dispersed crowds of stone-throwers with teargas but no serious damage was reported.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred at Nyanga and Settlers Way. A few cars were damaged — Own Correspondents and Sapa.

Policemen stand by in Soweto yesterday

Fire bombs, stones in June 16 unrest

PRETORIA — Mobs hurled petrol bombs at policemen, stoned vehicles and buildings and set fire to a bus and other vehicles yesterday in incidents on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

Colonel Leon Melett, the chief press officer of the Minister of Police, said a bus driver was reportedly killed in an

incident in a remote part of Inanda, near Durban. The bus was set alight.

About 30 buses had been damaged in Soweto, Colonel Melett said.

In all, 23 SAP vehicles were damaged and six private vehicles were burnt. One member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people were arrested in Soweto

for various offences, including stone-throwing. Colonel Melett said.

Six blacks were injured in Soweto and police used tear smoke to disperse stone-throwing crowds in the township.

Among those arrested in Soweto were four senior members of Azapo, a spokesman for their lawyers said last night.

They are the president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Mabasa, the organisation's vice-president, Mr Saths Cooper, Dr Abu Bakar Asvat and Mr George Wauchop.

Mr Cooper and Dr Asvat were released later.

Police headquarters had up to 10 pm last night received no reports of shots being fired by the SAP.

Soweto was "quiet and under control" at 10 pm, Colonel Melett said.

In Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, sporadic incidents of stone-throwing occurred after a meeting late last night. A shop was plundered and windows broken in the local post office.

Police used tear smoke to disperse mobs in Durban after petrol bombs were thrown at members of the force on two occasions. No-one was injured by the bombs.

Shops in Lamontville, Umlazi and Chesterville were closed yesterday after mobs threatened to destroy businesses that opened.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred in Nyanga and Settlers Way. A few cars were damaged but no-one was injured.

In Queenstown, hundreds of students attended a memorial service at the Shanty Hall in the Mlungisi Township.

There were no incidents and the students dispersed peacefully at about 4 pm.

No incidents or stay-aways from work were reported in East London or Mdantsane.

Port Elizabeth was also reported to be quiet. — SAPA-DDR

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MEETING: Members of the NFC, Dr Neville Alexander and Mr Lybon Mabasa, consulting at the weekend's conference.

Manifest paves way to freedom

By SAM MABE

SEVERAL political documents have gained the significance of landmarks in the history of black politics in South Africa. Among these were the Freedom Charter and the Committee of Ten's blueprint.

The Manifesto of the People of Azania,

adopted at the solidarity conference held in Hammanskraal, makes claims to such significance but history alone will tell. The manifesto will be reviewed when

the National Forum Committee (NFC) convenors of the Hammanskraal conference, holds its second indaba in Easter next year. This was announced by Mr

Saths Cooper, vice-president of Azapo and a member of the NFC who said that the more than 150 organisations which participated will have had the whole year to critically assess the manifesto.

The manifesto is based on four principles:

- Anti-racism and anti-imperialism;
- Non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments;
- Independent working-class organisation;
- Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties.

The Hammanskraal conference decided that it was in accordance with those principles that in its manifesto it demanded the following:

- The right to work;
- The right to form trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness;
- The establishment of a democratic, anti-racist worker republic in Azania where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and ex-

change;

- State provision of free and compulsory education for all, geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all forms of oppression, exploitation and ignorance;

- State provision of adequate and decent housing;

- State provision of free health, legal, recreation and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people;

- Development of one national progressive culture in the process of struggle;

- The land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people;

- The usage of land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all forms and means of exploitation.

The conference also pledged to "struggle tirelessly" for the abolition of all laws that discriminate on the basis of sex, colour, religion or language and the re-integration of the "bantustan human dump" into a unitary Azania.

Harare in dilemma over ANC 'tourists'

By David Thomas, The Star Bureau

HARARE — Whatever feelings of solidarity the Zimbabwe Government may espouse towards the South African revolutionary movements, pragmatism still prevails over ideology when it comes to the crunch.

The Harare Government's swift and vehement denial of being used as an infiltration route by four South African revolutionaries this week must have given some comfort to Pretoria but little to the African National Congress.

It was almost as if the incident had been set up to test the Zimbabwe Government.

Pretoria's version, as put by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was that four ANC insurgents flew from Maputo to Harare, made their way to the Limpopo, cut the border fence and crossed into the Northern Transvaal.

A follow-up operation by the South African security forces led to the capture of two insurgents. The other two fled back to Zimbabwe, according to Mr le Grange.

It was also claimed that Soviet-made weapons were found, including two AK-47 rifles, ammunition and RPG rockets.

Harare, through State Security Minister Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, officially denied the whole thing suggesting that it was invented as a "flimsy excuse" by Pretoria to "unleash aggression on us".

The ANC reaction was to deny that it had any military personnel in Zimbabwe.

But reliable sources indicated that two South African blacks, claiming to be refugees who had been in a skirmish with South African security forces, gave themselves up to the Zimbabwe authorities in the Beit Bridge area. One of them was wounded, though not seriously.

Their appearance coincided with the alleged incident across the border.

The sources further disclosed that the four may have flown to Harare from Maputo and entered as "tourists" without the knowledge or help of the government.

It is understood that the Zimbabwe Government is now in a dilemma as to what to do with the two men, who are still being held by the authorities.

The significance of the event is the speed with which the Zimbabwe Government moved to distance itself both from the action and the ANC.

At the time Mr Mnangagwa made his denial, a government spokesman elaborated by pointing out that the ruling Zanu (PF) has never had a working relationship with the ANC.

He also disassociated the government from the ANC.

Zimbabwe Government connections with the South African revolutionary movement appear to be limited to the Pan Africanist Congress whose present military capability is insignificant.

Problems of blacks 'caused violence

Cape Times
17/06/85

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By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

THE violence on August 11, 1980, which resulted in the death of two motorists was understandable when viewed in terms of the grievances of black people, Mr T L Skweyiya, defence counsel, said in the Supreme Court yesterday.

He was presenting his argument in extenuation for six of the 10 young men convicted of murder following events in Klipfontein Road during 1980 in which Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen were killed.

The 10, with 73-year-old trade-unionist Oscar Mpetha and seven other men, were charged with murder and terrorism.

7 acquitted

Seven men were acquitted last week. Mpetha was found guilty of terrorism, but not guilty of murder. Nine of the young men convicted of murder were also found guilty of terrorism.

Mr Skweyiya submitted that the violence could not be viewed in isolation, but should be seen against a background of the plight of blacks. One of their difficulties was a lack of proper communication with the authorities.

Western Cape blacks were in a worse position than those in the rest of South Africa, because of the application of the laws, he said. There was great frustration among children who wanted to become professional people, but were unable to play a role in society.

"In these circumstances, what chance does an uneducated black youth have in Cape Town?" he asked.

Boycotts

Circumstances which should be taken into account were the on-going school boycott, red meat boycott and bus boycott. The situation had been summed

up by Sister Ae Hardiman when she said: "Black people have to live with constant suppressed anger."

The youth and standard of education of the men made them more susceptible to influence in a crowd, he said. The violence they carried out was of a general nature, and not aimed at a specific person.

Mr John Whitehead, arguing in extenuation for four of the young men, said the court should accept that in the circumstances they had specific difficulties in obeying the law. In a similar situation, a group of youngsters from Constantia would be far more morally blameworthy because of their different circumstances, he said.

The four men, whose ages presently ranged from 18 to 20, were immature and could not be expected to show the stability, restraint and responsibility of older men. The highest level of education between them was Standard 5, he said.

"They are all unsophisticated and don't qualify as standard political activists."

They had all been influenced, not only by their peers, but by the attitude of authority and whites in general. The court had found that none of the 10 men had the direct intention to kill.

Motive

Their motive was also not one of personal greed, but a political objective, which could not be ignored in a time of political strife.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors, Mr G H Titterton and Mr C H van Gend. Mr C J van Wyk appeared for the State. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by J Whitehead, instructed by Frank Bernadt and Joffe, appeared for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya, instructed by A M Omar, Vassen and company, appeared for the other men.

professional

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George Beeton

Mr C J van Wyk

Frank Bernadt

Malan: Defence role of industry

Defence Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN industrialists will have to provide their own "first line of defence" against terrorist attacks, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting of the Industrialists' Association at Kempton Park, General Malan said the country provided such a multitude of possible targets that the government's security organizations could not provide proper protection without the help of the industrialists themselves.

He prefaced his remarks by stating that the external threat to South Africa consisted of two parts:

Threat

● The Angolan-based "current terrorist threat ... and projected conventional attacks against South West Africa and South Africa".

● Russian support to "certain neighbouring countries" which enhanced their ability to "provide sanctuaries" for terrorists and weapon stockpiles.

The internal threat consisted of attacks on both rural and urban targets, and "terrorism, though it may seem so, is never senseless violence. It is a symbolic act directed at objects such as buildings or people, or both", General Malan said.

Targets

He noted that black leaders were all targets for assassination and so, it appeared, were "other politicians and military leaders in South Africa".

However, "the terrorist leaders and those who house and actively help them must harbour no illusions about the consequences that assassination attacks in South Africa will have for them", "because the consequences on the South African population ... will set in motion a reaction for which the murderers and the lands which give them sanctuary cannot make allowance".

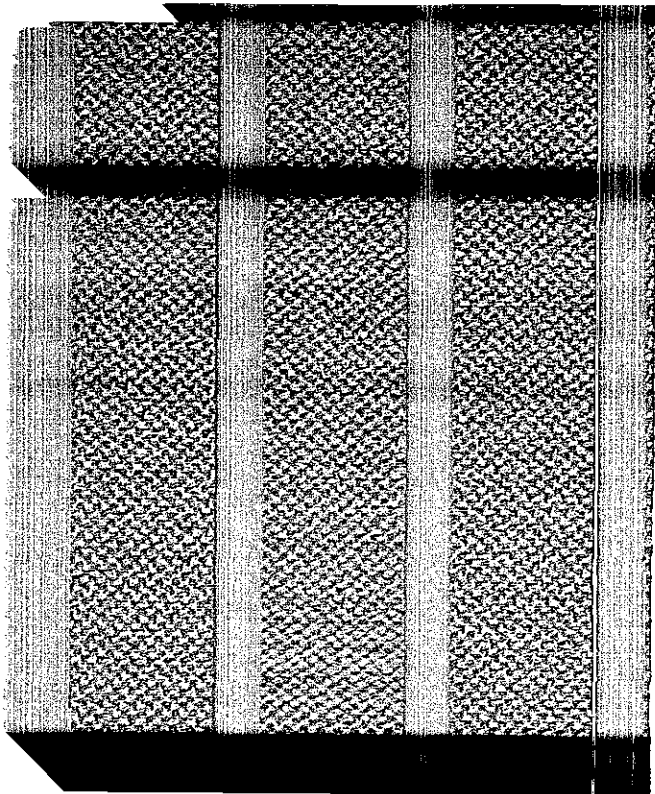
South Africa was not "a Portugal, an Angola, a Mozambique or a Rhodesia". Terrorism would not bring solutions.

Destabilization

Industrially, South Africa "presents hundreds of potential targets to terrorists ... you are especially threatened because you as industrialists stand in the way of economic destabilization ...".

"The range of targets in a highly-industrialized country such as South Africa, and the limitations of manpower and finance, however, make it impossible for the government's permanent security agencies to provide an impregnable defence.

"Therefore the first line of defence, namely the protection of your premises, should be provided for by yourselves."



As police vehicles patrol the Soweto main roads and commuters return from work, a gutted truck stands testimony to a day of stoning and burnings in the township.

Picture: NOEL WATSON

Many remember Soweto 1976

Mail Reporters

AT least 20 meetings were held throughout the Reef yesterday to commemorate Soweto 1976.

More than 5 000 people crammed into the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto to hear the mother of one of the three ANC men hanged last week say her son had comforted his parents during their last visit to him.

Mrs Sarah Mosololi said she was not mourning for her son, Jerry, because he had told her not to.

"When he kissed me, he said: 'Be brave. We are prepared for this.'

"He said we should tell the nation that he was happy, that we should thank them for their support and should carry on if they can," she said.

Speaker after speaker called for opposition groups to unite against apartheid.

"If we remain divided, then we are unworthy of those who died, those who are in jail, those who are in exile and those who gave their lives last week," Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said.

"If we remain divided, then it means we have not suffered enough. The only thing that will defeat us is if you and I are divided," he said.

Bishop Tutu called on the crowd to commit themselves unreservedly to the "total liberation struggle".

Dr Nthato Motlana, head of the Soweto Committee of 10, said the reality of South Africa was that while "those who rule us are speaking about change, we say the changes have been for the worse".

In Coronationville, the mother of another of the hanged ANC men told a meeting her son's last message before his death: "Carry on the fight for us. We have opened the doors for you to follow us."

Mrs Pauline Motaung was addressing a quiet commemoration service at the Coronationville Methodist Church.

Speaking through a translator, she said she had seen her son, Marcus, the day before his death last Thursday. "In his last days he said we should not stop fighting for freedom. We must carry on

the fight for them after their death."

A young Soweto woman crippled during the 1976 uprising told a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia that they should not feel pity for her because her injuries were a symbol of the struggle.

The woman, Miss Poppy Buthelezi, is confined to a wheelchair and is a member of the Black Women Unite group.

In Alexandra, the offices of the Liaison Committee and many shops were closed.

At St Barnabas Anglican Church in Kwa Thema, Springs, Azapo members pledged their support for the striking students of Medunsa and praised them for the stand they had taken on behalf of their suspended colleagues.

● In Maseru, a June 16 solidarity service was held at the United Nations Information Centre.

Several anti-South African speeches were delivered by various speakers including representatives of the ANC and PAC.

Mall Reporters

AT LEAST 30 buses were damaged and four trucks gutted by fire in Soweto yesterday when violence broke out after a June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church.

Sporadic incidents of violence were reported at several points in the townships surrounding the church as police moved in with a helicopter and riot control vehicles, using teargas to disperse the crowds.

Several people were arrested, including the president and the sports spokesman of the Azanian People's Organisation who had attended the service.

During the emotion-charged service, the crowd heard speakers from a wide range of black organisations call for opposition groups to unite against apartheid.

The service was conducted by, among others, Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the So-

Isolated outbreaks of violence mark June 16

11A *ROOM* *17/6/83*

weto Committee of 10, and Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the newly formed National Forum.

Placards, an Azapo flag, and an ANC flag adorned the stage as the mother of an ANC member hanged last week addressed the gathering.

As the 5 000-strong crowd left the church after a three-hour service, policemen in plainclothes took pictures from across the road. A small part of the crowd began to chant: "We are not afraid of them. We want them", and surged towards them.

The police continued to

take pictures and stones were thrown. The police drove off and returned a few minutes later with reinforcements and a sneeze machine, which dispersed the crowd. The crowd pelted the police vehicles with stones.

More reinforcements, including another sneeze machine arrived. As the crowd moved away from the church, a number of teargas canisters were fired, some from a helicopter hovering overhead.

Police entered the churchyard and arrested about six people. They were driven away.

The president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Mabasa, and the organisation's spokesman on sport, Mr George Wauchope, were also arrested.

Police reported one injury, Warrant Officer S Twala, who was cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle at Regina Mundi Church.

Several police vehicles received minor damage in the stone-throwing.

The day of commemoration services began quietly, with both police and Press keeping a low profile at the Protea Police Station skirt-

ing Soweto.

Azapo had called on Sowetans to boycott work yesterday and to attend memorial services for the people who died in 1976, when riots were sparked by dissatisfaction over a Government stipulation that Afrikaans be taught at black schools as a compulsory subject. The Government later lifted the stipulation.

Yesterday morning reporters noted a markedly smaller crowd than usual leaving for work, although no incidents were reported. There was less traffic than usual and

most people preferred to stay home.

As Press members were taken in early in the day, police squads were in constant surveillance and a helicopter flew overhead, on the lookout for "trouble spots".

Before the Regina Mundi service ended, a Visnews film team drove into Protea with tears streaming from their eyes. They had apparently begun filming independently at Regina Mundi, were spotted by police keeping surveillance on the crowds, and told to report to the station.

All trains were running on schedule yesterday, according to a spokesman for South African Transport Services.

Putco's public relations officer, Mr Pat Rogers, said about 30 buses were damaged, some extensively, by groups of youths.

In Pretoria, black townships observed June 16 peacefully as people atten-

From Page 2

Stonings (11A)
arrests (11A)
17/6/83

From Page 1

ded commemoration services at different venues

In Durban police set up two roadblocks yesterday at the entrance to Lamontville.

A reporter's car was searched at one of the roadblocks and police would not let him into the township.

Police said there was stone-throwing last night in the township. One of their vehicles was set on fire and they used teargas.

They said that generally the other black areas of Durban were quiet.

A spokesman for the University of Zululand said the campus was quiet.

In Cape Town Sapa reports there were sporadic cases of stone-throwing on the N2 national road past the D F Malan Airport at rush hour yesterday afternoon.

In Maseru, a June 16 solidarity service was held at the United Nations Information Centre.

Gerhardts' trial will be secret, say experts

Mall Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, former commanding officer of the SA Naval Dockyard, Simonstown, and his Swiss-born wife Ruth, are expected to appear in court soon in connection with allegations of espionage.

But legal authorities are of the opinion that, as the charges are likely to deal with classified Defence information, the trial — or much of it — will be held behind closed doors.

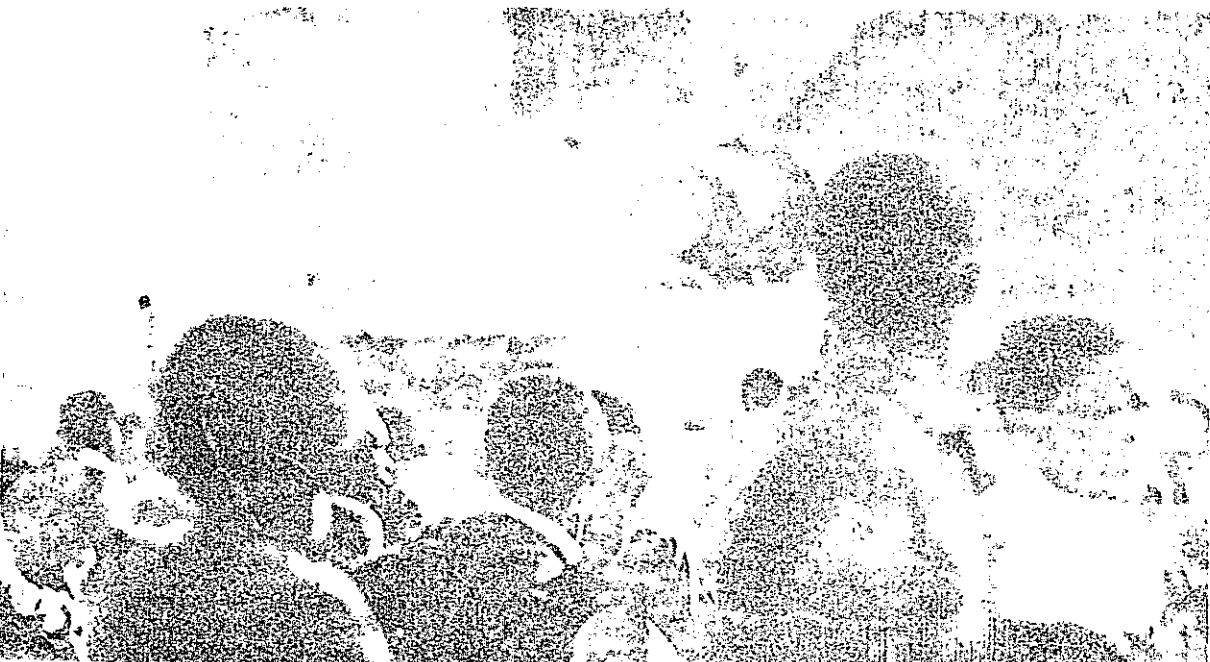
And although a judge or

Asked if he meant a Western or a communist country, Mr Botha replied bluntly: "On behalf of Russia."

Swiss police this week announced the arrest of a 49-year-old Soviet national, in connection with the Simonstown "spy" case.

The Swiss Government had inquired in the light of Press reports that Mrs Gerhardt might be charged with a capital crime.

But in Cape Town, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said no guarantee had been given to the Swiss



Vehicles stoned in City, Soweto

CAL Times 17/6/83

11A

Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

AT least 30 buses were damaged and four trucks destroyed by fire in Soweto yesterday when violence broke out after a June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church.

And in the Peninsula, a private car, a bus, two Post Office vehicles and an Administration Board vehicle were damaged in sporadic stone-throwing, although there were no injuries and the police took no action.

Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said last night's incidents occurred in the Nyanga area near Lansdowne Road and near Settler's Way.

Sporadic violence was reported at several points around the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. Several people were arrested, includ-

ing the president and the sports spokesman of the Azanian People's Organization, who had attended the service.

During the emotion-charged service, the crowd heard speakers from a wide range of black organizations call for unity against apartheid.

As the 5 000-strong crowd left the church after a three-hour service, plainclothes policemen took pictures from across the road. A small part of the crowd began to chant "We are not afraid of them. We want them" and surged towards them.

The police continued to take pictures and stone-throwing began. The police drove off and returned with reinforcements and a sneeze machine. The crowd pelted the police vehicles with stones.

More reinforcements, including another sneeze machine, arrived. As the crowd moved away from the church, teargas canisters were fired at them, some from the helicopter overhead.

Locked door

Police entered the churchyard and apprehended about six people. They were driven away.

About 100 people who had re-entered the church when the teargassing started, locked the door and ignored police demands to open it. Teargas drove them out and they were lined up while police took their particulars and pictures.

The president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Ma-

basa, and its sports spokesman, Mr George Wauchope, were apprehended outside.

Police, who took the press into the township in an armoured carrier, reported that Warrant Officer S Twala had been cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle.

Youths set up drum roadblocks to slow traffic into the township. Some streets were littered with stones thrown by small groups at passing cars.

At sunset, police patrols were still sweeping up the narrow sideroads and main feeder inlets to Soweto.

Pretoria quiet

Putco's public relations officer, Mr Pat Rogers, said about 30 buses were damaged by groups of youths.

● In Pretoria, black townships observed June 16 peacefully as people attended services. Shops and cinemas were closed.

● In Durban, police set up two roadblocks at the entrance to Lamontville, Sapa reports. Earlier, people had gathered in the road outside singing and chanting.

Police said there was stone-throwing last night in the township. One of their vehicles was set on fire and they had used teargas. Durban's other black areas were generally quiet.

● In Cape Town, early-morning commuters to the City were met by lone Black Sash protesters holding posters saying "One People, One Land".

Stonings, burnings in unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — A man was killed and mobs hurled petrol bombs at policemen, stoned vehicles and buildings and set vehicles alight on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred in the rush hour yesterday afternoon on the national road to Somerset West near D F Malan airport, and in Lansdowne Road.

Ten vehicles, including an Administration Board van and six City Tramways buses were damaged.

The man killed was an off-duty bus driver who was battered to death in Inanda, Natal, last night.

Looting

Also in Natal, a Lamontville man was shot and wounded, shops were looted, and petrol bombs were hurled as unrest spread through townships in the Durban area. Police used teargas and rubber bullets, and a police dog was stabbed and seriously injured.

In Soweto, 60 Putco buses were damaged in stone-throwing which spread to other areas after clashes between police and people who attended a commemorative service at the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church.

Colonel Leon Mellett, the Chief Press Officer of the Minister of Police, said 25 SAP vehicles were damaged and six private vehicles were burnt. A member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people were arrested for various offences, including stone-throwing.

Six blacks were injured.

Emotional

Police moved in on the Regina Mundi Church with a helicopter and riot control vehicles after an emotion-charged service in which speakers from a wide range of black organisations called for opposition groups to unite against apartheid.

As the 5 000-strong crowd left the church, plainclothes policemen took pictures. A small part of the crowd began to chant: "We are not afraid of them. We want them", and surged towards the police.

The police continued to take pictures, and stone-throwing began.

SOCIALISM FM 17/483
Azapo's alternative

11a
SA's black consciousness militants are working towards equating capitalism with "racism," and are consequently proposing a socialist future (see *Leaders*). At their National Forum Committee meeting last week they called "racial capitalism" the main enemy of blacks in SA.

However, they remain firmly committed to black exclusivity — to the point of rejecting co-operation with anti-government groups like the Transvaal Indian Congress whose title implies an ethnic division in the black community.

Saths Cooper of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) told the *FM* that Azapo was "basically fighting a race question

which is fuelled by capitalism. We see racism and capitalism as twin evils. Ours is not purely a race struggle, and it is certainly not a purely class struggle. There is a symbiotic relationship between the racism and capitalism in SA."

Cooper admits that capitalism does not necessarily imply racism, but says SA faces an "existential problem of racial capitalism." Azapo, he says, "is working towards a futuristic, socialist, democratic anti-racist Azania where all Azanians will have full and equal rights."

He denies that Azapo's black exclusivity

is itself racist because Azapo does not have the power to oppress anyone — which power he holds to be an ingredient of racism.

Of the socialist society envisaged for SA, Cooper says it will be a society "where the means of production will be utilised for the benefit of the whole, not merely for parts of it. People will have the right to work and to work where they want to, the right to decent and adequate housing, free and compulsory education, transport and a national health service. Considerations of race, sex, class, colour and language will play no

part."

This translates as the standard utopian socialist vision. Cooper did not go into how the rights to free education, medicine, housing and so on were to be paid for.

However, he did not see an immediate and "traumatic" transformation to socialism — even after the advent of majority rule. "It has to be worked for through a process of struggle," he says. "The populace at large has to be educated to see the socialist alternative as the only correct one, where all Azanians can play their full role in the growth and development of this society."

C. Herald
18/6/83
**Manenberg denies
Cahac withdrawal**

THE Manenberg Civic Association have denied that they have broken away from the umbrella civic body, the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac).

A statement released after an emergency meeting of the association's executive committee on Sunday said that three members of the civic body would face disciplinary action for linking the association with the breakaway.

It was reported in Cape Herald recently that three civic bodies — the Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown and Kew Town Residents' Association (BBSK), the Parkwood Tenants' Association and Manenberg — had announced their resignation at a Cahac general meeting.

The MCA statement, signed by the secretary, Mr David Meyer, said they "took exception to the incorrect press statement where the association was included in the breakaway alliance from the Cahac forum".

ILLEGAL

"This decision was illegal and unconstitutional and was taken at an illegal meeting in Manenberg on May 17.

"The people who spearheaded this illegal

meeting must still appear at a board of inquiry of the association.

"The present position of the Manenberg Civic Association is that we are still affiliated to Cahac as history has shown that unity is strength and only through unity can battles be won.

"The executive of the MCA therefore reiterates the rejection of the statement released and we now bluntly restate that the MCA has never formed an alliance with BBSK and Parkwood to withdraw from Cahac".

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

Meetings banned after unrest

~~3/1/76~~
Mercury Reporter

U/A Mercury
18/6/83

LAMONTVILLE Post Office was fired by youths yesterday in the third day of unrest around Durban, and one leader appealed to youths and police for calm.

Rioters pulled people from cars and assaulted them, and police confirmed a number of charges had been laid by civilians, although the situation in Inanda, Klaarwater and Chesterville was said to have cooled.

Meanwhile, police disclosed last night that all memorial services relating to the 1976 Soweto unrest or to the execution of ANC members or any other convicted terrorists had been banned until 6 a m on Monday in

the magisterial districts of Durban, Pinetown and Umhlanga, Inanda and Verulam.

A memorial service for trade unionists, Pat Msomi and Jabu Mthalane, and a mass meeting in the Gandhi Hall, Lorne Street, were also prohibited.

The areas affected included Lamontville, Clermont, Chesterville and Klaarwater.

In Lamontville, on Thursday night, a man was shot and wounded by police after he had allegedly stabbed a police dog and then attacked the handler.

A man had been arrested

The Rev Mcebisi Xundu last night appealed for peace and calm.

P-DISPATCH
Jail for PAC man (11A)

18/6/33
UMTATA — The court had to beware of becoming involved in emotional arguments about banned organisations, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Hefer, said yesterday when he sentenced a terror trial accused to an effective four years in prison.

Mr Lawrence Vumankosi Ntikinca, 25, was found guilty on the main count of having taken part directly or indirectly in the activities of the banned Pan Africanist Congress.

He was also found guilty on the alternate counts of possession of a firearm and 13 rounds of ammunition without a licence and of theft of nine blank Transkeian travel documents and two official stamps from the offices of the Butterworth district commissioner.

Granting leave to appeal, the chief justice said it was a difficult matter to consider as he had "to sit in judgment on my own judgment."

Mr Justice Hefer sentenced Mr Ntikinca to

four years on the count on the PAC and theft, six months for possession of the firearm and ammunition and 18 months on the count of theft of the Transkeian travel documents and stamps.

The chief justice said passing sentence in this type of case was difficult for several reasons.

Firstly the very act in terms of which the accused is charged and convicted contains a number of offences varying from petty to serious. To say a man participated in activities of an unlawful organisation does not exactly say what he did.

"Another reason it is not an easy matter is that these so-called political cases are in themselves emotional.

"The result is that there are people in Transkei clamouring for heavy sentences. Others are clamouring for lighter sentences and go to the extent of saying the unlawful organisations should be unbanned.

"The court must be careful not to become party to any emotional arguments and against siding with any party."

The court must take into account what the accused tried to do and the fact that he did not succeed.

It also had to be taken into account that what he did not reach the stage of violence.

Pleading in mitigation earlier, Mr Justice Poswa said Mr Ntikinca personal circumstances should be taken into account.

As a result of his eight months in detention, he had sustained injuries. The court could not be unmindful of his suffering.

During his arrest, he made no attempt to use the firearm.

Earlier Mr Justice Hefer said he felt it was unjustified to order an inquiry into the police assaults as there was a civil case pending.

"It is far better to let the civil action take its course," he said. — DDR



Demonstrators in New York protest against US support for South Africa.

18/6/83 n. DISPATCH

UN appeals for unity in ending apartheid

NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has appealed for east-west unity in support of "the just struggle of the people of South Africa to reclaim what is their birthright."

He told a Soweto Day hearing that it was the UN's "special responsibility" to devise peaceful ways of terminating apartheid "and ending the consequent suffering" of South Africans.

Later, more than 30 organisations had supporters gathering outside the offices of the

South African Mission to the UN, prior to marching across Manhattan to demonstrate at Madison Square Garden, where WBA junior middleweight champion Davey Moore was boxing Roberto Duran in a bout originally scheduled for Sun City.

Their target was fight promoter, Bob Arum, who was held up as a symbol of unwelcome "constructive engagement" with South Africa.

The march and demonstration was the product of a month's organisation by the Soweto Soli-

darity Coalition, a group embracing a wide range of trade union, church, political, civil rights, women's, student and community organisations.

They ranged from nationwide bodies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) to groups opposing American policy in Central America.

The African National Congress and Swapo participated, but not the Pan-Africanist Congress. — DDC.

New national forum born

(11A)
THE Government's draft constitution, the "Koornhof Bills", racism and the hanging of three African National Congress members were condemned at a national forum of black organisations in Hammanskraal this weekend.

About 800 people, representing about 170 organisations, attended the conference, which had been convened by a National Forum Committee initiated by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

ABSENTEES

The conference adopted a "Manifesto of the People of Azania" which will be reviewed when the committee meets again during the Easter weekend next year.

The manifesto has as its basis principles of

C. Herald 18/6/83
anti-racism and anti-imperialism. It calls for an anti-racist, socialist republic.

Although the theme of the conference was the uniting of all organisations against the Government's apartheid policies, notable absentees included the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

IN-FIGHTING

In an opening address, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said that the black people of South Africa had one goal which was total freedom and they would not go to the whites to ask for it because it was their inalienable right.

He said that by in-fighting, groups with different views were betraying a trust, because among themselves they had people who had suffered, and outside the country there were people who were there not by choice.

Committee convenor and Azapo vice-president, Saths Cooper, said on Monday that he was satisfied with the outcome of the forum.

"Organisations from across the political spectrum, whether they be progressive democrats or black consciousness, were represented.

"This historic conference showed a resurgence in the unity of oppressed and exploited people. An open invitation is extended to all organisations who were not able to attend the conference, to fit into a conference of this nature."

Former

ANC

18/6/83
CANC-TIMES

official

dies

119

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A former national general secretary of the African National Congress, the Rev A J Calata, died at his Cradock home early on Thursday morning, aged 88.

Mr Calata, who also served as president of the ANC in the Cape before it was banned, was born in Rabual, in the Keiskammahoeck district.

He served for many years as Anglican priest in Cradock and was a national figure in the ANC in the forties and fifties.

Mr Calata was one of 156 South Africans arrested at the end of 1956 and charged with treason. He was in the final group that appeared in the Supreme Court and was cleared of high treason in 1960.

Mr Calata was banned for many years.

He is survived by three daughters and many grand- and great grandchildren. Mr Calata will be buried in Cradock next Saturday.

'Innocents victims of grievances'

CAP. Times 18/6/83
11A
Staff Reporter

THE 10 young men convicted of murder after rioting in Crossroads in 1980 might have had real grievances but had directed their violence against innocent people, Mr C J van Wyk for the State, argued in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Van Wyk was arguing that extenuating circumstances were not present. The murder charges followed the death of two men after the stoning and burning of cars in Klipfontein Road on August 11, 1980.

The men were charged with murder and terrorism with 73-year-old trade-unionist Oscar Mpetha and seven other men. In the judgment last week, seven men were acquitted. Mpetha was found guilty of terrorism but not guilty of murder. Nine of the young men convicted of murder were also found guilty of terrorism.

Mr Van Wyk said he accepted that the men probably had political grievances. However, these were not extenuating factors.

Their actions were not aimed at the authorities against whom they had grievances, but simply against white people whatever their possible political sympathies.

Possible police provocation

The possible provocation caused by police and road transport officials in their handling of the bus boycott could also not be accepted as extenuation, he said.

The violence had occurred on August 11 and while most of the police action had occurred on the same day, the court had found that the violence had been pre-planned.

The fact that the men had not directly intended to kill the motorists, was not *per se* an extenuating factor. Their actions had come too near to a direct intention to count in their favour.

He conceded that extenuating circumstances existed in the cases of Christopher Sparanyi, Jeffrey Beardman and Phillip Nonygwana, on the grounds of their extreme youth. However, the actions of the other young men — all leaders and planners — showed them to be mature men.

The hearing continues on Wednesday.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors. Mr G H Titterton and Mr C H van Gend. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank Bernadt and Joffe, is appearing for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya, instructed by A M Omar, Vassen and Company, are appearing for the other men.

P.T.O

COPS GAS REGINA

11A
City
Press
19/6/83

City Press Reporters

SOWETO — Angry crowds seized and set fire to a bus after yesterday's emotion-charged June 16 service at Regina Mundi.

Police used teargas and baton-charged part of the 5 000-strong crowd as they left the church after the biggest service since 1977.

And scores of people returning home from work were attacked by angry crowds.

After the service, part of the crowd began stoning passing vehicles and forced a bus to stop. The set it ablaze.

Other groups spread through the streets, stoning other vehicles.

Riot squad reinforcements arrived and dispersed the crowds with teargas and a baton charge. The police sneeze machine truck also moved in.

When Wrab cops armed with rifles and batons arrived, they were met with a hail of stones and rubbish bins were hurled into the street to block their paths.

The cops then threw teargas canisters at the crowd, clearing the area.

Throughout the drama, a police helicopter hovered overhead.

Roads, covered with splintered glass, were strewn with rocks as groups attempted to barricade the streets against police.

During the clashes, police confiscated cameras from City Press photographer Mike Mzileni, while Rand Daily Mail journalist Stan Hlope and a TV



● The mothers of Jerry Mosololi (left) and Marcus Motaung — two ANC men who left the country in June '76 and were hanged last Thursday, were among the large crowd at the Regina Mundi service yesterday.

team were detained briefly. Soweto police chief Brigadier D J D Jacobs said there were about

6 000 people at the church meeting at Regina Mundi — 4 000 people inside and 1 000 outside.

"After the service people started stoning vehicles passing on Roodepoort Road. They set a bus on fire and damaged a police vehicle.

"The police dispersed the crowd with tear gas."

He did not know yesterday afternoon whether any people had been detained by the police.

Earlier, the huge crowd at Regina Mundi heard Mrs Feinini Mosololi, whose son Jerry was hanged for ANC activities last week, describe June 16, 1976, the day her son left the country.

"I prayed day and night for his safety wherever he was. It came as a shock to me when I read in the papers that my son had been arrested," said Mrs Mosololi.

Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said there had been no fundamental change in the country. He appealed to people to identify the enemy and stop fighting over petty differences.

"Those who rule us tempt us with the crumbs from the table," he told an applauding crowd.

He added: "There has been no progress in the struggle since 1976."

Batons come out after churchgoers burn bus and stone police

Throughout the Reef, services focused on the three ANC fighters hanged last week.

And in Alexandra, Rand Daily Mail journalists Mike Louw and Greg English were held by police as they left the June 16 service at the township's Methodist Church.

DURBAN

AS police sealed off Durban's strife-torn Lamontville township, angry crowds seized a police vehicle and set it ablaze.

They also attacked patrolling riot squad police with stones.

A police spokesman said later crowds had been dispersed with teargas, and Sapa reports that police roadblocks had been set up on all entrances to the township.

Earlier, angry Lamontville residents set up their own barricade, using an old car, and marched through the streets singing "freedom songs".

And a woman resident claimed that riot squad cops "looking for boys" threw teargas into her locked home.

PUTCO STAYS OUT

JO'BURG — Putco has stopped its buses from entering the central areas of Soweto following stoning incidents and clashes between protesters and police near the Regina Mundi Church yesterday, a spokesman for Putco said.

Windows on about 30 company buses had been broken by stone throwing, the spokesman said.

Putco was now turning its buses around at Baragwanath Hospital, the Dobsonville police station, New Canada station and at No 17 Shaft on the Soweto highway, the spokesman added. — Sapa.

Silence at soccer

SOWETO — A minute's silence will be observed before all NPSL games this weekend to commemorate June 16. This was confirmed by Mr George Thabe, chairman of the NPSL yesterday. All Transvaal promotion league and Johannesburg Football Association fixtures have been postponed to next weekend.

The proof was there at Hammanskraal

By KHULU SIBIYA

THE formation this week of the National Forum, a black consciousness movement, has given birth to three major political fronts in the country.

The new dramatically re-styled BC movement has jerked BC out of the doldrums in which it has been languishing for some time now.

It also marks the formation of a third major black political force. The others are the United Democratic Front, a non-racial organisation adhering to the Freedom Charter and the South African Black Alliance, under the leadership of Chief Gatsha Buthezi.

Struggle

The more than 800 people, representing 200 organisations at the first seminar in Hammanskraal, was proof enough that those subscribing to BC philosophy had to change their strategy.

The re-birth of BC could be attributed to people like Saths Cooper, Strini Moodley, Muntu Myeza, who were recently released from Robben Island and the likes of Dr Neville Alexander, also a former Island prisoner.

The National Front in one of its resolutions rejects all organisations that work within the Government and those who "col-

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laborate with the system" - a clear reference to Chief Gatsha Buthezi's SA Black Alliance.

Although some members and organisations belonging to the UDF, also serve in the NF, the non-racial body also came under heavy attack.

The Soweto Civic Association, the Council of Unions of SA

and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, three powerful bodies, owe their allegiance to both the UDF and NF.

Dr Neville Alexander, who is the power behind the NF, sums it up by saying: "In this struggle the idea of a single nation is vital because it represents the real interest of the working

class, and therefore of the future socialist Azania.

"The black working class is the driving force in South Africa"

Although both the UDF and the NF have been at each other's throats because of differences in political outlook, they however believe that the total liberation and national unity is in the hands of the working class.

BC, unlike in the days of SASO, BPC and to an extent Azapo during its earlier days, seems to be undergoing a change in its outlook by analysing the struggle in a broader way.

Freedom

This was evident at Hammanskraal by the number of different organisations and delegates who questioned the role of BC.

BC still believes that the interests of the "oppressed and exploited" are best kept by the oppressed and the exploited themselves and within the confines of Azania itself.

The UDF believes in the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the outlawed African National Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1955.

A common factor between the UDF and the NF is that both believe that the land and all that belongs to it will be wholly-owned and controlled by the Azanian people.



Delegates are united at the formation of the National Forum.

5-11-63
19/6/83

Top U.S. finance men told of ANC 'duping'

By TICKS CHETTY

MANY Western leaders were being "duped" into regarding the African National Congress as the only authentic organisation fighting for liberation in South Africa, influential American financiers were told this week.

The group of about 40 bankers and investors were brought to South Africa by a New York broking firm.

President's Council member Mr Mamoo Rajab told the group at a closed-door meeting that the ANC "led by the South African Communist Party" planned "a totalitarian regime - based on the Russian model" in this country.

"The ANC leadership therefore aims to bring this country into the orbit of Soviet influence," Mr Rajab said.

He added that if the West shut its eyes to peaceful change in South Africa and neglected those striving for such a change, "it does so at its own peril".

Struggle

Rejecting calls for disinvestment, Mr Rajab said overseas investors should not ignore the political struggle taking place in South Africa "for the hearts and minds of the African population".

Referring to Prime Minister Mr P W Botha's constitutional reform initiative, he said: "I believe this cannot be a government effort alone."

"The South African and the international private sector must play a decisive role in this effort."

He said while he appreciated efforts to bring about change, he stressed that "any attempt to exclude Africans from the new political dispensation must lead to conflict in the long term".

Handwritten notes on the left side of the page, including phrases like "The group of about 40 bankers and investors were brought to South Africa by a New York broking firm."



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Handwritten notes on the right side of the page, including phrases like "The group of about 40 bankers and investors were brought to South Africa by a New York broking firm."

Blacks mobilise against reform Bill

BLACK political forces are mobilising at grass-roots level throughout the country after the release of the Government's proposed new constitution and the approaching referendum.

In the last month two major umbrella bodies comprising scores of community groups, trade unions, churches and cultural organisations have sprung up to fight the Government's three-chambered plans for whites, coloureds and Indians.

As the 1983 parliamentary session enters its dying days, the constitutional debate that has been waged between the white political parties in Parliament will continue unabated elsewhere and along different lines — on the shop-floor, at meetings of church elders, at mass rallies, in joint committees of community umbrella organisations and within sports groups.

Much of the debate up to now in white politics has been about whether the Bill is good or bad constitution-making. The argument in black political circles inside and outside government-created structures has a different cast, should one take part in the proposed new system to destroy it or should one try to destroy it by boycotting from the outset.

Although often differing bitterly in strategy, the groups remain united in aims: resistance to a constitution they label racist, divisive and manipulative.

Not since the days before the State crackdown on black consciousness organisations in 1977 has there been such a political ferment in the country's black communities; much of it in direct response to the Government's proposals, some of it tangential, all of it forcing communities to again weigh their political options and chart future courses.

The UDF has not spelt out clearly the tactic it will be engaging to fight the proposals, but makes clear that "non-collaboration" is not a fixed principle and that strategies other than boycotts might be considered.

Differences in organisational strategies have emerged between the two groups. Recently Azapo called the UDF a "conglomerate of ethnically-orientated groups which perpetuate ethnicity and tribalism".

Although activists from both camps are working hard at minimising the differences, the sort of bickering over strategies which had so often dogged black resistance politics before could again come to the fore.

Already some of the UDF elements are branding the National Forum "counter-productive" and hint that certain of the progressive democrat groups were brought to the meeting under the impression that no concrete decisions would be taken and opinions merely canvassed.

Within some existing groups signs of division between pro-UDF and pro-Forum factions are emerging. The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Asazo) both officially support the charterist position and have allied themselves to the UDF.

At Hammanskraal this weekend, however, some Co-

organisations are often contradictory, their constituencies vaguely defined, the vigour of their opposition not always matched by the extent of their support. Still more difficult to assess is the success the organisations are likely to have in mobilising the coloured and Indian communities once the massive State propaganda machine cranks into life and the State possibly clamps down on the dissent.

Three broad fronts with varying support, strategies and constituencies are confronting the Government over the constitutional proposals: the United Democratic Front, the National Fo-

... and the Black Alliance. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in Johannesburg in late May from 32 organisations, most of them broadly supportive of the progressive democratic movement — people allying themselves philosophically with the Freedom Charter and the principles of the old Congress Alliance which once included the African National Congress.

The front subscribes to a nonracial charter but accepts a multiracial form of mobilisation as a strategy to achieve its ends. It allows a group mobilising from a particular ethnic base — for example the Indian community — as long as goals remain nonracial and there is no manipulation of ethnicity to advance sectarian interests as the Government does.

The strategy is a subject of fierce argument in black political circles — particularly since the resurrection of the old Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) as one of the UDF elements committed to opposing the constitution. Re-establishment of the TIC was the brainchild of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasc) which fought a successful boycott campaign in the last South African Indian Council elections, thereby forcing a derisory ten percent poll in the Government-created institution.

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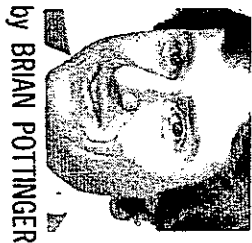
Re-establishment of the TIC was the brainchild of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasc) which fought a successful boycott campaign in the last South African Indian Council elections, thereby forcing a derisory ten percent poll in the Government-created institution.



CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI
Cold-shouldered

sas and Asazo members also endorsed the National Forum's stand. Moving comfortably between the two are a number of church and independent trade unions who have sent observers to both launches and identify with the common aims of both groups — destruction of the proposed constitution.

From this group — it is claimed by some — will come a "third-force" initiative which will bring both groups together despite differing strategies. Whether or not the groups



NEWS ANALYSIS
by BRIAN POTTINGER

The extent of popular resistance to the proposals is impossible to gauge: membership figures of the various

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Scatterlings of Africa... "Juluka" has refused to bow to union pressure but has received favourable publicity in the British Press

Africa then their whole stand becomes meaningless.

"They cannot seem to give recognition to any part of the fight against apartheid... and it seems that their interpretation of the cultural boycott against South Africa is terribly wrong."

And in a hard hitting letter to the union, Jonathan said that, it appeared from the MU statement, that they would be "happier if the group disbanded and some or all of its members became political refugees".

"Juluka, in furtherance of the internal cultural boycott, has turned down - and will continue to do so - significant amounts of income

offered by venues which support the apartheid policy of fragmentation. Some of your most respected members perform in these very venues without being expelled.

Different

"Juluka is an expression at a musical level of all that Sipho (Mchunu, co-founder of the group with Clegg) and I have undergone to overcome the barriers which apartheid places between people of different races and cultures. For two hours on a stage a South African audience can see what a non-racial tomor-

row can look like.

"It is almost certain that I shall not return to England and that Sipho, I and the other members of 'Juluka' will continue to play our music in South Africa. I would therefore earnestly ask the union to reconsider their present position which has now involved us in a double struggle: for we now not only have to fight to maintain our non-racial principles in South Africa but also strive for the support of those who oppose apartheid but who would on current policy prefer to turn their backs on us, so leaving us in a political wilderness without any international support."

Multiracial group rejects ultimatum and faces TV ban

Juluka defian

THE multiracial pop group "Juluka" has refused to bow to an ultimatum from a British trade union and sacrificed a chance to appear on television and radio.

After a lengthy wrangle, the British Musicians' Union agreed this week to allow the South African group to appear on radio and TV on condition that any

By RAY JOSEPH London

fees they earned were donated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The union also warned the group's leader and co-founder, Jonathan Clegg, who came from Britain and held a union card, he would lose his membership if he returns to play in South Africa.

But yesterday Jonathan accused the movement of double standards

by not banning other members who had played in South Africa and said the group would now not appear on either radio or TV.

"Juluka", who arrived in London earlier this week, has received widespread, and mostly sympathetic, coverage in the British Press over their wrangle with the musicians' union.

Typical of the Press reaction, is the comment in the widely-read pop column of London's evening newspaper, The Standard, which de-

scribed the "Juluka" ban as "ridiculous".

The band, who are in the UK for a concert and promotion tour, were forced to cancel several top radio and TV appearances because of the MU's initial ban.

But they are going ahead with their tour, which will include club gigs in London, Leeds, Bournemouth and Manchester.

They will also be appearing at an open air concert in Hamburg, supporting the chart-topping "Men At Work" from Australia, and in Holland where they will do radio and TV work.

Their LP, "Scatterlings of Africa", and a single, "Impi", were both released in Britain this week.

Clegg, who has been refused a meeting with union leaders despite several requests to put his case, said: "The union does not know the history of 'Juluka' and came to a decision without going into the facts.

"They do not know what we are up against as a mixed group in South Africa... police harassment, censorship, arrest and the danger of our non-segregated concerts being closed down.

"The union would like me to give up 'Juluka' and return to England. But what 'Juluka' is doing in South Africa is far more important to me than to give it up because they say I must.

"The union is arguing against apartheid from a moral point of view... but if they are unable to distinguish between people fighting against apartheid in South

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Botha denies Zimbabwe ANC charge

CPA Times 20/6/83

From ANDRE VILJOEN
HARARE. — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had accused Zimbabwe of actively supporting the armed insurgence of the African National Congress, the Zimbabwean Security Minister, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa said at the weekend.

Mass rally

The accusation, a pretext for an attack, was in a letter he had received from Mr Botha last Thursday, he told a mass rally near Gweru.

Sapa reports that Mr Botha said yesterday that in view of press reports of this allegation and of Mr Munangagwa's claim that the South African note accused Zimbabwe of "actively supporting the liberation war being waged by the ANC", he had no choice but to release the text of the note.

Text of note

The text reads: "On June 10, it was discovered that four persons had entered the Republic of South Africa illegally from Zimbabwe.

"During follow-up operations, two of these persons, who were armed with weapons of Soviet manufacture, were apprehended on June 11, but the other two managed to escape back to Zimbabwe.

"Since then, the two who were captured have been identified by finger-print experts as M

Morake and F Ranoto, two ANC terrorists who had received training in Angola, the Soviet Union and East Germany.

"Ranoto has subsequently indicated that he was the leader of a group of four terrorists who had travelled by air from Maputo to Harare on June 8.

"They stayed in Harare for a day before travelling by car to a point near the place where they crossed the Zimbabwe/South African border.

Fired shots

"He has also confirmed that they were discovered by the South African Police after having crossed the border and that they fired a number of shots at the police.

"The Government of the Republic of South Africa wishes to extend an invitation to the Government of Zimbabwe to send police officials to South Africa in order to verify the information now at South Africa's disposal.

"The South African Government would also appreciate confirmation of reports to the effect that the Government of Zimbabwe will not allow ANC bases on its territory, that it will not allow members of the ANC to operate from its territory, and, that it will not allow members of the ANC en route to or from South Africa to cross its territory."

Harare admits getting ANC note from SA

The Star Bureau 20/6/83
HARARE — Zimbabwe's Minister of Security, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, has confirmed that his Government received a letter from the South African Government last week concerning alleged infiltration of ANC fighters across the Limpopo.

Earlier, a Zimbabwean Government spokesman had denied the receipt of any communication from Pretoria.

Mr Mnangagwa told a rally at the weekend that South Africa had accused Zimbabwe of actively supporting the liberation war being waged by the ANC.

He said South Africa was trying hard to find an excuse to attack Zimbabwe and claimed that groups of South African-trained saboteurs had moved into tribal areas in Matabeleland.

Zimbabwe has strenuously denied that it has allowed ANC guerillas to use its territory as a base from which to attack South Africa.

Yesterday the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that, in view of Press reports of Mr Mnangag-

wa's claim that South Africa was trying to build up an excuse before launching an attack against Zimbabwe, and because of the claim that the South African note accused Zimbabwe of "actively supporting the liberation war being waged by the ANC," he had no choice but to release the full text of the note.

The main points of the note were:

"On June 10 it was discovered that four persons had entered South Africa illegally from Zimbabwe.

"During follow-up operations two of these persons, who were armed with weapons of Soviet manufacture, were apprehended on June 11 but the other two managed to escape back to Zimbabwe.

"Since then, the two who were captured have been identified as M Morake and F Ranoto, two ANC terrorists who had received training in Angola, the Soviet Union and East Germany.

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M'bique
E Post 11A
20/6/83
**claims to
have spy**

JOHANNESBURG — Mozambican authorities have arrested a man allegedly sent by South Africa to spy on the ANC in Maputo.

Radio Maputo, monitored by the SABC, said the man had been arrested in April, during what was described as his second mission to spy on ANC exiles.

Radio Maputo said the man, who was not named, had been instructed by South African security forces to gather information on "South African refugees in Maputo".

Reacting to the broadcast, a spokesman for the South African Defence Force said in Pretoria that it was not policy to comment on allegations about intelligence-gathering. — Sapa

Pik's ANC claim 'a pretext for attack'

By ANDRE VILJOEN

HARARE. — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had accused Zimbabwe of actively supporting the armed insurgence of the African National Congress into South Africa, the Zimbabwean Security Minister, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, said at the weekend.

Mr Munangagwa said the accusation, contained in a letter he received from Mr Botha last Thursday, was a South African pretext for attacking Zimbabwe.

He told a rally in the midlands town of Gweru that the letter also claimed ANC guerrillas had crossed recently from Zimbabwe into South Africa.

Mr Botha's office announced last Tuesday that he had sent a diplomatic note to the Zimbabwean Government following the arrest in the Messina district of two heavily-armed ANC guerrillas who had entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

Mr Munangagwa said the same day that no ANC guerrillas had passed through Zimbabwe and on Thursday a Zimbabwean Government spokesman denied the government had received any communication from South Africa.

Mr Botha's office repeated on Friday that it had sent a note to Zimbabwe which had been delivered to "the responsible Minister" and added that it had "contained no particular warning".

There is genuine concern in Zimbabwean Government circles that the South African charge that the guerrillas went through Zimbabwe could presage an attack.

Although observers believe it highly unlikely that Zimbabwe would allow the ANC military transit facilities, they consider the ANC would cross through Zimbabwe if it believed it could do so undetected by the South African or Zimbabwean governments.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha yesterday issued the full text of last week's letter to the Zimbabwean Government:

He said the letter was being released in view of accusations in the Press and by Mr Munangagwa reports Sapa.

The letter says that after the two ANC terrorists were captured near Messina on June 11, they said they and two others had flown from Maputo to Harare on June 8, then spent a day in Harare before driving to the South African border where they crossed.

It concludes "The Government of the Republic of South Africa wishes to extend an invitation to the Government of Zimbabwe to send police officials to South Africa in order to verify the information now at South Africa's disposal."

"The South African Government would also appreciate confirmation of reports to the effect that the Government of Zimbabwe will not allow ANC bases on its territory, that it will not allow members of the ANC to operate from its territory, and that it will not allow members of the ANC en route to or from South Africa to cross its territory."

Maize arrives from US

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The first shipment of 25 000 tons of maize imported from the United States was offloaded in the Cape Town docks yesterday.

This was the first delivery of 600 000 tons of maize to be imported from America and Argentina for the next six to seven months to cope with the food shortage caused by the drought.

The manager of the Maize Board, Mr Hennie Nel, said in Cape Town yesterday that most of the present import, yellow maize, would be used for animal fodder.

However, from July 1 30% of yellow

Nkomo 'ready to return home'

London Bureau

LONDON. — Supporters of Mr Joshua Nkomo, the Zimbabwe opposition leader who fled from his country in March to seek refuge in London, believe that he will fly home within a few days to claim his seat in the Harare Parliament.

Reports from Harare that he might have flown home with Mr Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, who has been visiting Europe, could not be confirmed.

A spokesman at Gatwick Airport said that neither of the two leaders was on the passenger list for an Air Zimbabwe flight to Harare on Saturday.

Mr Nkomo disappeared

several days ago from the London flat where he has been staying for several weeks. It was thought that he was still lying low in London, where he has a permit to remain until July.

Parliament is to resume on Thursday after a four-month recess. Mr Nkomo has been warned that he will then have 21 days to put in an appearance. If he fails to do so, he will lose his seat.

A delegation of supporters is believed to have flown to London recently to persuade Mr Nkomo to return.

Mr Mugabe said recently that Mr Nkomo was welcome to return. He has been under investigation over allegations of illicit emerald dealing and currency smuggling.

Mystery over nurses' arrests

Mail Africa Bureau

HARARE. — A row is brewing in Harare over the recent mystery detention of three white nurses at a private clinic in the city. The Sunday Mail yesterday reported the nurses had been detained under emergency powers regulations following allegations of discriminatory practices and had been released last week by order of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Simon Muzenda.

But a police spokesman in Harare yesterday called the report "slanderous and

Services ^{Soweto} remember ^{20/6/83} riot victims ^(11A)

THE daughter of Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who spent most of his life sentence on Robben Island, was the main speaker at the commemoration service held at the Jiswa Centre, Lenasia yesterday.

The service, which was banned last week by the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, was one of several held in Johannesburg and Pretoria yesterday to commemorate the June 16, 1976 uprising in Soweto.

The Jiswa Centre service also commemorated the death of Simon Mogoerane, Marcus Motaung and Jerry Mosololi, the three

ANC men hanged in Pretoria on June 9.

Other speakers included Dr Essop Jassat, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (Tic), Mrs Sarah Mosololi, mother of Jerry Mosololi, Mr Daniel Mogoerane, father of Simon Mogoerane, and his elder brother.

Miss Mandela was greeted with shouts of "Amandla" when she told the packed hall that the banned African National Congress was the future government of South Africa whether people liked it or not. She strongly condemned those who, on ideological grounds rejected the "people's constitution", the Freedom Charter which was drawn up in Kliptown on June 26, 1955.

"We regard it as treason to turn against the people's demands in exchange for a dictatorship constitution," she said.

Mamelodi, near Pretoria, also commemorated the students' uprising. Mr Kanakana Matsena, who addressed the meeting, said it was up to the people to abandon the yoke of suffering or face another 300 years of bondage. The educated few had the task of enlightening the less fortunate masses and not isolate themselves by forming elitist groups where good English was the order of the day.

Others to address the big crowd at St Francis Anglican Church were Titus Mamabolo who delivered the same message.

About 200 people attended another service in Kathlehong, near Germiston where Mr Leonard Mosala of the Soweto Committee of Ten and Mr Moshe Moshadibane of Azapo addressed the meeting.

SIMON MOGOERANE - HERO OF VOSLOO



SPOTLIGHT

ON VOSLOORUS

HE IS a martyr.

His execution has strengthened the winds of change blowing through the politically sleepy township of Vosloorus on the East Rand.

Telle Simon Mogoerane, one of the three African National Congress (ANC) members executed for their role on the attack on various police stations and killing of four policemen, was born and bred in Vosloorus.

Vosloorus youths and residents praised and hailed him as "hero" during the June 16 commemoration services held at the township last week.

Murmurs of political change started in Vosloorus, and black consciousness found its roots, when residents formed the Civic Association which operates along the same lines as the Soweto Civic Association.

Even long before that, Vosloorus had caught "a political cold" in 1976 when black anger flared country-wide after Soweto had sneezed. A community hall and other buildings were razed in the turmoil that followed.

A series of other political events swept through the township, including the boycott of classes by hundreds of students and the Putco bus strike early this year.

While these events were growing unabated

the Mogoerane family was worried about their son's life after he was sentenced to death for political activities.

The family believe that their son died for a good cause following discussions they held with him on Death Row.

"My son did not show any sign of remorse for what he was accused. He was in high spirits and advised us to be courageous, because he believed 'one day we shall overcome'," his mother, Mrs Mmapela Mogoerane told **The SOWETAN** this week.

Her son was educated in Vosloorus and later at OwaQwa where he disappeared in 1976 after the reopening of schools. "I was told he had gone to Botswana. Until then police had been paying frequent visits to my house," she said.

"I am particularly proud that the stance he took — he did not back track on his convictions. He was an inspiration to the youth in Vosloorus before and after his death."

Mrs Mogoerane said her family was "depressed by the way we have been treated by the authorities so far. We do not know where our son is buried."

"According to our custom we are supposed to visit his grave and pay respects. We actually intend unveiling a tombstone. But we are puzzled as we do not know where he was buried."

Mr Thekiso Mogoerane, Simon's elder brother, said: "My brother's sentence was severe. His death will bring change to our family in that we shall miss him. Vosloo will also miss him."

"They will kill my body, but my spirits are high." Simon told his family before his execution.

**'They will kill my body
but my spirits are high'**



OTHER: Mrs Mmapela Mogoerane: "My son died from his convictions."

OTHER: Mr Thekiso Mogoerane: "Simon's sent."

Zimbabwe admits presence of ANC

Argus Africa
News Service

HARARE — The Zimbabwe Government has admitted that two members of the African National Congress who escaped from a skirmish with South African security forces are in Zimbabwe.

But, according to a report today in the Bulawayo Chronicle, the Minister in charge of security, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, said the ANC men had not entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

INTERVIEWED

Mr Munangagwa said they had been interviewed and had said they had originally entered South Africa from a country other than Zimbabwe.

The issue was mentioned low down in a long interview with Mr Munangagwa about dissident activity in Matabeleland, confirming observations that it is now being treated as a non-event publicly.

The Pretoria invitation to Zimbabwe to send police officers to South Africa to verify allegations that the ANC had infiltrated through Zimbabwe has been ignored publicly.

CAPTURED

Pretoria maintains that the two insurgents escaped into Zimbabwe after a contact with security forces in which two other members of their band had been captured.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the two captured admitted that they had infiltrated the Messina area through Zimbabwe.

The main thrust of the Minister's interview was that the Botswana Government was co-operating with the Zimbabwe Government in preventing Matabeleland dissidents from operating from its territory.

Inkatha 'heading for 1 000 000 members'

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21/6/83

percy

African Affairs
Correspondent

THE Inkatha movement was heading for a paid-up membership of 1 000 000 by the end of the year.

This was said yesterday by Mr Z Khumalo, administrative secretary of the cultural and liberation movement which already has a membership of 750 000.

Mr Khumalo said another count of paid-up members would be made after the annual Inkatha conference which begins

at Ulundi on Friday night.

There were 2 000 branches of Inkatha throughout the country and 2 000 delegates would be present.

He expected another 3 000 people to attend as observers of the three-day event.

He said the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, would address the national council — the highest policy-making body of Inkatha — at 5 p m on

Friday

Mr Khumalo said Chief Buthelezi would open the annual conference on Saturday morning.

During the past year the chief has twice visited Britain and the United States to rally support against the Government's constitutional proposals.

He has just returned from a 10-day visit to West Germany and Switzerland where he spoke against the tricameral system for whites, coloureds and Indians envisaged by the

Government

The new constitution Bill has been referred to a select committee following its first reading in the House of Assembly

Chief Buthelezi is on record as saying that Inkatha's primary objection to the proposals is that they exclude Africans from decision-making.

According to Inkatha sources, the Ingwavuma controversy last year helped boost the strength of the movement from 375 000 to 750 000.

The National Forum brings black organizations nearer to unity

Cape Times 21/6/83

114

By PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor of the Rand Daily Mail

THE National Forum Committee, conveners of the two-day conference at Hammanskraal attended by some 200 black organizations, undoubtedly succeeded in its primary aim of promoting closer working relations between black movements operating outside government-approved institutions.

The conference — or national forum — ended with the unanimous adoption by about 800 delegates of the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" as a unifying and over-arching declaration of objectives.

Endorsed

Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian People's Organization and a member of the National Forum Committee, said last week that it was endorsed by at least some members of movements subscribing to the Freedom Charter.

It thus helped to narrow differences between black consciousness movements and the Charterists.

Those who voted for the manifesto included members of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the General and Allied Workers' Union, the Congress of South African Students — all strongly Charterist in outlook — as well as "leading personalities" of the United Democratic Front, Mr Mabasa said.

Formed last month, the United Democratic Front is an umbrella organization of 25 organizations, most of which subscribe to the Freedom Charter, which was originally adopted by the Congress Alliance in June 1955.

The now outlawed African National Congress was a member of the Congress Alliance, as was the recently revived Transvaal Indian Congress, which played a leading role in the formation of the United Democratic Front.

A factor which will unquestionably work

strongly to promote close links between black consciousness organizations — of which Azapo is perhaps the foremost exponent — and the Charterists are those movements which are members of the United Democratic Front.

They include the Council of Unions of

convergence between the two camps is that the "national liberation" struggle is not merely against apartheid and race discrimination but also against capitalism as the perceived primary cause of oppression of blacks.

Few Charterists would quarrel with the opening sentences of

narrowed markedly.

The distinguished scholar and former Robben Island prisoner, Dr Neville Alexander, spoke quietly but forcefully against automatic exclusion of whites.

He told the conference: "There are many people among the whites who are committed to the ideal of liber-

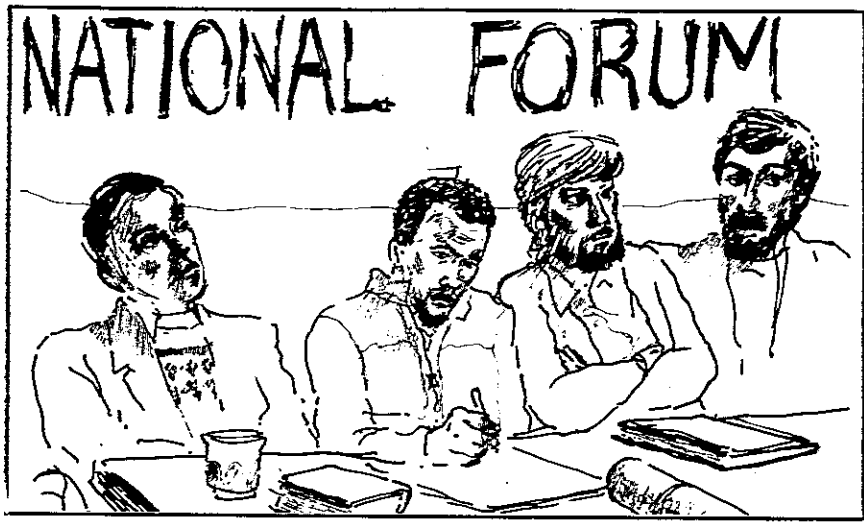
this is the classical position of ethnic theory."

He was levelling a serious charge, because he had earlier identified the "theory of ethnicity" as one which had replaced the ideology of race after racism had fallen into disrepute because of nazism.

But, Dr Alexander continued, the theory of ethnicity was a superior instrument of policy to racial theory for South Africa's ruling class, because it could be used to "justify even greater fragmentation of the working people whose unity held within itself the message of doom for the capitalist-apartheid system".

Referring to Mr Yacoub's statement, Dr Alexander said: "The danger inherent in this kind of talk is quite simply that it makes room in theory and in practice for the preaching of ethnic separatism..."

"Ethnic' or 'national' group approaches are the thin edge of the wedge for separatist movements and civil



Azapo president Lybon Mabasa (second from left) scribbles a note while three fellow conveners of the National Forum conference of black organizations li: Neville Alexander, N

South Africa, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union and the Soweto Civic Association.

Leading members of these movements — Mr Phiroshaw Camay, of Cusa, Mrs Emma Mashinini of the CCAWU, and Mr Tom Manthata, of the SCA — are all members of the National Forum Committee.

In addition there is the influence of men such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the Council of Churches, who have already urged blacks to forget their ideological differences and work together on a common programme of agreed objectives.

Bishop Tutu, a member of the National Forum Committee, was a keynote speaker at the national forum.

A point of ideological

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EXCELLENT ENSEMBLE
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face on July 61

MAGGIE'S IN TOWN!
She and DENIS T
open in this outrageous
face on July 61

FOR DENTISTS?

ANOTHER COUNTRY
Julian Mitchell's
"ANOTHER COUNTRY"
IS A MAJOR EVENT IN
OUR THEATRE THAT
SHOULD NOT BE
"MISSED"
— RAND DAILY MAIL
"ANOTHER WINNER
... AN ENTHRALLING
PLAY" — AFGUS
"TOP-CLASS"
— Cape Times
"A MARVELOUS
PIECE OF THEATRE"
— STAR
TONIGHT 20H00
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Book at Computicket
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"An Ostlich adventure
which children are sure to enjoy"

Freedom Charter meetings

Qw
22/6/83
By Jon Qwelane

(UA)

Two leading student organisations in the black community, the Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Students' Organisation, have joined forces with the Federation of South African Women in organising two services to commemorate the adoption of the Freedom Charter 28 years ago.

The charter was signed in June 1955 in Kliptown, outside Johannesburg, by more than 3 000 people of all races. They represented organisations such as the African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites), the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Trade Union Council of South Africa.

The first service will be held tonight at the Dube YWCA and will be addressed by a former inmate of Robben Island maximum security prison now working for the South African Council for Higher Educa-

tion, Mr Eric Molobi. He will speak on "The national question and the Freedom Charter."

The second service will be held tomorrow night at the same venue and will be addressed by Mr Diliza Matshoba, a field worker for the South African Council of Churches. Mr Matshoba will speak on "The Freedom Charter — a perspective on liberation."

The organisations which have called the meetings noted that, 28 years after the signing of the charter, "none of the people's basic demands has been met. Instead the ruling class in this country has enacted more repressive measures to continually subjugate the oppressed."

"Increasing rents, forced removals and bad living conditions in the black communities go to show that there is no comfort and security for South Africa's majority," the organisations said.

The services begin at 7.30 pm. More are planned for the weekend.

CAPL Times 22/6/83

Rees supporters racists Tutu

Own Correspondent
 JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, yesterday accused "most white liberals" who supported Mr John Rees, of "latent racism and arrogance".

Bishop Tutu, addressing the annual conference of the SACC in Bosmont, Johannesburg, said the Rees affair had cost the council an outstanding president in Mr Peter Storey and had split it roughly along racial lines.

The affair had thus succeeded where the government had failed.

Mr Rees, a former general secretary of the SACC, was recently fined for theft and fraud involving R296 000 of the council's money.

Bishop Tutu said the trial had not been political, and the prosecution had been scrupulously fair.

"Those who want Mr Rees to be a martyr must look for another cause," he said.

Bishop Tutu attacked those who had villified him for his treatment of the case, saying they must acknowledge that it was Mr Rees and not himself who had defrauded the council, be-

trayed its trust and lied.

"What more could we have done to show our support for John than to have refused to lay charges against him despite the strong evidence that the police produced of a felony having been committed?" he said.

"We are accused of handicapping Mr Rees's defence by not giving him access to documents he had requested. That is a lie. I hope Mr Rees and his defence team will one day tell the world the truth," he said.

Bishop Tutu said he had refused to provide financial assistance for Mr Rees's defence because his case had been an ordinary criminal case and did not fall within the ambit of the Asingeni Fund.

Mr Rees had already indicated that he did not want assistance anyway, he said.

The SACC was asking Mr Rees for the money back because restitution was an important part of Biblical repentance.

Schoons (11A) are still in Botswana (12)

The Star's Foreign
News Service

22/6/83

GABORONE — African National Congress supporters Marius Schoor and his wife Jeanette have not yet decided when they are going to leave Botswana, a source close to the Schoons said here today.

Their contracts with the International Voluntary Service, a British assistance programme similar to the US Peace Corps, were terminated last week after the British government told IVS that their lives were in danger.

The couple moved out of their Gaborone home and were reported to have left Botswana. However, they are now staying in a house in the city.

Ⓢ A report due to be published today concerning the activities of the Schoons has been withheld by The Star in terms of two security laws.

Train crushes exiled man's son

Sowetan
22/6/83

(11A)

THE son of a member of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and a former Robben Island prisoner died under the wheels of a fast-moving train in Tshiawelo at the weekend.

Mr Stanley Rehumile Mashaba of 4146 Tshiawelo, whose father, Andrew, fled the country two years ago and is now living in exile, died after he was run over by a train at Tshiawelo Station on Sunday night.

Mr Mashaba (senior) was one of the people who were charged with high treason at the Nelson Mandela trial in the 60s. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison and served his sentence on Robben Island. When he was released in 1980, he was slapped with a two-year banning order.

He escaped before the banning order expired and he is believed to be living in one of the African states.

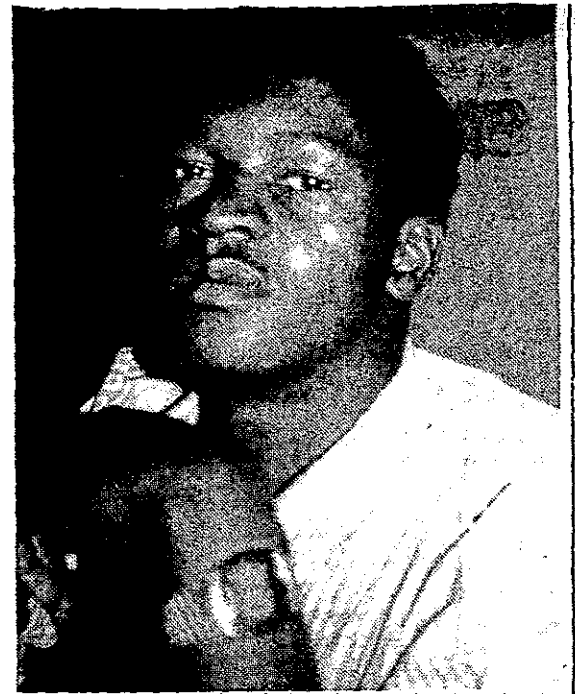
His wife, Caroline, who participated in the anti-pass laws march to Pretoria in 1958, was banned for a total of 10 years until 1980. She is a member of the Women's Federation of SA and is still active in community work.

Stanley, described by family members as a "troubled" person, was earlier seen by members of the Railways Police lying across the rails of an oncoming train. The train driver spotted the figure lying on the rails and sounded his alarm. With the help of the two policemen he was removed from the rails and cautioned. Minutes

later he was killed by a goods train coming from the opposite direction.

Mrs Cynthia Hlophe, the dead man's sister, told The SOWETAN about her brother's troubled life. Stanley left school after the riots in 1977 at Form 3. He found a job but did not earn enough to provide a comfortable life for his wife and two children on the one hand and his family on the other hand. Mrs Hlophe said he was always quarrelling with the family over money but never told them about his intentions to commit suicide.

On the day before he was killed, he had quarreled with a relative over some money he had borrowed and promised to repay back that day. When the fam-



DEAD: Mr Stanley Mashaba, died under the wheels of a fast-moving train at the weekend.

ily confronted him, he flew into a rage and locked himself in the bedroom.

Some time later he came out and left without a word. He later told a friend that, that was

the last time he was seeing him. Later that day his family was informed of his death. Stanley will be buried next week but the family has not yet finalised burial arrangements.

Mr Koon Sihoko



MA

Freedom Charter 28 years old

A NUMBER of meetings by students and women's organisations will be held throughout the country this week, to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, adopted at a meeting held in Klipfontein, near Johannesburg on June 26, 1955.

The first of such meetings will be held at the Dube YWCA tonight at 7.30. It will be addressed by Mr Eric Molo, former Robben Is-

land prisoner, who will speak on "The National Question and the Freedom Charter".

Tomorrow another meeting will be held at the same venue at 7.30pm and the main speaker will be Mr Diliza Matshoba, who will speak on "The Freedom Charter — a perspective on liberation".

Venues of other meetings planned for the

weekend will be announced during the course of the week.

According to a joint statement released by the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), none

By SAM MABE

of the minimum demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter have been met by authorities.

The statement says that the ruling class has inacted more repressive measures to continually subjugate the oppressed.

"The Charter says that there shall be

houses, comfort and security for all, but the existing backlog for houses for blacks is about 221 000. Ever increasing rents, forced removals and bad living conditions in black communities, are evidence that there is no "comfort and security" for South Africa's majority.

"The Quota Bill, the permit system, the De Lange Commission and universities like Vista

are not attempts to create a relevant, free and democratic system of education, but quests to sugar-coat a bitter pill that students in 1976 and 1980 refused to swallow.

"In this light, it must be made clear that the Freedom Charter is a living document. The daily struggles of the people in the work place for higher wages, better working condition, decision-making powers,

lower rents, transport and foodstuffs, reflect that the struggle for liberation centres around the Freedom Charter.

"We call upon the people of this country to treat with suspicion any document emanating not from the people, but a group of ideologies who seek to divert the people rather than concentrate their efforts to working for the eradication of oppression and exploitation," the statement said.

[Handwritten signature]

ANC 2 in Zimbabwe admits govt

By David Thomas,
The Star Bureau

HARARE — The government has admitted that two African National Congress men who escaped during a skirmish with South African security forces are in Zimbabwe.

But a report today in the Bulawayo newspaper The Chronicle said the Minister of State Security, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, claimed the men had not entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

Pretoria maintains they escaped into Zimbabwe after contact with security forces when two other members of the band were captured.

The South African Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the captured men had admitted that they had infiltrated into the Messina area through Zimbabwe.

Mr Munangagwa said the two ANC men now in the country had been interviewed and had said they originally entered South Africa from a country other than Zimbabwe.

A Pretoria invitation to Zimbabwe to send police officials to South Africa to verify allegations that the captured men had infiltrated through Zimbabwe has been ignored publicly.

June 1983

Mosala: SA belongs to blacks

(11A)
Black South Africans would never have respect for the South African flag under the existing political order, a Soweto civic leader said last night.

Mr Leonard Mosala, a former member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, was addressing several hundred people in the hall of the Dube YWCA last night at a meeting convened by the Congress of South African Students, the Azanian Students' Organisation and the Federation of South African Women to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown.

"It is an indisputable fact that this land belongs to us, though we stand committed to a non-racial society and to the principle of an equitable distribution of the wealth of this country among all its citizens," Mr Mosala said.

Aug 23/6/83
Student leader Mr Kehla Shubane traced the events leading to the signing of the Freedom Charter. He concluded by saying it was a lie that the document was solely the work of the African National Congress. He said the charter was drawn up by the ANC, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites) and the Trade Union Congress of South Africa.

"The meeting held in Kliptown was so representative that even the National Party had been invited to send its delegates. It did — it sent 200 armed policemen mounted on horseback.

"The defunct Liberal Party was also invited, but it declined the invitation on the grounds that the Freedom Charter was a communist-inspired document. That was not true," he said.

'ANC, PAC want to oust Transkei Govt' says Chief

IIA
23/6/83
Mickey

UMTATA—The Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, yesterday warned his country to prepare for an increase in terrorist activity.

Chief Matanzima, who is also Minister of Police, said in his policy speech on the police vote in the National Assembly that it

had become clear the main threat of African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress terrorism emanated from neighbouring Lesotho.

He said both the ANC and PAC were intent on creating internal unrest with the aim of eventually toppling the Transkei

Government

Their activities covered the whole of Southern Africa and they were supported morally and logistically by all the communist countries, the Organisation of African Unity and a number of Western countries, Chief Matanzima said.

Their numbers were growing, their training abroad was becoming more intensive and sophisticated, and they had a considerable amount of military equipment at their disposal, he added.

Considerable information has been gained and it is clearly evident the main ANC and PAC threat emanates from our neighbouring country, Lesotho, which has allowed terrorists to use it as a staging point to enter Transkei and South Africa to commit acts of sabotage.

Giving figures on the detention of political suspects, Chief Matanzima said that, of 41 people held last year, five had been convicted, 35 had been released and only one was still in detention.

— (Sapa)



OPERATION: Sechaba Montsisi at home.

SUPER DENIES IT

Montsisi 'kicked out' of hospital

By **MONO BADELA**

DAN Sechaba Montsisi, former leader of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), recently released from a four-year imprisonment on Robben Island, yesterday alleged that he was "kicked out" of the Natal-spruit Hospital.

Montsisi, who was admitted for a knee operation on June 14 after an injury sustained while playing soccer on Robben Island, claimed that he was thrown out after protesting to the matron, Mrs W du Plessis against what he called "appalling conditions".

The matron, he alleged, called him a "prisoner" and accused him of being an agitator.

NO CRUTCHES

But Dr A F Chemaly, the superintendent of the hospital, yesterday denied this and said Montsisi had been discharged at the insistence of his private doctor, Dr A L Orford.

Montsisi, who said he was not given crutches when he left and was not provided transport home although he was still unable to walk, claimed that patients, especially from Ward 21, were made to wear soiled and dirty pyjamas for two weeks.

The hospital, he said, was plagued with hordes of cockroaches which "invaded our lockers at night".

TERRIBLE NOISE

The patients, he alleged, could not sleep at night because of the "terrible noise" caused by the heating system. The food, too, left much to be desired.

He said that complaints were met with arrogance.

Dr Chemaly said the hospital was short of linen because of the financial crisis in the country which resulted in the hospital budget being cut drastically.

"We have to skimp here and there to make ends meet. At the moment we are experiencing overcrowding," he said.

AGITATOR

He said the heating system would be fixed and as for cockroaches, "even five star hotels do have them".

Asked about the matron's allegations, Dr Chemaly explained that Montsisi was "a deputy of Tsietsi Mashinini during the Soweto riots.

"You could see that the man is an agitator and a troublemaker," he said.

CME Times 23/6/83 ~~11/11/83~~ (114)

'Anger erupted in time of crisis'

Supreme Court Reporter MR JUSTICE Williamson yesterday found extenuating circumstances in favour of the 10 young men convicted of murder in the trial of trade unionist Oscar Mpetha. 74

The judge said they had experienced feelings of suppressed anger which erupted in a time of crisis.

However, the riots in which they took part were not an eruption of mob violence, but were planned beforehand. An aggravating factor was that two innocent people were killed.

'Differences'

Mr Justice Williamson also said: "We have carefully considered the individual differences of the accused.

"We think that the accumulative effect of their sense of grievances, whether justified or not at the time of the riot, must be viewed against a background of poverty and hardship."

The school, bus, and red meat boycotts and the commemoration of the 1976 riots had heightened and inflamed people's feelings.

Mr Justice Williamson said the court could consider extenuating circumstances in cases where the accused was under 18 or when there were factors which could reduce the moral blameworthiness of the individual.

In such a case the court should concentrate on the subjective nature of the accused and not the horrifying aspects of the crime.

"Although the ap-

proach of the court is one of perceptive understanding of the human frailties of the accused, they have made the task of the court more difficult when the four of them who testified told the court a pack of lies," Mr Justice Williamson said.

Appearing for Mpetha, Mr I Farlam, SC, called a specialist physician from Groote Schuur Hospital, Dr P B Disler, who had treated Mpetha, to give evidence in mitigation of sentence.

Severe diabetes

Dr Disler told the court that Mpetha's life expectancy, as far as it could be determined, was probably no longer than a year. He was suffering from severe diabetes, had gangrene of his left leg and walked with great difficulty.

The doctor said that Mpetha's left leg might have to be amputated in the future, and he would be left with a painful right leg. Mpetha had to take insulin regularly and watch his diet carefully.

Mpetha might even have to take six light meals daily. "This would be very difficult to arrange in prison," Dr Disler said.

Mr Farlam argued that the court was not obliged to pass the obligatory five-year sentence prescribed by the Terrorism Act. He said Mpetha was found guilty under the old Terrorism Act of 1967 and had not committed any crimes of violence.

The court found in earlier judgment that Mpetha had stopped his car near marching

youths, gave the black power salute and told them "to sing my song".

The crowd then sang, "There are guns in Angola, fetch them".

Mr Farlam argued that the older Terrorism Act should be applicable to Mpetha, and it could be extended artificially.

He referred to numerous court decisions both in South Africa and overseas to make the point that Parliament had adopted a new approach to sentencing.

"Parliament trusts the courts to impose the right sentence with due regard to the three important factors: the crime, the criminal and the interests of society," Mr Farlam said.

He said Mpetha was an old frail man near the end of life and suggested to the court that a suspended sentence would be an adequate penalty because Mpetha had already been jailed for three years.

Other men

Last week Mr Justice Williamson found the other 10 men guilty of killing two men, Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen, in an incident at Klipfontein during which cars were stoned and burned.

Two other advocates Mr T L Skweyiya and Mr J Whitehead who are appearing for the other accused are expected to argue mitigation of sentence for them today.

Mr Justice Williamson is sitting with two assessors Mr C H Van Gend and Mr G H Titterton. Mr Farlam and Mr Whitehead are instructed by Frank Bernard and Joffe. Mr Skweyiya and Mr Whitehead are instructed by Omar, Vassen and Company.

[Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including "The newspaper", "per Oswald curve", and "This is required"]

1948 boycott theory wins some support

By Staff Reporter DAVID BREIER

ACADEMIC opinion has come out in partial support of the current Labour Party theory that a coloured election boycott in 1948 enabled the National Party to defeat the Smuts Government and to introduce apartheid into South Africa.

This theory is being wielded by the LP and its leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, to attack the present-day boycotters who refuse to participate in the Government's constitutional proposals.

On television

Mr Hendrickse has used this argument from platform to platform, and aired it on SABC television recently to explain why the LP was participating in the constitutional scheme although it opposed the proposals.

In an interview with The Argus, Mr Hendrickse said that in 1948 when the coloured people were on the common voters' roll, the Unity Movement and the Teachers' League of South Africa urged a boycott of the crucial general election.

He said that the thinking at the time was that it would be better if the National Party came to power as its policy of discrimination would create dissatisfaction and would bring nearer the day of liberation for the black people.

Treurnicht

This strategy was in line with the views of present-day leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who said that if Dr Andries Treurnicht came to power, this would bring forward the liberation date. Mr Hendrickse said.

But this thinking enabled the NP and its ally, the Afrikaner Party, to scrape home by five seats against the United Party in 1948, he added.

Coloured voters who boycotted the election would have voted for the UP and their vote would have made a

difference in 12 seats such as Worcester, Paarl and Uitenhage where the NP won by default because of the coloured stayaway. Mr Hendrickse said.

He said that while Smuts had planned to introduce segregation and the UP itself was responsible for much discrimination, the NP regime set a course that eventually led to the removing of the coloured people from the common voters' roll.

This was achieved with the tacit help of the coloured people themselves because of their boycott, he said.

Mr David Scher of the History Department at the University of South Africa, who is researching a thesis on coloured politics, said Mr Hendrickse exaggerated the facts, but his theory was essentially true.

Divided

Mr Scher said that in 1948, as now, the coloured people were divided, with the Coloured Peoples' National Union of George Golding supporting the UP and the Unity Movement and Teachers' League proposing an election boycott.

He said it was an exaggeration to say the coloured vote made a difference in the result in 12 seats. But with the NP/Afrikaner Party majority only five, the UP needed only three more seats to retain power.

One such seat could have been Paarl which had 2 873 coloured voters, but which the NP won by 367 votes.

Mr Scher pointed out that Smuts had wanted to give four seats to the Indians on a separate voters roll. This was rejected by the Indians.

However if the Indians had accepted the offer of four seats, and if only one other seat had remained UP, the NP would have failed to win a majority and the course of history might have been different.

117 271 367

Dube killing: '2 men hired'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Moonlight Gaza, 54, chairman of the Ningizuma Council, and three others pleaded guilty in a Durban Regional Court yesterday to murdering Lamontville community leader Mr Harrison Dube in April this year.

Mr Gaza told the court of "trouble" Mr Dube had caused in the council.

Mr Dube allegedly began spreading slanted reports among the community that Mr Gaza was an informer for the special branch police and was being paid by the Port Natal Administration Board.

He said Mr Dube had told residents it was Mr Gaza who was responsible for the Lamontville rent rises and increased bus fares.

Mr Gaza said he had suffered as a result. His house was often stoned and he was assaulted by residents.

Two men who owned taxi services in the township, a Mr Mahlaba and Mr Ebenezer Mngadi, approached him with complaints about Mr Dube.

They said he had organised taxi operators from Umlazi to run services in Lamontville.

The Lamontville operators had complained to Mr Dube of losses to themselves because of the influx of new taxis. Their appeals were ignored.

Mr Gaza, Mahlaba and Mr Mngadi had agreed to "get rid" of Mr Dube, the court was told.

Mr Gaza said that although this decision was made, the method, time and place for the killing was not discussed.

A few days later he was told of Mr Dube's death.

The second accused, Mr Mngadi, 59, of Lamontville, told the court that he had sent a Mr "Mpondo" Mbawula to Bizana to find killers.

The third and fourth accused, Mr Vaku-teghwa Yalo, 37, and Mr Julius Juja Ndodana, 70, both of Bizana, were brought to Durban.

'Unwanted person'

Mr Yalo told the court he had not known why he was taken to Durban. He said he was unhappy when he learnt of the plan to kill this "unwanted person".

Mr Yalo said he was assured not to worry as the police knew of the plan and white municipal authorities would pay them for the killing.

Mr Mngadi told the court he was awakened one morning and told Mr Dube was dead.

The unrest which followed had forced them to return to Bizana.

Mr Ndodana returned later for the money. "Mpondo" had been give R500 each by Mr Mahlaba and Mr Mngadi, but R500 was outstanding from Mr Gaza.

The hearing continues today before Mr B J C Willemse.

Mr "Mpondo" Mbawula is to appear in court on July 8.

Manifesto under attack

THE ADOPTION of a manifesto by a conference convened by the National Forum Committee (NFC) in Hammanskraal recently, took a dramatic turn yesterday when two leading trade union and two student organisations said they disassociated themselves from it.

In a joint statement released to The SOWETAN the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu), Cosas and Azaso, said they could not be party to the adoption of the manifesto because they were still committed to the Freedom Charter.

"We reiterate our uncompromising commit-

ment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the liberation struggle. (11A) (12A)

"The Charter stands out from all other alternatives for change in South Africa, not only because of the manner in which it came into being, but also because of the demands reflected in it. (11A) (12A)

"It can, therefore, never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of South Africa," the statement ended.

SOWETAN 24/6/83

Mpetha trial: Call for death sentence

Supreme Court Reporter THE State has asked for the death sentence to be imposed on six of the convicted men in the marathon Mpetha trial.

Mr C van Wyk said in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, that the community called for retribution and maximum protection, notwithstanding that the court had found extenuating circumstances.

Sentence will be passed on ailing, veteran trade unionist, Oscar

Mpetha, 74, and 10 other accused on Tuesday.

Mr van Wyk said the death sentence should be passed on Morgan Maku-baia, Aaron Tshangama, Peter Kube, Johannes Hlapo, Vuyisile Diba and Richard Maondo.

Their extreme actions during riots in the townships in August 1980, in which two motorists lost their lives, stood out above the rest of the accused, he said.

They had acted more unfeelingly than the oth-

ers and their comparative maturity also increased their moral blameworthiness.

Hlapo was one of the leaders and had hit Mr Frederick Jansen, a motorist, with a brick and had licked the blood off a knife used in the assault.

They had killed men regardless of their political convictions. This they had done in a cruel and inhuman manner, leaving the men to die.

On the terrorism charge, Mr van Wyk said

the old Terrorism Act, No 83 of 1967, which prescribed a sentence of not less than five years, was applicable in the present case.

Terrorism was an extremely serious offence and had recently become more prevalent in more serious forms.

Punishment should be severe to act as a deterrent.

He conceded Mpetha's age and poor health was a mitigating factor. But the seriousness of the

crime called for a long imprisonment.

Mpetha, a respected member of his community, had encouraged the young people to commit violence. The court had to keep in mind that there had been great loss and damage during the riots.

Mr Justice Williams, is sitting with two assessors, Mr C H van Gend and Mr G H Titterton. Mr I G Farlam, SC, with Mr John Whitehead represents Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya appear for the other accused.

Cape Times 24/6/83 (11A) 275/520

Mpetha sentence on Tuesday

Supreme Court Reporter

IN THE Supreme Court on Tuesday, Mr Justice Williamson will sentence trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, 74, and nine men found guilty of murder for killing two motorists in 1980.

Mpetha has been found guilty only on a charge of terrorism and not murder.

Mr C J van Wyk, who appears for the State, has asked the court to sentence six of the men to death. He said they were more closely involved with the killing than the other three.

These men are Morgan Teboga Makubala, Aaron Tshangama, Peter Vusumzi Kube, Johannes Hlapo, Vuyisile Venson Diba, and Richard Raymond Bongani Mapondo.

The other three men found guilty of the same murder are Christopher Sidlayiya, Alton Sipiwa Sabuwa, and Phillip Nyongwana.

Cars stoned, burned

Mr Justice Williamson found them guilty of killing Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen in an incident at Klipfontein during which cars were stoned and burned.

Mpetha was only found guilty of taking part in terrorist activities. He had stopped his car near marching youths and encouraged them to sing: "There are guns in Angola, fetch them."

Mr Van Wyk told the court that Makubala had acted in a cruel and callous way in setting Mr Beeton's car on fire. Mr Van Wyk claimed that Hlapo was the leader of the men who had organized the road ambush. He had dragged Mr Jansen from his car and had made a number of petrol-bombs.

Makubala had shown visible signs of pleasure at the sight of Mr Jan-

sen's death and had even licked his blood from a knife, Mr Van Wyk said.

Diba, who was 21 at the time of the killing, and Mapondo, who was only 18, had killed Mr Jansen with a knife.

Mr Van Wyk said all the accused men had planned a course of action. They left a church in a group and proceeded to Klipfontein Road.

The trial, one of the longest in South African history, has been going on for more than two years, and there have been a number of trials within the trial to determine the admissibility of statements made by the men.

Policemen, some of them armed with sub-machine guns, have been keeping a constant vigil on both sides of the Supreme Court. At least two or three policemen, similarly armed, have been on guard near the court room.

A number of them are in constant touch through two-way radios and visitors to the building are carefully searched at both court entrances.

Pensioner

A pensioner who has taken a keen interest in the case has turned up almost daily for the past two years, and sits in one of the benches which were used by juries many years ago.

He collects newspaper cuttings of the hearing and "checks" on the reports written by the court reporters.

A court official said yesterday that the transcriptions of the proceedings were about four metres thick and might have to be studied by judges of the Appeal Court should there be an appeal.

Mr Justice Williamson is sitting with two assessors, Mr C H Van Gend and Mr G H Titterton. Mr I Farlam, SC, appearing for Mpetha, is instructed by Frank Bernard and Joffe and Mr J Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya appearing for the other men are instructed by Omar, Vassen and Company.

SACC chooses a man for a crisis

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Lutheran Bishop Manas Buthelezi, muzzled by the Government a decade ago, was chosen this week as head of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Buthelezi, whose activities have straddled theology and practical community work, believes the church has a duty to society as well as to its individual members. But by this he does not mean a slavish duty.

"The context of people's lives has a lot to do with their needs and personal problems. To keep helping the needy without asking about the social conditions that make for need may be futile," he says.

Dr Buthelezi (48), now based in Soweto, served as director of the Christian Institute in Natal until the organisation was declared affected in 1975. During this time he was issued with a five-year banning order under

the Suppression of Communism Act.

His ban raised cries of outrage at home and abroad and, six months after its issue, the restriction was lifted without explanation.

Perhaps the most public indication of Dr Buthelezi's social commitment has been his chairing of the Black Parents' Association, a response to the devastation of Soweto families in the 1976 disturbances. The organisation was banned in October 1977.

Less conspicuously, Dr Buthelezi had, for years, been addressing political and social issues — at church meetings, political gatherings and on university campuses nationwide.

His creed was that of black theology and his political counterparts were Black Consciousness proponents.

But he pursued a path of dialogue with white organisations, acknowledging those contributing to

Lutheran Bishop Manas Buthelezi (right) is the new head of the South Council of Churches and his cool-headed authority will be invaluable in guiding the council through the crises it has faced — and still has to face.



social justice.

Yesterday Dr Buthelezi was reluctant to spell out options for direct Christian action for change but he said he believed the churches had a dual political role.

The first involved independent action based on Christian morality — speaking, preaching and seeking to influence "those who may go beyond ordinary church means".

The second was less direct, aiming to enhance the effectiveness of political organisations.

"The church is not a political party but this is God's world and the

church is the custodian of God's will to everyone," he said.

Consequently, the church owed "prophetic ministry" to political organisations, he pointed out.

The bishop is acutely aware that the eyes of Christians cannot be long sightedly trained only on the goals of justice, overlooking the immediate victims of the social and political system.

The SACC programmes to aid political prisoners, their families and political trialists are among those closest to his heart.

Other priorities which

spring readily to his lips when discussing the tasks of the SACC are "healing" and "reconciliation".

At his induction as president earlier this week, Dr Buthelezi spoke of breaking barriers between race groups; between the rich and the poor; and between the powerful and those they govern.

He has shown an interest in black political unity and he attended the National Forum Committee meeting — a mass gathering of organisations falling broadly into the Black Consciousness (BC) group — two weeks ago.

Speaking of the rift in black politics between the BC group and the non-racial Charterists, Dr Buthelezi expresses the belief that co-operation on specific issues could be achieved, although fundamental differences exist.

The bishop will be guiding the SACC through a crucial period.

He knows that the Eloff Commission finding could destroy the SACC but shows no apprehension. The council is merely an agent of the churches, he points out, and its work will not be stamped out.

He is aware of the division sown in the council by the fraud trial of a former general secretary, John Rees, and speaks of acting to "heal wounds on the body of the SACC itself".

Again the prospect does not disturb him. "There's nothing strange in working for an organisation facing a crisis — life is full of them."

SACC conference delegates said that those who voted Dr Buthelezi into office chose him for his cool-headed authority — not for his string of degrees from famous universities, nor for his international connections.

But no one is denying that these, too, are assets to the council he heads.

For housing will be bad, entrepreneurs will see a favourable opening in the economy, therefore they will start to invest. An increase in demand will be... Old machinery here is an increase in production. Demand for goods when the end and this results after, therefore red earlier, aid is out. As one reaches a high therefore his causes the about investment employment going to be. The purchase will see a favourable start to invest.

of... 7

As one reaches a high therefore his causes the about investment employment going to be. The purchase... I have discussed... model of Henry cycle. let me... demand... As one reaches a high therefore his causes the about investment employment going to be. The purchase... Old machinery here is an increase in production. Demand for goods when the end and this results after, therefore red earlier, aid is out.

11A

Dear 24/6/77

Charter services

MEETINGS organised throughout the country for the holding of services to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter and speakers to address them on Sunday are as follows:

- Roman Catholic Church in Phiri, Soweto — Dr Nthatho Motlana of the Committee of 10.
- St Francis Church, Mamelodi, Pretoria — Mr Bogosi Mogale.
- Methodist Church, Alexandra Township — Mr Shepherd Mati, President of Cosas.
- Roman Catholic Church, Kagiso, Krugersdorp — Mrs Gretta Ncapayi of Fedsaw.

^{Sowetan 24/6/83}
• Huhudi Church, Vryburg — Mr Elliot Shabangu of the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu).

• Methodist Church, Ikageng (Potchefstroom).

• Roman Catholic Church, Lenyene Township, Tzaneen — Mr Samson Ndou of Gawu.

• St Josephs, Actonville, Benoni.

In Bloemfontein the service will be at the Roman Catholic Church in Batho Location. It will be addressed by Mr Tshediso Matona, national organiser of Cosas.

All the services start at 1pm.

62, 1 - 26 = 80 (44)

Rajbansi replies to Meer

Mercury 25/6/83

SIR - I refer to the letter from Dr F M Meer under the heading 'Rajbansi's leadership challenged' in the Natal Mercury on June 13, 1983. This is nothing new from Dr Meer and what Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has correctly described as a small coterie of band-wagoners in the Natal Indian Congress

When a person, especially of the calibre of Dr Meer indulges in vituperation and personality attacks, he shows how bankrupt his dwindling Natal Indian Congress is for sound arguments against the constructive work of the South African Indian Council.

Democracy requires that each one should respect the efforts of others without insulting others' efforts. Dr Meer's Natal Indian Congress is a very pale reflection of what it was two decades ago.

Weaknesses

Perhaps a series of personal attacks against me is designed to divert the attention of the masses away from the weaknesses of people like Dr Meer who have no record of any worthwhile contribution for the public except to wake up and react to events, make public statements and hold meetings in front of self-created audiences, etc.

Perhaps he is envious of the growing popularity of the South African Indian Council and the National People's Party. The poor attendances at his recent meetings at Shalleross, Port Elizabeth, and Moorton (Chats-

worth) must be causing him sleepless nights, while the National People's Party has been drawing huge crowds.

The South African Indian Council, since it took control of Indian education on January 2, 1976, has put Indian education on a great course forward. It achieved in two weeks recently what the Natal Indian Congress, with its negative tactics, failed to achieve in its lifetime.

In spite of the negative statements uttered about the SAIC by Dr Meer at the time, I could not have been more fair than to offer to meet him face to face at a Press conference so that I could highlight the growth of Indian education during the last seven years of SAIC control, and so he could be given an opportunity to prove his allegations against the SAIC. He failed to respond because he knew quite well that he and his poorly supported NIC could not face the moment of truth.

Favoured

A further blow to him was the result of the Schlemmer poll which showed that the Indian people favoured the SAIC more than the NIC. Even the LAC fared better than the NIC. Being a man of science he disagreed with a scientific survey conducted by a distinguished and well-respected scholar.

Dr Meer appears to be so naive as to pretend that the National People's Party has not expressed an attitude

towards the constitutional proposals. In January this year I issued the following policy statement on behalf of the National People's Party on the constitutional reforms:-

1) That the constitutional proposals are worthy of a fair trial provided we are given a mandate to participate by the people in a referendum

2) That we negotiate the following with the Government:-

- The removal of statutory discriminatory legislation and practices or alternatively a declaration of intention to do so.

- The removal of legislation that restricts the free movement of Indians in Orange Free State and certain districts of North-east Natal.

- The inclusion of blacks.

- The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the new constitution.

At a recent meeting of the South African Black Alliance Chief Gatsha Buthelezi publicly praised my stand and the mature approach of the South African Indian Council towards the proposals. We are not boycott politicians. We have made it very clear that no-one had the mandate to commit the community either way, either 'yes' or 'no'. We have decided that on this very grave issue it is the will of the people that must be the determining factor and not any imposed leadership of elites.

Oblivion

Dr Meer's NIC's rejection of the proposed referendum is the expression of fear of the demise of self-appointed leaders and placing into oblivion the forced leadership of elites which the poor Indian masses have been subjected to in this country for 100 years.

The South African Indian Council and the National People's Party is to place valuable evidence before the select committee of Parliament to consider on the constitutional future of South Africa. Has Dr Meer or his dwindling congress any alternative proposals

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it is answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

	Internal	External
1)	(2)	(3)
D		
I		
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H		
D	7	
H	2 1/2	CE
	8	CE
	5 + 3	

to their boycott politics or how they intend realising their goals? They have offered no solutions. On May 22, 1983, in spite of restricting our branches to 10 delegates each, the National People's Party had an attendance of 500 delegates and well-wishers at a party conference while on the same day the congress leaders had a pitiful turnout at a meeting in Moorton, Chatsworth.

pieces of paper or other material into the examination room are so instructed.

not to communicate with other persons except the invigilator.

answer book is to be torn out. The answer book must be handed to the invigilator before leaving.

to possible exclusion from

1. The book on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional examination book (s) are used.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable

Buthelezi lashes out at the 'Marxist' ANC

BLACK South Africans would never swap "white apartheid masters for black Marxist masters".

This message was spelt out at Ulundi in KwaZulu yesterday by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the 750 000 strong Inkatha movement.

He was addressing 5 000 delegates and observers attending the ninth national

26/6/83 (11A) ~~11A~~
Sunday Times Reporter

conference of the organisation.

Chief Buthelezi said the prime object of the members of the external mission of the African National Congress was to establish themselves as a future government in South Africa.

"They will attempt to prolong the struggle for as long as it is necessary to do so," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said that if internal forces could tomorrow establish an open democratic society based on universal adult franchise, and achieve the dreams that so many millions had longed for for so long, the ANC's mission in exile would do everything in their human power to sabotage the victory".

The Inkatha president said the ANC was a group of ideological puritans along Marxist lines.

Chief Buthelezi said there was no prospect of a future for South Africa without national reconciliation and the whole population "bending towards building a new future".

He claimed the ANC would never achieve this "in a million years".

"Because they do not struggle with us in the country they are totally careless about our well-being.

Better off

"The more misery we're in, the more unemployment there is, the more squatter camps there are, the less land we have, the poorer our education is, the worse our social and health services are, the better off they will be."

Chief Buthelezi said it suited the interests of the external mission of the outlawed organisation to produce turbulence in South Africa.

He said Press reports that the leadership structure of the external mission was being revamped filled him with "foreboding".

"With Mr Thabo Mbeki now occupying a newly created post of publicity secretary of the ANC, we can anticipate a great deal more political vitriol against every organisation and everybody who does not toe the line of the external mission," he said.



● Nkondo ... role to play.

Curtis Nkondo gets Peyco off to a dramatic start

CP Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Before an audience of about 800 people at the Great Centenary Hall, Peyco, the newly established Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, was officially launched.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, the former president of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) was one of the many guest speakers, including the national organizing secretary of the Congress of the South African Students

(Cosas), Mr Tsedisio Madona.

The dramatic 2 pm launching of this organization started with freedom songs and black power salutes. In his address at the launching of Peyco, the recently unbanned Mr Curtis Nkondo hit at those who believe in black consciousness as it "encourage racism."

"Anyone who says that whites should be driven to the sea when we get our freedom is speaking through his

hat. I have never heard of yellow consciousness or green consciousness. I am surprised that there is black consciousness," said Mr Nkondo.

Mr Nkondo attacked millionaires who never give alms to the poor while thousands of children are dying of kwashiokor and other diseases related to malnutrition.

Trade unions, civic representatives as well as student leaders echoed Mr Nkondo's call for a non-racial stand against apartheid.

By IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The African National Congress (ANC) in London has been alarmed by the theft of numerous documents from the Zambian High Commission and is blaming the South African security services.

Scotland Yard's Special Branch, anti-terrorist branch and CID units are investigating last weekend's break-in.

Police sources said the embassy premises were "really turned over" and they suspect "foreign hostile agents".

The police units involve top officers who are still investigating a break-in at the ANC-aligned Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) offices in London earlier this year.

It is known that the ANC in London has frequent contact with the Zambian High

SA spies
blamed
for raid

11A
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Commission. Several ANC units are now said to be established at Lusaka and ANC men move frequently between the Zambian capital and London.

A raid on the Zambian High Commission could have revealed valuable intelligence to the South African secret services.

This has led to suspicion that a South African spy unit, not connected with the South African Embassy here but controlled from Pretoria, could be behind the two raids this year.

MOORCRAFT

...on
Sunday



IF IGNORANCE is bliss then sometimes our Government appears as the embodiment of the politics of joy. It waltzes on the edge of schizophrenia with both its friends in the West and its enemies in the Frontline states.

In fact, the Frontliners are more allies than enemies even though Pretoria depicts them as the mainsprings of the total onslaught. Dire warnings are thundered about a conventional military Armageddon striding down from the north.

This misperception is caused by diagnosing the complaint as external. South Africa's war festers from within, not without. The danger lies in secret internal military bases and from the ANC's ideological allies in the trades unions. Hence, the significance of Fanie Botha's union reforms.

They go hand-in-hand with attempts to co-opt the Indians and coloureds into the laager. The recent, unique deal with black miners is co-optation of sorts, a diversion like the political seduction of the Labour Party.

The link with the outside comes from the ANC's funneling of partisan power through the Frontline states, as happened with the incursion from Zimbabwe last week. The Frontliners feel morally obligated to support the ANC but fear the consequences of guerrilla bases (and so they will swear blind that guerrilla bases are just refugee camps). It is not only fear of the SADF sword, for both Frontliners and Pretoria have some common aims.

Both sides dread a major military escalation, and many black leaders fear the inevitable increased Russian penetration. They do not want to see a sub-continent in ruins.

Even if, miraculously, the Frontliners emerged unscathed, they do not want South Africa shattered: a vacant seat for the future powerful Azania is a theme of the Frontliners' economic association, SADCC. They cannot trade with (or scrounge from) an Azania in rubble.

Sure, some African leaders seem to suffer from erratic and unstable learning curves when it comes to applying the lessons of history. And, yes, some of these same leaders were prepared to roll the dice of disaster by backing a crazy Cuban plan to introduce regular communist bloc troops into Rhodesia in 1979. This would have

Why doesn't

Pretoria

waltz with

Frontliners?

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IIA

been matched by big dollops of SADF intervention and thus all-out war.

Since then some of them have taken a second and third look at the Russians, especially after experiencing their heavy-handed company first hand. And Afghanistan mattered.

The conservative Frontline states fret about further radicalisation and even within the ruling cliques of the radical states powerful elements feel the Russians and the Cubans must not overstay their welcome. More war will provide more opportunities for either the USSR or South Africa to manipulate dissidents into government-toppling destabilisation.

Thus the Frontliners serve as buffers to keep out overt Russian involvement (and a cautious Kremlin might prefer to use them as catspaws against the SADF).

The Frontliners have also prevailed upon the Russians to forego their veto power in Western and UN bids to cure

Namibia. Even the radical Frontliners have been anxious to secure direct American diplomacy and, unlike in the Middle East, to keep Russian meddling at arm's length.

Pretoria looks to the Israeli model and in this external context things look

good for South Africa: the ANC is much more feeble than the PLO; the Frontline states are much more frail than Israel's Arab neighbours; and the mailed fist of Russia is much further away.

Indeed, the conventional military threat is insignifi-

can: unless South Africa overplays its hand. No joint Frontline army will emerge for an African D-Day. The army-based states would collapse if their rag-tag regiments left: states such as Zambia fear the contagion of Mocambican or Angolan troops; there is no common ideology, training or economic infrastructure to warrant such a provocation to Pretoria.

Perhaps Pretoria's policy of schizophrenia may be for internal consumption. Maybe no top SADF or Nat leader really believes in the total onslaught. The present finely balanced strategy of military belligerence and economic temptation could work for a long time.

Add more: the weak Frontline states could come in mighty handy over Namibia. They were united over Rhodesia: the Commonwealth tie helped as did the stronger Patriotic Front and compliant Brits. Namibia is much harder. Some don't like Sam Nujoma; others sympathise with the Hoeslin Savimbi. The Frontline alliance has grown, and it could become more fractious. For example, a military government was installed in Tanzania or a Right-wing coup erupted in Lusaka.

For if the Cubans actually did leave Angola, that nightmare would force Pretoria to play upon all sorts of tactical disputes within the Frontline coalition (and in America) to stay in Namibia.

Otherwise Sam will get to Windhoek and Andries to Pretoria. Heck, if it wasn't for them nice Frontline states, Namibia might just become one of them.

David L. ...

TANTALUS

Capitalists unite! With Mrs Thatcher in the lead, how can we ever be defeated?

ABOUT two decades ago the French writer Jean-Paul Sartre told an interviewer that no constructive idea could come from the Right; the future lay with the Left.

What would he have said if he had lived until today? The formation this week of the International Democratic Union — the conservative answer to the Socialist International — is but the latest show of vigour and

political currency of the day.

□ □ □

MR CHRIS Hennis accused elements of the English Press this week of trying to introduce "ethnicity" into the constitutional debate and to divide the whites on ethnic lines.

How odd! Has the National Party abandoned its belief that ethnic differences are insurmountable? Or is it just that some eth-

D-day for twilight people

City Press
26/6/83

CAPE TOWN -- Banned people are waiting on a knife-edge to see if their restriction orders will be reimposed at the end of the month.

About 70 people are

CP Correspondent

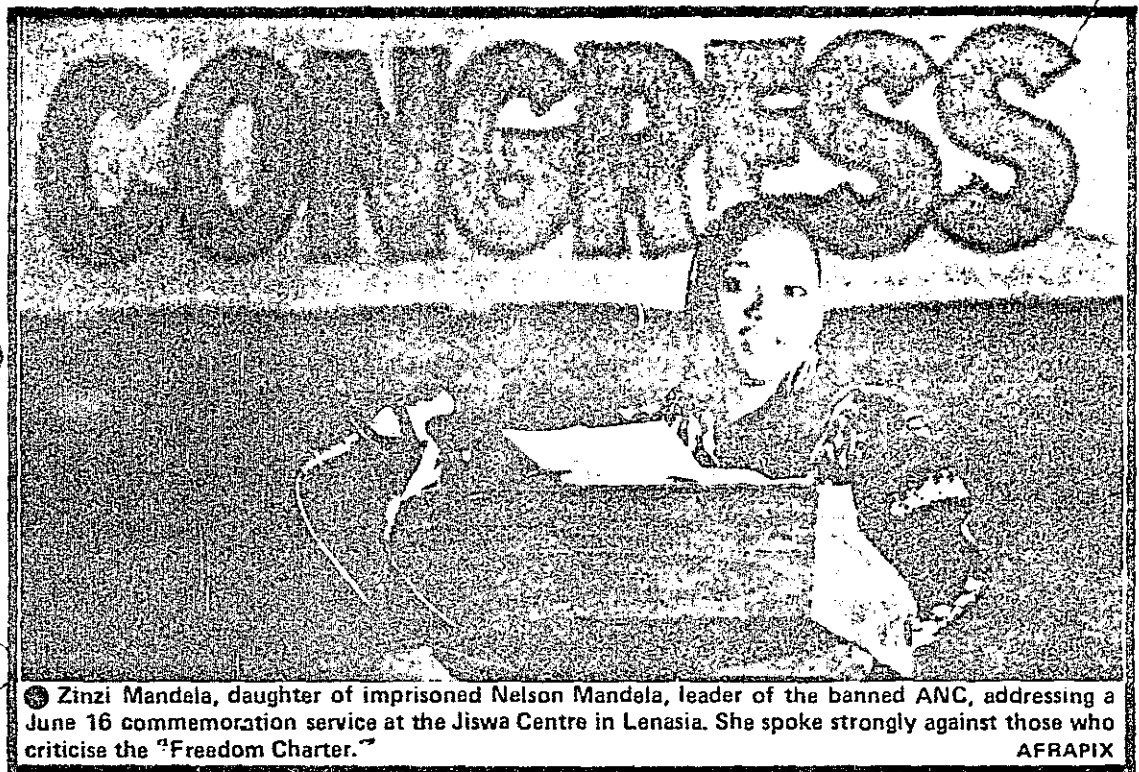
still banned and all their orders are to be reviewed by next month.

In terms of the new Internal Security Act, which came into effect in July last year, all restriction orders re-

mained in force for 12 months.

Those 12 months are nearly up and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will have to reveal his decision soon.

There is mounting speculation that the Government is institut-



Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned ANC, addressing a June 16 commemoration service at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia. She spoke strongly against those who criticise the "Freedom Charter."

AFRAPIX

ing a new banning policy, easing up on the number of restriction orders imposed.

In contrast to previous years, not even people recently released from long

periods of imprisonment for political offences have been banned.

They include Mr Saths Cooper and Mr Muntu Myeza, who are now active in Azapo,

Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Jeremy Cronin.

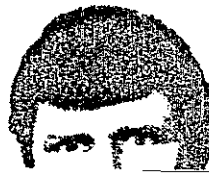
Among those still banned who will hear soon whether their restrictions are to be lifted are: Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu, the ANC prisoner held at Pollsmoor Prison, and her son, Zwelakhe, the former president of the Media Workers

Association of South Africa (Mwasa); Peter Jones, the close friend of the late Steve Biko, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, also a close friend of Steve Biko; Dr Beyers Naude; Mrs Fatima Meer the Natal University academic; Andrew Boraine and Nicholas "Fink" Haysom, former Nusas presidents, and others like Philip Mtimkulu and Zubeida Mayet, both journalists.

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City Press

(11A)

Anti-Bill blacks in bitter row

By BRIAN POTTINGER
A BITTER row has erupted in two black political organisations opposed to the Government's constitutional proposals.

Spokesmen for the two-week-old National Forum this week attempted to patch over the differences between it and the United Democratic Front by declaring an "open door" for talks between the two organisations.

But unity between the two major black umbrella bodies is likely to remain elusive. A third, Inkatha, remains united and aloof from the squabble.

A spokesman for the UDF has cold-shouldered the NF's offer of talks by saying the NF had created the tensions in the first place by attacking the UDF.

Forum pledges 'open door' for discussion

The differences between the two movements — jointly representing scores of community, trade union, cultural and sports groups — is now at the centre of a raging debate in black ranks.

Rejected

This week the black-consciousness orientated NF came under renewed attack by "Charterists" — UDF supporters who endorse the Freedom Charter of the old Congress Alliance that included the ANC.

Ms Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the banned ANC leader, lashed the NF by implication at a June 16 commemoration

service for being "ideologically lost political bandits". Points of difference between the two movements are now based on founding charters, the participation of liberal groups in the struggle, the role of ethnicity in mobilising communities against the constitutional proposals and the term Azania.

Spokesmen for the National Forum have sought to downplay the differences between the groups, and this week Mr Saths Cooper, vice president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which convened the NF, said that the doors to further discussions were always open.

In response to the fierce

the NF was a rival to the UDF and claimed that its objectives were on a far wider scale than the UDF's.

"The manifesto drawn up by the NF was not black consciousness orientated or Africanist, and there was nothing in it to which any democratic and progressive body should object," he said.

"Slaves"

Dr Neville Alexander, a prominent member of the NF, said he favoured an initiative to discuss differences, but conceded that the participation of liberal groups in the UDF presented a problem.

"The NF does not see itself as opposed to any other body or organisation. It is not the intention to gang up against any organisations or alliances."

But Dr Essop Jassat, a member of the UDF's steering



Ms ZINZI MANDELA
Lashed the NF

attacks on the founding of the NF — UDF spokesmen have claimed it is intended to rival their efforts — Mr Cooper said the organisation was prepared to accept criticism as part of the democratic process.

He rejected charges that



DR NEVILLE ALEXANDER
Room for discussion

ing committee, has accused the NF of being "deceitful" in luring supporters of the UDF to the NF's launch by saying no decisions would be taken — only opinions canvassed.

He attacked the NF's manifesto as "unnecessary duplication" and claimed that

the Freedom Charter accepted by the Congress Alliance in the 1950s and endorsed by the UDF covered the points raised by the NF's manifesto. And the term Azania used by the NF as replacement for South Africa was unacceptable as it was an East African Arabic term meaning place of slaves.

The NF offer for discussions has been greeted with caution by UDF spokesmen. Dr Jassat claimed that Azapo representatives had approached a number of UDF supporters before the NF founding meeting to invite them to what was described as merely a forum for discussion.

Instead the organisers had converted it into a launch for a rival organisation.

"With that background we are a little cautious about further talks", said Dr Jassat.



accused the NF of
ceitful

Blacks are at loggerheads over how to gain freedom

THIS week marks the 28th anniversary of the adoption of the 'Freedom Charter', a document that has bitterly divided black politics ever since it was drawn up.

It remains the focal point of fierce controversy between rival black groups to this day.

Adopted at a rally in Kliptown, its signatories included the African National Congress, the SA Coloured People's Organisation, the Indian Congress and the white Congress of Democrats.

Today, it is the rallying point of 'progressive-democrats' who have come together in the new United Democratic Front. It is rejected by the rival National Forum Committee.

Among the provisions of the charter are:

- The people shall govern.
- All national groups shall have equal rights.
- The people shall share in the country's wealth.
- The land shall be shared among those who work it.
- All shall be equal before the law.
- All shall enjoy equal human rights.
- There shall be work and security.
- There shall be peace and friendship.

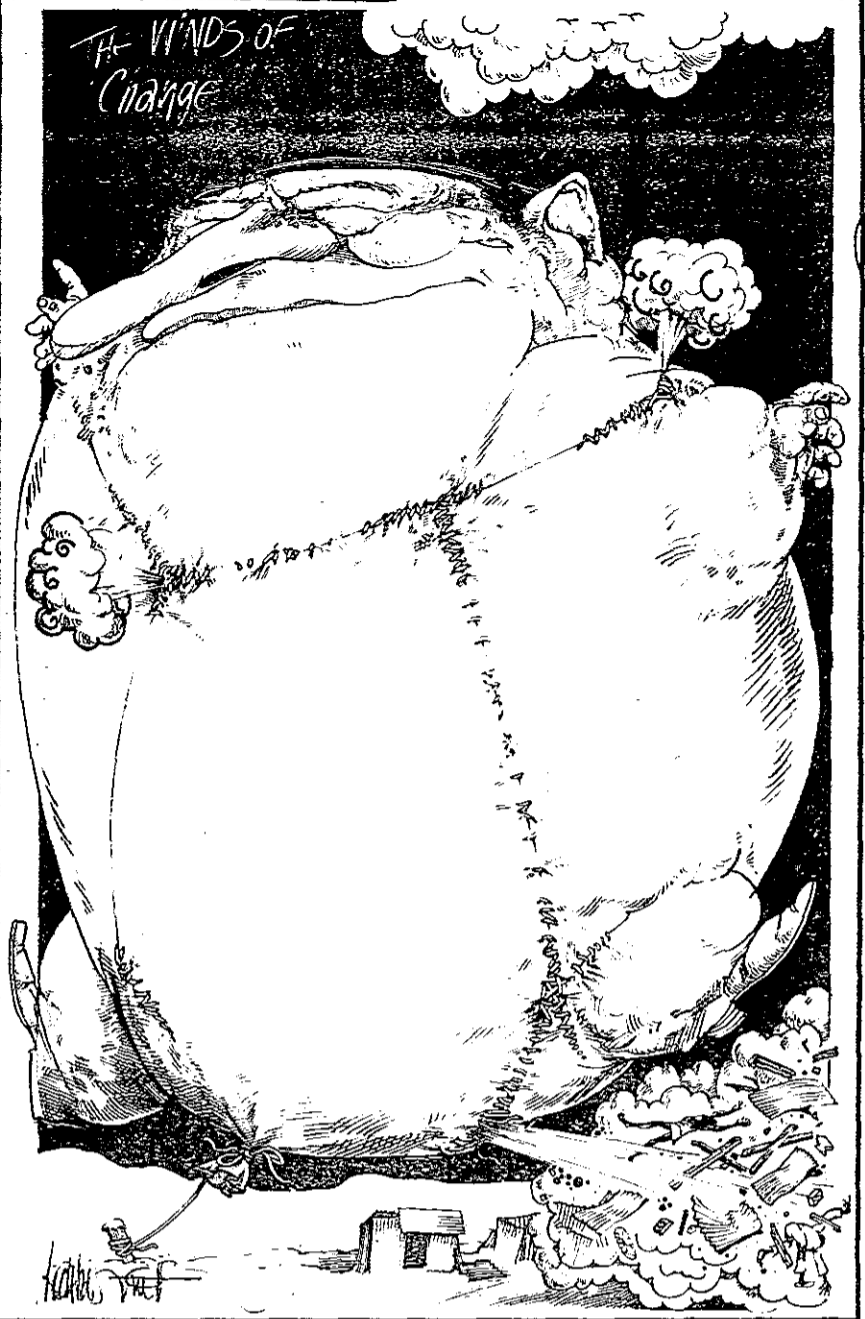
The second point is probably the most contentious:

"There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all races; all people

shall have equal right to use their own languages and to develop their own folk culture and customs; all national groups shall be protected by law against insult to their race and national pride; the preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination shall be a punishable crime; the people shall share in the country's wealth; all apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside."

The recognition that there are national groups, say opponents of the charter, entrenches "ethnicity". Supporters say that the charter, read as a whole, and while recognising the complexity and reality of the South African structure, nevertheless outlaws all forms of discrimination in a nonracial state.

Richard Smith



Battle hots up in bitter war of words for black political soul

ZINZI MANDELA, daughter of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has fired another verbal salvo in the bitter war of words between rival, ideologically-divided black political organisations.

At a meeting in Lenasia on Sunday, she blasted "ideologically lost political bandits" who were "diverting" the black struggle.

And although she did not name her target, she was aiming implicitly at black consciousness organisations which reject aspects of the 'Freedom Charter'.

The same day, Mr Curtis Nkondo, ousted as president of the Azanian People's Organisation for "violating principles and policy" before the Government banned him three years ago, also lashed out at the policies of his former organisation.

The attacks are the latest round in a bitter war between the ANC, coloureds and Indians.

Several organisations are fighting for supremacy.

Two new bodies formed within weeks of each other — the United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee are the most recent reincarnation.

Both are trying to unite blacks in opposition to the Government's policies — but they, too, are squabbling among themselves.

It is in this context that the latest flare-up must be seen, but its historical roots run deeper.

From Union in 1910, the African National Congress held the pre-eminent position in black politics.

In the Forties and Fifties, an 'Africanist' group emerged within the ANC. It charged that Indians and especially whites — liberals and communists — were dominating and directing what was largely an African struggle.

In 1955, the ANC and white, coloured and Indian bodies adopted the 'Freedom Charter', causing the break-

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA



© Saths Cooper ... against 'Charter'



© Zinzi Mandela ... for 'Charter'

BEHIND the emotional outburst by Nelson Mandela's daughter this week lies a story of deep ideological differences in the ranks of black political movements.

of the Freedom Charter, but refuse to accept the role of whites at this stage.

It is against this background of feuding that Ms Mandela's and Mr Nkondo's speeches must be seen.

Ms Mandela said it was treacherous to turn against "the people's wishes as embodied in the Freedom Charter", and added that there were people who had campaigned to discredit those, like her father, who were in jail and could not answer.

This was an implicit reference to talk in black circles that some black consciousness leaders had criticised Mr Mandela's standing.

This, in turn, has led some analysts to conclude that the battle is along the lines of

of racial groupings and recognising minority rights. We are fighting to stamp out all traces of ethnicity."

Of the PAC, Mr Cooper said: "We are interested in Azania first rather than the unification of the whole of Africa, which, at this stage, is almost a pipedream."

Black consciousness also had "problems" with the

PAC's "definition of 'African' — excluding so-called Indians and coloureds — at the time it was established".

On the participation of whites, Mr Cooper was cagey, but he did not directly rule them out.

United black action has been tried before, but whites are still entrenched in power. How will the NFC

succeed where others have failed?"

Mr Cooper was reluctant to spell out the types of action that would be taken. "We still have a lot of work to do to unify our ranks."

That includes getting progressive-democrat groups to join.

And that, black political observers believe, will determine whether a measure of black unity will be achieved or further and more vicious conflict is in the offing.

away of the 'Africanist' group, which formed the Pan Africanist Congress. The ANC and PAC were outlawed in 1960 and went into exile.

In the late 1960s, the black consciousness movement, led by Steve Biko, emerged as the main internal political opponent of 'working within the system'.

But the emergence of another group, especially over the past three years, has changed that and led to the present fierce rivalry.

The group call themselves 'progressive-democrats', who rally around the 'Freedom Charter' and accept that white radicals can play a role in their struggle.

They regard black consciousness as "racist and reactionary".

The progressive-democrats last month banded together under the United Democratic Front with the Freedom Charter as their rallying point. They believe the charter retains its validity as a document reflecting

the wishes of the majority of the people.

Opponents of the charter have tagged it a 'middle class' document inspired by whites, bringing together ethnic-based groups and entrenching racial divisions.

Two weeks ago, the black consciousness-inspired National Forum Committee was launched at Hammanskraal, where the 'Manifesto of the Azanian People' calling for an "anti-racial, socialist Azania", was adopted for further consideration by participants.

To complicate matters, there is a measure of overlapping in support for the UDF and the NFC. Some of the NFC participants don't support black consciousness — some even accept the Freedom Charter — but they adopted the 'Manifesto of the Azanian People', basically the black consciousness view, for further consideration.

And some black consciousness supporters acknowledge the importance

But can the present internal conflict be classified as ANC-PAC lines?

No, said black consciousness leader Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the NFC. Black consciousness neither supported nor criticised the ANC or the PAC, but acknowledged their historical roles.

Mr Cooper, a close associate of Biko and accused No 1 in the historic Saso-BPC trial of black consciousness in 1975 and 1976, outlined the differences between the black consciousness movement and the ANC and PAC.

Black consciousness, he argues, "has a vibrancy" which could accommodate both streams of thought: "Facets of Africanism as well as facets of extreme class analysis and still maintain its own direction."

Of the 'Freedom Charter', Mr Cooper, released in December after six years in jail, said: "Basically, we have serious reservations about its ethnic orientation. It is centred on preservation

Black Politics

1983

JUNE — 31 JULY

Boards ~~337~~ pigheaded'

Mercury
28/6/83
11A

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The ninth annual conference of Inkatha has accused administration boards in South Africa of being 'pigheaded' in increasing rents during a time of economic recession and high unemployment.

In a resolution issued here last night, the movement said the boards had been 'provocative' and 'unsympathetic' in raising rents at this time.

'The responsibility for the loss of life and limb and the destruction of property and general destabilisation of black society that has so far

followed these rent hikes must be laid squarely on the pig-headedness of the administration boards,' the statement said.

The conference called for the removal of the Group Areas Act, the Black Urban Areas Act, and the Mixed Marriages Act.

It said it was 'disgusted' that such laws were allowed to remain on the statute book while the Prime Minister and the Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, tried to convince South Africa and the world that they were engaged in a programme of reform.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

The big stick at work

11A (2571) (167)
FM 24/6/83

Pretoria's tough military and economic approach to neighbouring states shows signs of succeeding in its aim of limiting the facilities given to ANC terrorists. Certainly, there seems a quiet air of satisfaction at SADF headquarters and at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

However some commentators emphasise the policy remains "a high risk approach" that could still blow up in SA's face. The Institute of International Affairs' Michael Spicer agrees the policy has had successes but feels it should best be categorised as "a mixed success."

The major targets of Pretoria's campaign to deny foreign sanctuary to the ANC are Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Swaziland, which offers a natural ANC infiltration route, has always done much to limit terrorist activity and has recently toughened its approach.

SA has had the most success in twisting Lesotho's arm — despite Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's rhetoric and his parading of an alleged SA spy.

Since the SADF raid on Maseru last December a substantial number of ANC activists are known to have flown out of the

country — including, it is believed, the hard-line military organisers.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting with his Lesotho counterpart is claimed to have been most successful and Maseru is currently emphasising economic links with SA. There have been official appeals for private SA investment (See P1534) and Maseru and Pretoria are jointly financing a feasibility study of the Highlands Water project.

Jonathan is, of course, continuing with his familiar policy of playing every side to his own advantage. While busy recognising

June 24 1983

Financial
Mail

SOCIALISM

11A

The elite of Hammanskraal

All societies, regardless of how their economies are ordered, are run by elites. It is thus nonsense to talk, for example, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or rule by "the workers."

We heard a good deal of this claptrap from the black National Forum which met at Hammanskraal recently. As reported in the *Rand Daily Mail*, one delegate, Neville Alexander, said: "They (the whites) must be allowed to play a part in the struggle, but the leadership of the struggle must remain with the black working class."

What does this mean? Surely it is to men of education and learning that society looks for its leadership? We guess that most of those taking part in the Hammanskraal debates are possessed of soft hands more accustomed to bearing pens than shovels.

What happened at Hammanskraal was a gathering of an intellectual elite. Its aim, which is a legitimate one, is to gain political control of SA. But it is not being honest when it talks of "the leadership . . . of the black working class." Nor will it bring either freedom or prosperity to the land.

If majority rule, as the Hammanskraal crowd perceive it, comes to pass, we are willing to bet that the working class, black and white, will be among the first economic and political casualties. We say this with confidence, simply because black intellectuals, ignoring all evidence to the contrary, believe that a system of centralised economic control, with the ownership of factories, farms, businesses and so on all in the hands of the State, is the best way to run the SA economy.

Leadership, in the SA envisaged at Hammanskraal, will certainly not be in the hands of the workers. It will be firmly in the grip of an intellectual elite believing, as do our present rulers, that they know best what is best for the

rest of us. And that intellectual elite, having ruined the economy and destroyed jobs wholesale, will, out of desperation, inevitably indulge then in the sort of behaviour we now see in Marxist Mozambique, where Samora Machel's regime has just issued this statement:

"The excessive number of unproductive residents in the cities lies at the root of various sorts of crime and delinquency and is a threat to the public order and tranquillity."

The official who issued this statement added that those who refused voluntary removal to the countryside would be evacuated "by coercion."

Nice, isn't it? Sounds just like what Andries Treurnicht would order.

Attempts, such as Machel's in Mozambique, or the National Party's in SA, to order and control peoples' lives are an affront to liberty. But this is precisely what SA, black and white, will inherit should the intellectual elite, as represented at Hammanskraal, ever come to power in this country. However unpalatable NP rule might be, it is far less coercive than Marxist rule.

At Hammanskraal, the enemy was identified as "racist capitalism." This is a contradiction in terms. Capitalism has as its cornerstone the belief that there should be no barriers to entry to the economy. And as the Father of Capitalism, Adam Smith, held, it must be a man's inviolable right to sell his labour to whomever and wherever he wishes without hindrance.

Our real enemy is the belief among some elites, such as those who met at Hammanskraal, that they know what is best for us and, come hell or high water, they're going to see that we get it. Freedom of choice has no role in a collectivist society.

Govt vague on Reds

By Eugene Saldanha

The South African Government had good reason to believe there was a Communist threat against the country, a senior Rand Afrikaans University lecturer said today.

But at the annual conference of RAU's Centre for the Research of Revolutionary Activity Mr ID de Vries added that it was debatable what its extent was as the Government's concept of a Communist threat was vague.

Mr de Vries, a lecturer in the department of government studies, said: "If one talks of the African National Congress's (ANC) alliance with the South African Communist

Party (SACP), the Communist threat is brought nearer the South African situation."

Mr de Vries said Cabinet Ministers made serious blunders when they spoke untruths about revolutionary movements like the ANC as it gave legitimacy to many ANC claims.

Mr de Vries said the ANC's leadership repeatedly justified the use of violence by saying South Africa had institutionalised violence.

"This is done to lend legitimacy to their armed struggle. Even if the ANC were to assume power in South Africa, they would

not continue to allow violence within the country's borders," he said.

The Freedom Charter was an important ideological weapon for the ANC-SACP alliance.

"Democratic principles like equality, freedom and justice feature prominently in the charter. The democratic nature of the ANC's principles is probably the movement's strongest drawcard among the masses.

"Although the charter's demands are not always specific it proposes a much more just system than many have at present," he said.

11A

Stan

27/6/87

Priest makes call on church to give its support to ideals set out in Freedom Charter

A ROMAN Catholic priest, Father Chris Langenhoven, yesterday called on the church to stop speaking the language of morality and ideals, but to address itself to the Freedom Charter, which he said gave historical flesh and content to the liberation struggle.

He was speaking at his church in Phiri, Soweto, where a service to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter was held. He said the church had

By SAM MABE

spoken very vaguely about a number of burning issues in the lives of many people in South Africa.

DEMANDS

One speaker, who would not be named, said the Freedom Charter was not a communist document as had been claimed by the Government. He said if demands for housing, education and democracy as were enshrined in the

Charter made one a communist, then all peace-loving people in South Africa were communists.

Mr Elliot Shabangu, who said he was a participant at the meeting where the document was adopted in 1955, told of the Defiance Campaigns of the early 1950s and the stay-at-home strikes called by the banned ANC, which set the stage for the drafting and adoption of

the Freedom Charter.

He added that the first anniversary of the Freedom Charter was commemorated by about 1 000 people at the same ground where it was adopted in Klip-town. During the second anniversary, about 75 percent of the workforce in Johannesburg did not go to work.

"The Freedom Charter will one day triumph over apartheid because the Charter stands for democracy. Apartheid on the other hand, killed Mogoerane, Mosololi

and Motaung," he said.

Mrs Gretta Ncapayi, executive member of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), said South Africa was a big country that could accommodate all her inhabitants and had all the wealth to enable everybody to get enough food.

She described the Freedom Charter as a harmless document which the Government should have seen as another way of advocating dialogue, rather than

to have jailed some of the people who adopted it.

She said police action against advocates of justice had forced many youths to opt for violent methods of bringing about change in South Africa.

Pamphlets containing extracts from the Freedom Charter were distributed at the meeting. Security police in two cars kept a close watch at the meeting and took photographs of delegates attending the meeting.

(SPSS GENERATED)

AT FINISH

REQUIRED INFORMATION + LOG VARIABLES
COMPUTE OPERATIONS
NUMBER... 1.55 SECONDS

Craddock funeral for ex-ANC man

11A E. Post 27/6/83
CRADOCK — The former secretary-general of the African National Congress, the Rev James Calata, was buried in Craddock on Saturday.

Thousands of mourners carried ANC flags.

Mr Calata, who died on June 16 at the age of 88, was the secretary-general of the ANC and Eastern Cape president of the now-banned organisation during the 1950s.

Several organisations and black leaders paid tribute to Mr Calata.

The chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Archie Gumede,

once a cellmate of Mr Calata, cried as he spoke of their days together.

Other tributes were made by representatives of the General Allied Worker's Union, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Congress of South African Students.

Messages of condolence were received from the ANC journal, *Nkululeko*, the president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, and Mrs Helen Joseph.

Plainclothed policemen followed the procession at a distance. — Sapa

Funeral of former ANC man

Grave Trenches
27/6/83

(I.F.)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — More than 3 000 people braved mid-winter weather in Cradock on Saturday to bury a well-known clergyman, schoolmaster and former secretary-general of the African National Congress, Canon James Arthur Calata.

Mourners from many parts of the country gathered in an open area in Lingelihle township listening to tributes to Mr Calata by representatives of various organizations.

Mr Archie Gumede, Natal chairman of both the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Committee, said: "Of the many sons and daughters of Africa, Mr Calata was surpassed by a few in nobility and patriotism."

He described the late churchman as a negotiator who was committed to a peaceful and democratic settlement.

"But in the course of time, he too became disillusioned with the unwillingness of authorities to engage in any dialogue with

blacks.

"The call for unity alone was not advancing the cause of the African in the land of our forefathers. As a result he became one of the signatories of the 1949 Programme of Action which was formulated largely by the ANC Youth League.

Mr Calata was born in Keiskammahoek in 1895. He attended St Matthew's College where he qualified as a teacher. He taught at St Matthew's for a number of years before coming to Port Elizabeth in 1921 to become principal of the St Cyprian's Mission School at Korsten.

He became a deacon soon after and was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1926. After ordination, he served at Somerset East and was transferred to Cradock in 1928 where he served until his retirement in 1970. He rose to the rank of Canon in the church.

Mr Calata died on what speakers at the funeral described as a significant day in the political history of South Africa — June 16.

Manaka alleges SP's left 'gift'

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Sowetan 27/6/85 11A
THE CHAIRMAN of the Vosloorus branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Ntsele Manaka, yesterday alleged that three security policemen left him a R20 "gift" after questioning him at his home about his organisation's activities.

The gift, he said, was left on his bed when he refused to accept it. The security policemen — two white and one black — questioned him at length about the June 16 commemoration service held in the township two weeks ago. He was asked who the speakers were and how many people had attended.

He alleged that they told him about the violence that followed the Soweto service and thanked him for keeping peace and order during and after the Vosloorus service.

The police arrived at his home at 10am and when they left at 11.30am, they left the "gift" on his bed and allegedly threatened him with detention if he approached the Press.

Attempts to get a comment from the Germiston Security Police proved a failure.

ANC, Nats 'share love of violence'

11A Mercury 27/6/78

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The National Party and the external mission of the banned African National Congress made 'bizarre bedfellows' but they were, in fact, bedfellows.

This point was made at

Ulundi at the weekend by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha movement, was addressing 5 000 delegates and observers attending the ninth national conference of the organisation.

Chief Buthelezi said it seemed that the two groups concerned were having 'a love affair of violence and non-violence'.

Stepped-up counter violence on the part of the ANC's mission in exile at present was a 'god-send' to the 'warmongers' of Pretoria.

Chief Buthelezi said the purpose of the Pretoria Government was to destabilise the whole of Southern Africa while it attempted to impose on the land 'the harshest form of apartheid in the history of the country through the tricameral parliament'.

He said the best course for Inkatha in the present political circumstances was to maintain calm and not to abandon hope.

Default

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that Inkatha was now expected to bear the brunt of black opposition to the policies of the South African Government.

'It is tragic that the ANC in exile has abandoned democratic internal opposition in favour of the kind of bandstand politics in which we observe them to excel in international forums,' he said.

'It is tragic that the Labour Party and the

Black Consciousness movement have also, by default, left us to shoulder the burden.

The Chief Minister appealed to Inkatha members to do everything 'humanly possible' to woo their Indian and coloured brothers away from acceptance of the Government's constitutional proposals.

If Inkatha and KwaZulu continued to reject any kind of quasi independence 'black South Africans will still outnumber white South Africans in so-called white South Africa', he said.

Then the early National Party 'dream' of ridding the body politic of South Africa of blacks would be smashed.

Chief Buthelezi maintained that the vast majority of blacks in the 'so-called' independent States rejected their 'quasi independence' as much as KwaZulu did.

'We belong together in our rejection of apartheid and so-called independence,' he said.

Inkatha in its organisation and structured form was only the visible tip of an iceberg.

The Inkatha president said the movement had not yet organised itself properly in Soweto, Kwa Mashu, Chesterville near Durban or Madadeni near Newcastle.

Cops keep watch as Calata

THE FORMER secretary-general of the African National Congress, Reverend James Calata, was buried in Cradock on Saturday. Thousands of mourners carried ANC flags and banners and sang tributes.

Mr Calata was one of the accused in the 1956 treason trial of Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others.

Several organisations

11A Sowetan 27/6/83

is laid to rest

and black leaders paid tribute to Mr Calata in an emotional service. The chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Archie Gumede, and cellmate of Mr Calata, cried as he spoke of their days together.

"During his time he

was the spine of the African National Congress and he never changed his mind until the last day of his life," Mr Gumede said.

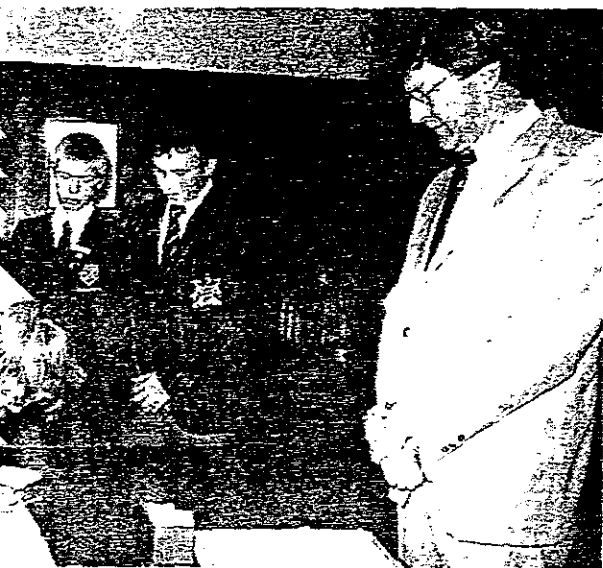
Other tributes were made by representatives of the General Allied Worker's Union, the Port Elizabeth Youth

Congress and the Congress of South African Students.

Messages of condolence were received from the ANC journal, *Nkululeko*, the president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak and Mrs Helen Joseph.

Armed plainclothes policemen followed the procession at a distance. — Sapa.

11A Dispatch



Who have been chosen to go on an educational tour to visitors' book in the Mayor's Parlour while the Mayor of Errol Spring looks on. Signing the book is Stephanie Catherine Willard, Vivian Grenfell, Roy Smithies and David Boyes.

For citizenship tour

School and David Boyes from Selborne College, were chosen according to how they would personally benefit from the tour. A member of the Rotary club and convener for the tour. Mr

join 55 others from the Cape Province. They will visit Parliament, attend lectures by politicians and see some of the historical sights of Cape Town.

Last week they visited the Mayor of East London, Mr Errol Spring, to familiarise themselves with local government.

The pupils will return on July 9 — DDR

3 000 mourn at former ANC man's funeral

CRADOCK — More than 3 000 people attended the funeral of a former secretary-general of the African National Congress, Canon James Arthur Calata, here at the weekend.

Mourners braved chilly weather and heard numerous speakers pay tribute to the 98-year-old retired minister of the Anglican Church, who died on June 16.

Among the speakers was his fellow detainee during the 1956 ANC trial, Mr Archie Gumede, a Durban attorney, who spoke on behalf of the Release Mandela Committee and the United Democratic Front.

Other speakers were Mrs Victoria Mxenge, wife of the murdered Durban attorney, Mr Griffiths Mxenge; the former president of Azapo, Mr Curtis Nkondo; and a former president of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr S. Gqubela.

Speakers called Canon Calata "a gallant warrior in the struggle for the

freedom of the black man from discrimination laws"

Busloads of mourners came from Port Elizabeth, Mdantsane, Zwelitsha and King William's Town.

Canon Calata's coffin, draped in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC, was carried shoulder-high to the graveyard.

A number of mourners carried ANC flags and sang freedom songs as they marched.

Police kept a low profile and watched the proceedings from a distance. — DDR.

Dry air follows cold front

EAST LONDON — East Londoners who prepared themselves for a wet weekend were left disappointed.

The cold front which moved from the Western Cape failed to bring rain when it passed over East London on Saturday because of dry air behind it, a weather bureau spokesman said yesterday.

The cold front brought heavy rain to the Western Cape last week, and has now moved away from the East London area, therefore rain cannot be expected today, he said. — DDR.

Weather

France tests neutron bomb

HAMBURG — The French Defence Minister, Mr Charles Hernu, has acknowledged that France exploded a neutron bomb in the Pacific and is considering producing the weapon.

In a wide-ranging interview with the news magazine Der Spiegel, Mr Hernu was quoted as saying: "I wouldn't be giving away any French defence secrets when I tell you we have tested the new weapon."

Mr Hernu said he was on Mururoa Island when the bomb was tested. He did not say when the test

was.

He stressed that President Francois Mitterrand had not yet decided whether France should build the neutron bomb, but said the 1984-88 military programme did not rule out such a decision.

He said France has set aside an undisclosed sum for further research and testing of the weapon in the next five years.

"Should the president decide in favour of production, we could transform it promptly into action," Mr Hernu said. — SAPA-AP.

Friend saw man swept out to sea

DURBAN — A man watched in horror yesterday as his friend the rocks by a huge wave. The sea was too rough for me to jump in.



UNITE: The Rev Eddy Thobejane.

Call for unity

27/6/83
By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE (11A)

THE ongoing attacks on each other by supporters of the Freedom Charter and those of the manifesto recently adopted at the conference convened by the National Forum Committee was a setback to the struggle.

The Rev Eddy Thobejane of Soweto who describes himself as a staunch supporter of black consciousness, said he was disappointed that some individuals and organisations were criticising one another when they should be rallying together against the enemy.

He told The SOWETAN that he was surprised that some organi-

sations were saying they could not be party to the adoption of the manifesto because they were still committed to the Charter.

"My appeal is that instead of lambasting each other, especially through the Press, those people who have misgivings about either the Charter or the manifesto should arrange for a convention soon where all the disputes could be settled.

"The reports of the past few days are only pleasing the enemy who is given time to strengthen himself. At the same time this is a drawback to the unity we are striving for and the masses are left confused," he said.

'Jopie Fourie's words used to laud ANC man'

By PATRICK LAURENCE
— Political Editor

AN AFRIKANER nationalist rebel's words to his executioners were attributed to a hanged African National Congress insurgent, in an illegal ANC pamphlet, a Security Police officer said.

His statement came by way of an interjection during an address yesterday by Mr I D de Vries, of the department of political science at Rand Afrikaans University, at a RAU conference.

Mr De Vries was describing how the ANC had lionised Solomon Mahlangu, who was hanged in 1979 for the killing of two civilians in 1977.

According to the pamphlet Mahlangu met his death defiantly with these words: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruit of freedom."

At that point Colonel H J Olivier, of the Johannesburg

Security Police, interjected that the words had actually been used by Jopie Fourie when he was executed for his role in the 1914 rebellion.

Mr De Vries was dealing with the question of how revolutionary movements strove to attain and increase legitimacy.

Apart from projecting captured and executed leaders and cadres as heroes and martyrs, the ANC:

- Insisted that the present system rested on violence and that the ANC had no option but to oppose the status quo with violence.

- Used ideology to project itself as the custodian of true democracy, freedom, equality and justice.

In a paper on newspapers in pre-revolutionary circumstances, Mr Ken Owen, editor of the Sunday Express, referred to the conviction of editors in South Africa under

various laws.

"We are reaching the stage where an editor can be defined as the criminal in charge of a newspaper . . .

"When moderate, civilised, thoughtful and principled men like Mr Tertius Myburgh and Mr Ton Vosloo and Mr Harold Padendorf and Mr Rex Gibson and Mr Harvey Tyson are declared by this society to be criminals, then a criminal conviction has become a badge of honour."

In pre-revolutionary situations neither the men opposed to the regime nor the regime itself wanted truth — they wanted the editor to put his newspaper at their disposal.

"The editor who pleads the truth, public interest, balance, fairness, objectivity or accuracy, or even respect for the law, may condemn his newspaper, and sometimes himself, to death at the hands of the mob."



A work stoppage by more than 200 workers at three Coca Cola depots in Johannesburg yesterday came to an abrupt end following calls from black conscious movements and a trade union. The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, Azapo's publicity secretary, Ishmael Mkhabela and the Food and Beverage Allied Workers Union, had appealed to the management to reinstate three workers sacked for not coming to work on June 16.

28/6/83

BLOODBATH: Bodies lie scattered in the streets outside the Sharpeville Police Station.

SOME STILL SHOW THE SCARS OF SHARPEVILLE

Sowetan 28/6/83

By MONO BADELA

SO you think you have trouble? How would you like to spend 23 years of your life with three bullets lodged in your right leg, have several operations and spend over three years in hospital?

That is the fate of Mr Adam Malefane, 51-year-old Sharpeville man and father of five, who, in his way, is the living monument of the tragedy of that historic day, March 21, 1960.

Crippled, and yet full of fight, Mr Malefane recalled that fateful afternoon when no less than nine bullets from a sten gun were pumped deep into his right leg. With scores of others he remained in hospital longer than three years.

Some twenty three years after March 21, 1960, a team from The SOWETAN visited Sharpeville and talked to several casualties of the day. Mr Malefane gave a vivid account of

the events that led to the massacre, which saw 69 men and women dead and some 177 others maimed for the rest of their lives. The shooting resulted in Mr Malefane remaining in hospital until October, 15, 1963.

Today he is totally crippled and can only get around with the aid of crutches.

He said he had been given time off by his employer so as to be home early that day. "I had a burning hatred for the pass law system. For years the Africans had hated and endured the pass law system. I, like all blacks, hated the "dompas" as it had become almost a physical shackle to us. At 12 noon I decided to join the thousands of protesters who gathered near the police station."

He said he responded to the call which was

made by the new militant Pan Africanist Congress to descend on the local police station and without a pass book, without arms, without violence, he and thousand others demanded they be arrested.

"At first everything was relatively quiet near the police station. Soon Sharpeville was to become a household name all over the world."

He said about 20 policemen locked themselves "nervously" inside the station. "They eyed the big crowd as it grew minute by minute. At about 1.20pm some 130 police reinforcements, trucks, pickup vans, cars and supported by four saracen-armoured cars were rushed in."

He said the police called the leaders as though they wanted to explain a point. The crowds swamped behind the leaders towards the fence. At 1.40 the blow-up came. When the police tried to seize an African near the gate, there was a scuffle which was followed by the rattle of sten guns and a hail of bullets.

"As I turned my back to the scene, a bullet hit me in my left knee from the back. I stumbled and fell. As I struggled to get up, nine other bullets were pumped into my right leg hitting me on the thigh and knee. I hobbled and fell over a dying woman. Wailing and cries of agony rent the air, as dead and battered bodies lay sprawled all over the place. It was like another Vietnam as the smell of death, blood

and gun powder permeated the place."

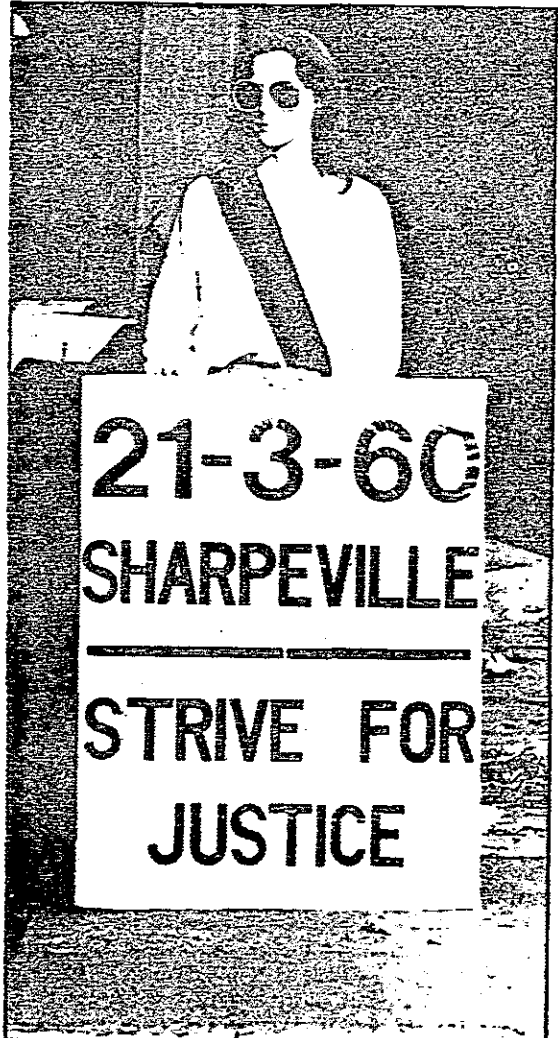
The injured, he said, were removed to the hospital. When the dead were buried only their wives and relatives were allowed to attend their funerals.

He said since that afternoon he had undergone several operations on his legs, the most recent one in January this year. X-ray results revealed that three bullets were still lodged in his right knee.

He said in Winter his

legs swell up and become painful. There is no other operation that can help him now. His blood stream has been poisoned by gun powder, he claimed.

Mr Malefane said that despite this, he did not regret joining the masses in protest against the pass law system. "As long as we carry the 'dompas' the black man will remain angry and dissatisfied, and incidents such as Sharpeville cannot be ruled out. The reference book is like a rough chain on the black man's neck."



PROTEST: A solitary BLACK SASH member holds a poster commemorating the Sharpeville shooting 23 years ago this year.

INVERTED MIRROR IMAGE OF THE MAIN ARTICLE, READING FROM RIGHT TO LEFT AND BOTTOM TO TOP. Includes the word 'SOWETAN' and the date '1983'.

Mpetha jailed

ARBUS 28/6/83

114/2-10

By CAROL GEY VAN PITTIUS
Supreme Court Reporter

OSCAR MPETHA, 74, the ailing trade unionist and community leader, was sentenced in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, today to the mandatory minimum five years in jail on a charge of terrorism following violence in the black townships in August 1980.

Crowd sings anthem after court sentence

Staff Reporter
THE African anthem Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika filtered from the Supreme Court through the streets of Cape Town today after Oscar Mpetha and 10 others were jailed on charges of murder and terrorism arising out of riots in 1980.

crowd queued outside the Supreme Court in Keerom Street.

At 9.15 am more police arrived, and people were searched before they were allowed into the building.

Inside the court, there was charged silence when the grey head of 74-year-old Mpetha appeared in the centre of the dock.

The other convicted men appeared, each in turn shouting "amandla". They were greeted with

Police in vans watched as a singing and chanting crowd wound its way to bus stops and the railway station after leaving the court, which had been packed to capacity.

About an hour before sentence was passed, a

(Turn to Page 3, col 10)

Passing sentence in the packed court, Mr Justice Williamson said he would not have jailed Mpetha if he had not been bound to do so by law.

"Mpetha is old and very ill. He is suffering from diabetes and its complications and is due to have a leg amputated.

"His life expectancy is limited and at best he has only a couple of years to live, even with the best medical treatment," the judge said.

"Justice does not require imprisonment, and because of Mpetha's very special circumstances compassion is the overriding consideration."

Obliged

The judge said he would have suspended the whole sentence if he was not obliged by law to enforce the minimum five-year jail sentence for terrorism.

The men convicted of terrorism with Mpetha and also sentenced to five years are

Christopher Sparanyi, Morgan Makubala, Peter Kube, Alton Sabuwa, Johannes Hlapo, Jeffrey Baardman, Vuyisile Diba, Richard Mapondo and Phillip Nyongwana.

For the murder of Mr George Beeton, Sparanyi was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, Sabuwa to 12 years, Baardman to 10 years and Diba to 15 years.

Those convicted of the murders of both Mr Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen were:

Makubala, who was sentenced to 15 years on each count; Kube, 18 years on each count; Hlapo, 20 years on each count; Maponda, 20 years on each count, and Nyongwana, 10 years on each count.

Concurrent

Mr Justice Williamson ordered that sentences on the three charges should run concurrently.

When he began to pass sentence the judge said:

"That these crimes flowed from a sense of grievance was manifest in the surrounding circumstances and the build-up to the crime, as indicated clearly in my judgment earlier this month.

"We cannot but sympathise with people who suffer such grievance and frustration, but the court can only strongly condemn the manner in which the grievances were expressed."

On a point of law, Mr I G Farlam, SC, for Mpetha, had argued that with the repeal of the Terrorism Act and its replacement by the Internal Security Act, the court no longer needed to take note of the minimum sentence required by the old Act.

No discretion

But the judge concluded that he had no discretion and that he had to impose the five-year minimum sentence.

He said of the murder charges that murder was a serious crime — "More appalling was the fact that the unfortunate victims were in no way responsible for the grievances felt by the accused."

While the victims had gone about their lawful business, they were set upon and killed in the most horrible way. Stoning, sadly enough, was not an infrequent occurrence.

(Turn to Page 3, col 8)

Judgment in terrorism trial

(Contd from Page 1)

"Whatever the explanation for violence may be, and the view taken of the social conditions, no court can condone it and must make it plain that it will use maximum efforts to stop it."

Mr Justice Williamson said the actions of the accused were not of those of spontaneous violence,

but had been planned beforehand.

The court had carefully weighed the argument for the death sentence to be imposed in the case of six of the accused, and although they had showed no compassion the court found that it was not a case which deserved the extreme penalty.

Shortly after sentence was passed, defence counsel applied for leave to appeal.

Mr Justice Williamson will deliver his judgment on this point tomorrow.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors, Mr C H van Gend and Mr G H Fitterson. Mr C van Wyk appeared for the State, Mr I G Farlam, SC, with Mr J Whitehead, an associate counsel for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr P L Skweyysa appeared for the remainder of the accused.



Oscar Mpetha

29/6/83

GENERAL VILJOEN:

Cross-border operations against terrorists' bases in neighbouring countries are an important element of South Africa's military counter-insurgency action.

Retribution is directed against those who have caused or are about to cause loss of life among our own population.

The SADF avoids contact with, or hostile action against the security forces and civilian populations of those neighbouring states who, unwittingly or unwittingly, harbour our enemies.

Neighbouring countries are repeatedly warned by the South African Government of the consequences of allowing terrorists to establish a presence in their territories.

Denied bases, they would have to infiltrate South Africa by air or sea... which would make it sea, which would make it virtually impossible for them, taking into account South Africa's military might.

Terrorist deeds are politically inspired to create a psychological impression of uncertainty and an eventual climate of collapse and surrender.

South Africans must be prepared to accept levels of discomfort, disruption and even violence in their daily lives.

It is imperative they prepare themselves psychologically without being alarmed or becoming dispirited.

Irregular warfare does not only mean a change of govern-

The Soviet hand the terror facing

IIA 20

RUSSIA is the mainspring of international terrorism... it funds, trains, arms and encourages terrorism on a vast scale. It manipulates the menace as a substitute for costly and risky traditional warfare... and the incidence of Soviet-inspired terrorism is rising in South Africa. These points were made an international authority on terrorism. Professor Y Alexander of George-Speakers included the Chief of the South African Defence Force General Constand Viljoen, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, and an international authority on terrorism, Professor Y Alexander of Georgetown University, Washington DC. Gerald Reilly reports.

ment but a total change... a total inversion of the governmental system, the community, all human relations and everything that people perceive as being of value.

We can only offer resistance if we are spiritually prepared, and if everyone grasps the reality of what we are all about to lose if a small, ruthless minority were allowed to gain control and establish a Marxist, one-party state to serve their bedfellows' (South African communist parties) main aim... Russian imperialism.

It is time for all to wake up, to face facts of the threat, to stand united and to join hands, hearts and minds in

the common purpose and pursuit of victory to ensure peace, prosperity and happiness for all.

GENERAL COETZEE:

Uncontrolled ANC terrorism would lead not to the establishment of an ideal constitutional democracy in South Africa, but rather to a prolonged and bloody civil war, which, if the South African Communist Party and ANC were ultimately to win, would result in the establishment of yet another African Soviet satellite state, such as Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia.

The South African Commu-

nist Party had described in graphic terms the bloodshed they hoped to unleash through the ANC/SACP alliance.

"We make only one demand... freedom or death. There is no middle course. Where there was a sign there must now be a hand grenade. Where there was an iron bar or a stick, there must now be a rifle."

The SACP official organ proclaims terrorist actions of the ANC, acting with the SACP, have escalated in South Africa in recent years.

The Pretoria bomb blast on May 20 was the 16th incident this year... and there were 39 such incidents in 1982.

The statistics do not reflect

police success in solving cases, which in many instances offset what initially to be terror successes

The Pretoria bomb blast which killed 19 and wounded 215, as well as causing extensive and costly damage, is far the most serious incident of urban terror in South Africa's history

Gen Coetzee listed some of the so-called 'spectacular' incidents in recent years:

● October 26, 1981: Two policemen killed and the Sibus police station destroyed in a rocket attack.

● December 26, 1981: A group of terrorists attacked W. derboompoort police station with an RPG-7 rocket hand grenades, killing a policeman and injuring 10 others.

● June 4, 1982: A man killed by a bomb in a Cape Town building housing President's Council.

● February 18, 1983: A bomb exploded in an ablution block of the Free State Administration Board office in Bloemfontein, injuring 76 people, 18 of them seriously. Two subsequently died.

● January 15, 1980: Volkskas Bank's Silver branch taken over by the heavily armed terrorist who took 25 hostages. The siege lasted nearly six hours, and the terrorists were overpowered by the South African Police. Four deaths and a number of injuries resulted.

● May 27, 1981: A bomb blew up the SADF recruiting office in Durban.

● September 2, 1981: Terrorists armed with Soviet-made factored weapons attacked Mabopane police station, killing two policemen, a civilian and a child.

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER:

Terrorism is an indispensable tactical and strategic tool of the Soviet struggle for power and influence within among nations.

The statistics are staggering.

From 1970 to 1982, 15 domestic and international

It will be tough — Viljoen

South Africans must be prepared to accept "certain levels of discomfort, disruption and even violence" in their daily lives, the chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, told an international conference on terrorism in Pretoria yesterday.

It was imperative they prepared themselves psychologically without becoming alarmist or dispirited.

War, he said, had never been easy. Victory, however, was worth all the discomfort and sacrifices.

People who believed that the enemy was a few criminals who could be dealt with quickly by the police were living in dream world. Irregular warfare meant total war, an onslaught on every possible front.

The possibility of further military action by South Africa against ANC bases in neighbouring countries on the lines of the recent attack which followed the Pretoria car bomb blast could not be ruled out.

The Government and the SADF would be guilty of gross neglect of duty if they surrendered the initiative to terrorists and allowed them to build up and arm to attack at will.

"The cost to South West Africa and South Africa in terms of human life and property would be enormous and political and economic progress retarded," he said.

He stressed if neighbouring countries ceased to supply, support and harbour the country's enemies there would be no need for any offensive action by South Africa.

Gen Viljoen said cross-border operations constituted legitimate hot pursuit, or pre-emptive strikes against bases, training centres, logistics and leadership cadres of terrorist movements dedicated to the violent overthrow of the SWA administration and the South African Government.

Addressing the conference, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said: "In view of the absolute

imperative and necessity of protecting South Africans of all races and shades of opinion from urban terrorism, this country has no option but to live with the Soviet-inspired propaganda onslaught that accompanies the terrorist campaign."

Gen Coetzee said ANC terrorist action in alliance with the South African Communist Party had escalated in recent years.

The Pretoria blast on May 20 was the 16th incident this year and there were 39 incidents in 1982.

He warned that uncontrolled terrorism would lead not to the establishment of an ideal democracy in South Africa but rather to a prolonged and bloody civil war.

Referring to the media, Gen Coetzee said coverage of terrorist incidents should be aimed at conveying the horror and cowardice involved and not at providing propaganda mileage for the terrorist.

Hand in facing SA

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PROFESSOR ALEXANDER:

Terrorism is an indispensable tactical and strategic tool in the Soviet struggle for power and influence within and among nations.

The statistics are staggering.

From 1970 to 1982, 15 782 domestic and international

terrorist incidents occurred. A total of 20 995 people were killed and another 15 829 wounded, with property damage of about R100-million.

According to a recent report issued by the United States State Department in 1982, 746 international terrorist incidents were recorded. This was 10% greater than the average for the previous five years.

During the first quarter of 1983, the number of terrorist acts totalled 624, surpassing the record of 588 for the last quarter of last year.

The most dramatic terrorist operations in 1983 were the car bombings at the US Embassy in Beirut and South Africa's Air Force headquarters in Pretoria, with a combined toll of about 600 dead and injured.

Prof Alexander said the tragic takeover of the US Embassy in Tehran and the protracted 444 days of crisis that followed illustrated that terrorism with continuous media coverage can become a devastating political weapon.

On the Russian influence in expanding terrorism, Prof Alexander said that even before his inauguration, US Secretary of State-designate Alexander Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Soviets were "training, funding, manning and equipping the so-called forces of liberation or terrorist forces throughout the world".

Gen Haig had also stated: "When you get to the bottom line, it is the Soviet Union which bears a major responsibility today for the proliferation and the haemorrhaging of international terrorism."

The support provided by Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, North Korea and Vietnam to various communist and non-communist terrorist movements in both developed and developing countries is generally attributed to the decision makers in the Kremlin.

In dealing with terrorism as a supplementary instrument, Moscow aimed at



GENERAL JOHAN COETZEE ... bloody civil war.



GENERAL CONTSTAND VILJOEN ... disruption.

achieving strategic ends when the use of armed might was deemed either inappropriate or ineffective.

Thousands of Palestine Liberation Organisation members had been trained by Soviet and satellite instructors. The USSR was the chief supplier of weapons to the PLO.

During and after hostilities in Lebanon last year, Israeli forces were surprised to discover that the actual amount of arms seized was enough to equip several infantry brigades and artillery units and needed 4 330 truckloads to transport the equipment to Israel.

As a surrogate of the Soviet Union, the PLO constituted the central link in the international terrorist network.

It supported the world's subversive movements by facilitating training and by offering arms supplies as well as operational assistance.

Moscow was using the PLO to widen the cracks within the Western Alliance and to inflict serious damage on Western global interests.

The strategic thinking of the Soviet Union called for manipulation of terrorism as a suitable substitute to traditional warfare, which became too costly and too risky to be waged on the battlefield.

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Crowds of people gather outside the Supreme Court yesterday before the prison van, bearing Oscar Mpetha, 74, and the murderers left after sentence was passed.

Mpetha jailed for five years

Street march after trial

CAR TIMES 29/6/83 (14) 331

Staff Reporter

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

OSCAR MPETHA, 74, was sentenced in the Supreme Court yesterday to five years in jail — the compulsory minimum — on a charge of terrorism.

The 10 young men convicted of murder in the trial, nine of whom were also found guilty of terrorism, were given sentences ranging from seven to 20 years in jail.

'Old, ill'

Mr Justice Williamson said that Mpetha was "old and very ill" and was suffering from diabetes and its complications. He was due to have his leg amputated because of gangrene.

"His life expectancy is limited and, at best, he only has a couple of years to live, even with the best medical treatment."

Justice did not require that he be sent to jail and he would have preferred to give him a totally suspended sentence. However, he was bound by the Terrorism Act.

Mr Justice Williamson said it was clear that



Oscar Mpetha, 74, jailed for five years yesterday for terrorism.

the crimes had flowed from a sense of grievance. The charges had involved the stoning and burning of cars or the incitement to commit these acts and the resultant death of Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen on August 11, 1980.

"We cannot but sympathize with people who suffer such grievances and frustrations," he said. "But we have only the strongest condemnation for the manner in which these grievances were expressed."

The judge said he had taken into account their personal backgrounds, their youth, lack of previous convictions and deterrence. He was satisfied that the men saw themselves as heroes and were totally unremorseful.

He also took into account the three years the men had spent in jail before and during the marathon trial. The sentences on the different charges would run concurrently in every case, he said.

Aaron Tshangama, who was a "mature man", was sentenced to 15 years on both murder charges. He had been acquitted of terrorism. All nine of the other men were sentenced to

five years on the terrorism charge.

Christopher Sparanyi, who was a "cripple and easily influenced", was sentenced to seven years for murder. Morgan Makubala, who "played a leading role in the events", was sentenced to 15 years on both murder charges. Peter Kube, who told the crowd to arm themselves with stones, was sentenced to 18 years on both murder charges.

Alton Sabuwa, who played a less important role, was sentenced to 12 years on one murder charge. Johannes Hlapo, who had been "particularly cruel and callous" towards Mr Jansen, was sentenced to 20 years on two murder charges. Jeffrey Baardman, who was "easily influenced and immature", was sentenced to 10 years on one murder charge.

'Evil'

Vuysile Diba, a "natural leader of high intelligence", was sentenced to 15 years on one murder charge. Raymond Mapondo, an "evil young man" who had stabbed the "helpless" Mr Jansen, was sentenced to 20 years on two murder charges. Phillip Nonygwana, who was "vulnerable to emotional stress", was sentenced to 10 years on two murder charges.

Counsel for the defence applied for leave to appeal for all the men. Mr Justice Williamson will give judgment on this point today.

The two assessors were Mr CH van Gend and Mr GH Titterton. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank Bernadt and Joffe, appeared for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr TL Skweyiya, instructed by Omar, Vassen and Co, appeared for the other men.

A CROWD, at some stages several hundred strong, marched through the City centre yesterday after the Mpetha terror trial had ended.

The march, the fifth since the trial started, was closely monitored by many police who directed it but made no arrests.

A large crowd gathered outside the Supreme Court before the case was due to start at 10am. People entering were frisked in the presence of police. Dog Squad members were on duty outside.

The court was packed with about 200 people, who were quiet throughout the hour-long sentencing.

As the judge left court, the convicted men gave black power salutes and shouted.

The crowd sang freedom songs while the men filed out. Outside the court, many chanted and some began walking away singing but they were warned to disperse by a police officer using a loud-hailer.

They then gathered on the steps of the court building. About 20 minutes later, a van containing the sentenced men drove off. The men yelled out and their shouts were echoed by the crowd which then marched into Burg Street.

Police vans directed the march into Longmarket Street, and police closed roads so that the crowd could move unimpeded. The people marched to the railway station where they sang for some minutes before dispersing.

The ANC's changing image

LONDON — The African National Congress's recent Pretoria car bomb and the visit of its president-general, Oliver Tambo, to China earlier this month, have set South African diplomatic and exile circles buzzing with talk of a possible change in ANC military tactics and deflections in its foreign alignment.

The fundamental question supposed pundits on South Africa still dread, however, is quite simply. "How long will white rule last?"

Wise ones fudge the answer. South Africa's military colossus, it's still vibrant economy and vast powers of population control are second to none in Africa.

The need to expand and modernise the economy is sure to bring more and more blacks into the heart of economic and political life, but maybe over a period of at least a generation.

And yet, bearing in mind the sort of explosion that overthrew the Shah, there is a nagging feeling that if and when the smouldering anger of the black millions is cleverly stoked up and catches alight, the place could go up in smoke remarkably quickly.

and multi-racial labour movement which, partly as a result of reforms enacted by the Prime Minister, PW Botha, has expanded fast, but so far without much ANC direction, if any. Indeed the ANC's own trade union affiliate was slow to acknowledge the potential of legal trade unions.

DEBATE

The ANC's tactical and ideological debate

has sharpened since the exodus of thousands of angry young blacks from Soweto after the riots of 1976. These more recent exiles were more confident, more impatient and much more numerous than earlier ones.

The ANC has long been subject to black nationalist pressure for a more "exclusivist" (blacks-only) approach, as adopted after 1960 by the breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress and by

black consciousness leaders after 1976. Such pressure is often directed against the South African Communist Party, which plays a significant part within the ANC.

It has recently been surmised that the ANC leadership may try to restore a more traditionalist black African image. Oliver Tambo, a practising Christian, has attempted to keep the ANC a broad non-sectarian

movement, though it has moved far to the left from its reformism of 30 years ago.

It will probably stay highly centralised, methodical, clandestine, cautious, and perhaps with that tendency towards the doctrinaire that afflicts most exile movements. Its ability to remain a broad church, rather than become a purely revolutionary movement strongly influenced by

the SACP, will be tested.

As the South African regime comes under pressure to make concessions and gradually to share power, the true nature of the ANC as a potential negotiator will come under scrutiny.

The balance of power within it is now something of a mystery, but it would be a mistake for the West to view the ANC as pro-Soviet through and through.



PRACTISING CHRISTIAN: Oliver Tambo.

Tactically the ANC has been cautious. It eschews romantic notions of a popular uprising — in the near future, at any rate. But its tactics may be changing.

ILLEGAL

Before it became illegal, going underground in 1960, the leadership was gradualist, even pacifist. But in the 1960s the ANC began to advocate armed struggle, even though it has generally aimed at economic and specifically military targets. Despite last month's Pretoria car bomb, the policy of avoiding random terror probably still prevails.

At the same time, ANC cells and arms stockpiles are steadily building up in both towns and country. Military activity has increased noticeably though not spectacularly.

The number of trained guerrillas has leapt, perhaps to as many as 10 000. Shipping across the Botswana border, or into Lesotho and Mozambique, most young black recruits are flown to Zambia, where the ANC has its secretariat.

Soon afterwards they go either to Tanzania for civilian training or to Angola, which in the past few years has taken over from Tanzania as the sole large-scale base for military training, although some specialists go to Eastern Europe and The Soviet Union. Another key area of infiltration is the black

Fight for civic vote to continue

Staff Reporters

COLOURED leaders said today they would continue to fight for the right to have direct representation on local authorities, despite the insistence by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that coloured ratepayers would not be allowed direct representation on the Cape Town City Council.

Mr David Curry, chairman of the Labour Party, said that ultimately integration would be inevitable and "it is unthinkable that while we all assist in the economy in Cape Town, coloured people, Asians and blacks should be limited to representation in their own areas".

And the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Dr Richard van der Ross, said that while it was clear Mr Heunis was only reiterating Government policy, it was time the Government listened to what the people were saying.

SUSPICIOUS

"There are many people who would like to cooperate with the Government but are suspicious of being used," he said.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said Mr Heunis's response was "very predictable".

"It should come as no surprise to those who knew from the outset that the Government had no intention whatsoever of giving direct political representation to coloured people, Asians or blacks on any tier of government on an equal basis with whites," he said.

"Those who talk about breakthroughs and steps in the right direction are indulging in wishful thinking rather than responding to any hard evidence provided by the Government."

Mr Heunis has not only made it clear that col-

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

ARGUS 29/6/83
Vote row

oured people and Asians will not get the municipal vote in Cape Town, but has rapped the council for approaching him on the matter, according to The Argus Municipal Reporter.

A delegation from the council met Mr Heunis — at his invitation — on June 20 after the council had sent him a memorandum on certain aspects of the Promotion of Local Government Bill.

Mr Heunis told the deputation that it placed him in a difficult position if individual municipalities approached him on general municipal matters which had been dealt with, and, in the case of the Bill, had been accepted by the United Municipal Executive.

Referring to the council's suggestion of open representation on the council, he said "this could not be considered as it was contrary to the current Government policy".

NO CONFIDENCE

According to a report from the executive committee, the council delegates made it clear that a large proportion of the Cape Town community had no confidence in the management committee system and that plans for reform had to take this into account.

Mr Heunis said the Government was still investigating methods to determine how communities would request autonomous local government status or receive it.

Mr Norman Osburn, chairman of the council's constitutional committee and a member of the delegation who met Mr Heunis, said today he was "considerably disappointed" by the Government's attitude.

He said: "We believe that Cape Town merits special treatment because of its well-known traditions.

"Every person who contributes directly or indirectly to the municipal coffers should have a say in running the city."

He said the council would continue to press its case at every opportunity.

Inkatha slams 'racist' reform

29/6/83

Soweto

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CHIEF Gatscha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has called on Inkatha to fight South African Government attempts to include black local authorities in the new constitution.

He further urged the KwaZulu government to spell out alternatives to the proposed tricameral arrangements once these were laid before Parliament.

Addressing the ninth annual conference of Inkatha in Ulundi at the weekend Chief Buthelezi said Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, intended to proceed with the reconstitution of black local authorities and hoped for elections to support it as early as September.

Fighting this development should be raised to the highest level of priority, he told delegates.

"The local authority systems which Dr Koornhof has said he is going to introduce are in fact extensions of the racist machinery first heralded by the President's

Council and later confirmed in the tricameral arrangement," Chief Buthelezi said.

KwaZulu's Chief Minister said those who participated in the newly-perceived black city councils would gain influence at the expense of power. He condemned those who sought influence for their own selfish ends and said Inkatha would seek to eliminate them from its ranks.

"I believe that participation in black local authority structures linked through the political system, may prove to be as treacherous as was the Labour Party's decision to accept a role within the new constitution innovations," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said all races were inextricably bound up together in Natal and any government step to alter provincial administrative or local authority structures affected black and white alike. There was thus an immediate need to establish a think tank to explore every avenue of opposition and resistance to these measures.

More importantly, he said, black South

Africa should not reject the tricameral arrangement negatively. It must spell out alternatives.

Once the final outcome of the constitutional developments were known, it was vital that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly be called into session to debate them and then write an alternative for South Africa's constitutional future based on the realities which would emerge in time to come.

A black initiative to reconstitution should be one of "a non-racist response to the deeply offensive racism contained in the Prime Minister's constitutional proposals", Chief Buthelezi said.

To this end he urged Inkatha to make a concerted national effort to professionalise the administrative and political development of the movement.

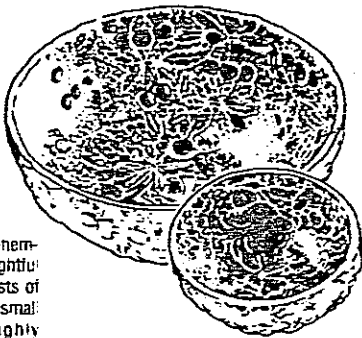
"It would be utterly useless for us to have the right sentiments and not the basic competence to translate those sentiments into effective action."

TAKE A 'BEE-LINE' TO

DION

GREATEST SELECTION CUTWARE

**7-PIECE
CHERRY
DESIGN
FRUIT
SETS**



Hand made of finest Bohemian crystal, in a delightful cherry design. Set consists of a large fruit bowl and 6 small bowls. Makes a highly acceptable gift.

Large: 21.5 cm
Small: 12 cm

DION'S
LOW PRICE

19⁸⁸

**20-Piece
STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERY
DINNER SERVICE**

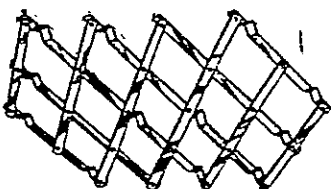
- 4 Dinner plates
- 4 Side plates
- 4 Soup bowls
- 4 Cups & saucers



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Pottery

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LOW
PRICE

29⁸⁸



EXPANDABLE

Parliament and Politics

Row over 'apartheid trials'

CAPE TIMES
30/6/83

Political Staff
TEMPERS flared in Parliament last night on the eve of the adjournment after allegations that government policy was a crime against humanity.

Mr John Malcomess (PFP Port Elizabeth Central) sparked the row when he predicted that like the Nuremberg Trials which followed World War II and the Nazi atrocities, South Africa might one day have to witness apartheid trials.

He charged that the Cabinet could not fully escape blame for the May 20 bomb blast in Pretoria which claimed 19 lives and injured more than 200 people.

He said the question must be asked "what turns a young man into a terrorist".

'Recruiting'

He asked what ministerial action finally decided the men responsible for the horror of the Pretoria atrocity to commit the crime.

The Cabinet should ask themselves whether each and every one of them was not guilty of recruiting a terrorist.

"If you answer yes then you share the responsibility for the death toll in Pretoria," said Mr Malcomess.

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Pietie du Plessis, amid one of the session's most heated de-

bates, accused Mr Malcomess of playing into the hands of anti-South Africans like Colonel Gadaffi of Libya, the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP).

He was asked by the Speaker to withdraw the remark that Mr Malcomess was a follower of the ANC and SACP.

Challenge

He challenged the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, to tell the House whether he considered government policy as a crime against humanity. Dr Slabbert indicated he would reply to the question today.

But the Conservative Party's nominated MP, Mr Louis Theunissen, rounded on the PFP, saying the policy of apartheid was a policy of liberation.

Mr Du Plessis charged that the allegation would be used against South Africa through "the length and breadth of the world".

He said that far from being a crime against humanity government policy was an honest attempt to meet the aspirations of all people.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said certain aspects of government policy formed a crime against humanity. She listed the 200 000 people jailed for pass offences while looking for work

Probe into colour-bar acts

Political Correspondent
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— A parliamentary select committee is to consider whether the anti-miscegenation provisions of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act should be amended.

other laws connected with them.

He said these terms had been agreed with the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the Conservative Party and the New Republic Party. All opposition parties had, however, retained the right to

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CAPE TIMES 30/8/83

Labour reacts to vote ruling

By JANE ARBOUS

THE Labour Party does not accept "as final" the refusal by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to allow coloured people direct representation on existing local authorities.

Labour Party chairman Mr David Curry said yesterday that the Party would also not accept separate coloured municipalities — a possible government option in terms of the new Local Government Affairs Bill.

'Fraudulent'

However, coloured civic leaders from Atlantis to Schotsche Kloof said Mr Heunis' latest views underlined the "fraudulent" new dispensation and said there was nothing in it for those who wanted to participate in local government.

Mr Curry said that direct representation for all races was "inevitable" and economic realities would force the government to bow to a new system of local government.

Reacting to a statement by Mr Heunis that he would not consider a Cape Town City Council proposal for a common voters roll and direct representation, Mr Curry said Mr Heunis was speaking in terms of "current" government policy.

If separate coloured municipalities were created, they would have to be subsidized. Would whites be prepared to pay the extra rates, Mr Curry asked.

It was unthinkable that while "we all assist in the economy of Cape Town, coloured people, Asians, and blacks, should be limited to re-

presentation in their own areas"

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, the chairman of the civic umbrella organization which is still discussing the implications of the Bill — the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee — said a municipal franchise on the basis of colour was unacceptable.

The Local Government Affairs Bill has also caused a split in opinion within the Association of Cape Management Committees.

A spokesman for management committees in the Peninsula said yesterday that the region had rejected the Bill and its proposals at the association's congress last week.

However, the Peninsula representatives were outvoted by "the plattelanders led by Mr Curry", who is president of the association.

'Prevail' in time

The deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Council, Mr Dick Friedlander, said he hoped the council's views on direct representation for all races would prevail "in time".

The council believed that the system of coloured councillors on the council would work as well as it did before 1972 when government legislation removed direct representation.

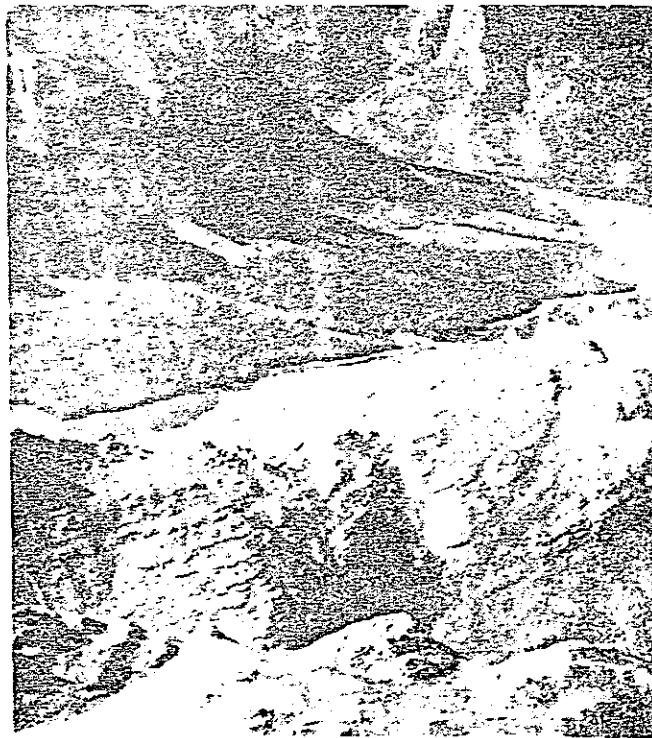
Apart from the voting issue, the council is perturbed over the implications of the Bill and the proposed co-ordinating council as a central advisory authority for local government functions, namely that it conflicts with the government's declared policy of promoting devolution of power and self-determination of local authorities.



Incorrect captions appeared under aerial photographs of flooded areas and full dams in the Boland. The caption on the front page — of a flooded farm — wrongly said sources of water, was in the background, and the Voelvlei and the flooded Berg River, on an inside that at Wemmershoek. Aerial photographs of the Photographer Dan Bosman on Tuesday, after the

Above: Voelvlei, near Tulbagh —

Below: Wemmershoek Dam near Fran



Housing situation meeting

Municipal Reporter

THE housing shortage in the Western Cape has become so serious that the Cape Town City Council has taken the unprecedented step of

town topic

The original community...
Phone Dienke Brink at 41 3361
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THE FILM "GREASE" will be s...
Pay Centre, Claremont, today a...
and all are welcome

A CELEBRATION OF WOMEN...
tion of works by women artis...
Kingdom, is on at Gallery 709

HOLLAND HOUSE

30/6/83
D. Bispath
11A
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Surgeon says accused told of an assault

ZWELITSHA — An acting district surgeon told the Supreme Court yesterday that one of the accused persons in the terrorism act trial told him he had been assaulted when he examined him while he was a detainee

Dr Leon Albert of East London was giving evidence in a trial-within-a-trial to determine the admissibility of alleged confessions.

Mr William Duna, Mr Dumisani Maninjwa, Mr Bayi Keye and Mr Luyanda Mayekiso, all of Mdantsane, have been charged with participating in terrorist activities, being members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training and possession of banned literature.

They have pleaded not guilty before Mr Chief Justice De Wet.

Dr Albert said Mr Maninjwa told him he had been hit on the face with an open hand. He noted slightly swollen orbits on his eyes which were red.

Asked by the defence if the signs were consistent with being hit on the face, he said it was possible.

Under cross-examination by the Attorney General, Mr W. F. Jurgens, he said the red eyes could be related to lack of sleep. He would have seen a cut lip if there was any and would have noted it down.

He said he had examined Mr Duna several times but saw no assault marks nor did he complain of assault.

Mr M. I. K. Moerane, for the defence, told the court that he had not had time to consult fully on

the doctors' reports because the South African prison authorities had refused the defence access to the medical records.

The men were detained in East London during their interrogation.

The Chief Justice said he had no say on the refusal because the prison authorities belonged to another country.

Mr Moerane also placed it on record that it was common cause that Dr Wingreen had examined one of the defence witnesses, Mr Siseko Vanyaza, at the Cambridge offices of the security police and had compiled a report. That report was nowhere to be found.

Both counsel for the defence and the State will argue today on the admissibility of the statements. — DDR.

Buthelezi in cheering Lebowa Assembly:

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

SESHEGO — The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was cheered in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly yesterday when he said the ANC had no mandate from the country's black community to use violence in the liberation struggle.

Dressed in colourful traditional attire, and wearing his distinctive necklace of lion claws, Chief Buthelezi also referred to Lebowa's Chief Minister Dr Cedric Phatudi as his elder brother.

He recalled the days of Sekhukune and Cetewayo when the two leaders of old shelved their differences to fight a common enemy.

It was the first time the leader of another black state had paid an official visit to the Lebowa assembly. Chief Buthelezi and Dr Phatudi hailed the event as historic.

Identifying apartheid as the common enemy, Chief Buthelezi spoke at length about black unity and the African National Congress, rejecting violence as a means to bring change in South Africa.

He said he had been repeated-

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No ANC
mandate
for force
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ly accused by ANC leaders of upsetting the applecart by speaking too often about non-violence, but he believed it was his democratic right to work for a new South Africa through recognised constituencies.

"The ANC has no mandate from the blacks within South Africa to pursue the liberation struggle through violent means," he said amid cheers.

Black unity did not mean the rejection of one's heritage, but blacks in this country stood together in their abhorrence of a system which denied them equal rights, he added.

"The struggle is not for an empty ideological victory. We also want to free our people from poverty and suffering. This poverty has been dramatised by the present countrywide drought," said the Chief.

He hinted at the possible use of the combined worker power of blacks to bring the country's economy to a halt, "in order to make the whites talk to us".

He added that in a racial war in South Africa "nobody will be the winners - there will only be ashes. We need the whites and they need us".

Chief Buthelezi also touched on the trend towards regarding disinvestment as a means of change. Rejecting such moves, he said the method was detrimental to all concerned.

"I do not criticise my brothers Robert Mugabe, Samora Machel and others for retaining their trade links with South Africa, because they recognise the realities of providing food and employment for their people," he said.

Chief Buthelezi called for a total rejection of the Government's proposed new constitutional deal, saying it was based on racism.

He believed blacks would reject the plan even if it included a fourth parliamentary chamber for blacks.

ANC claims blasts

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress yesterday claimed responsibility for the two bomb blasts that wrecked government offices at Roodepoort this week.

A brief statement sent to the Lusaka ANC office from the ANC chief representative in Dar-es-Salaam said units of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) carried out the sabo-

tage attack.

Two bombs went off five minutes apart, the first at 12.40am, in an unguarded building housing offices of the Internal Affairs Department in Roodepoort, 20km west of Johannesburg.

No-one was injured, but the blasts caused an estimated R100 000 damage, destroying a number of offices. — Sapa-AP.

Swaziland government snubs the ANC in favour of Pretoria

Five years after banishing the Pan Africanist Congress, Swaziland has neutralised the African National Congress in favour of a more lucrative and secure relationship with a white-ruled South Africa.

According to sources close to the ANC, increasingly close co-operation between the two governments has effectively eliminated the ANC's exile mission in Swaziland and infiltration through the kingdom had been made almost impossible.

The present nadir in the ANC's Swaziland government relationship (especially since the death of King Sobhuza II last year) and the kingdom's tough stance on guerillas operating from its territory represents the second major setback to exiled nationalist groups fighting white rule.

In 1978, Swaziland expelled more than 40 prominent PAC members, a move that significantly weakened the organisation's Southern African base. The sources pointed out, however, that the clampdown did not necessarily spell good news for South Africa.

They said it had helped strengthen the case of hardliners pushing the ANC to adopt a more effective weapon against National Party rule. Attacks like the recent Pretoria bomb blast would become the pat-

The black nationalist organisation is out of favour since King Sobhuza died, reports Patrick Bulger of The Star's Foreign News Service from Mbabane

tern, while symbols of western investment in South Africa would increasingly become targets, they said.

The past year has been an unqualified failure to ANC planners, who had counted on Swaziland playing a more prominent role in the subcontinental power struggle. Conversely, relations between South Africa and Swaziland have never been better, observers say.

"In terms of ANC strategy, Swaziland was very important until a year ago. It was convenient for guerillas coming from Maputo, its borders were largely unguarded and it was relatively easy to infiltrate into Natal and the Eastern Transvaal, said one observer, who receives reliable information from the ANC in Mozambique.

"The organised ANC infrastructure in Swaziland has been crippled. Although the South African community is a few thousand strong, the proportion involved in ANC activities is a handful, fewer than 30.

Recently, the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told The Times of Swaziland that South Africa would not launch a military

strike against Swaziland as the kingdom was taking active steps to curb the ANC.

Although observers discount the possibility of any written agreement between the two countries at this stage, they feel an agreement was probably reached during extensive negotiations over the transfer of land.

Although the clampdown began in earnest after the Maseru raid, observers see as significant a number of developments that actually preceded the renewed and more immediate threat of South African retaliation.

The most significant development that gave early warning that the kingdom intended shifting from its declared policy of neutrality in Southern Africa came when the ANC's chief representative, Mr Stanley Madzibela, was expelled. He has not been replaced.

Shortly afterwards, another prominent activist and regional head of the South African Council of Trade Unions, Mr Petrus Nzima, was killed by a car bomb near Manzini.

Without their two influential ex-

ecutives ANC guerillas came under increasing pressure as the judiciary began handing down stiffer sentences to refugees caught in possession of arms of war.

The ANC also suffered another serious setback when King Sobhuza died in August. Although the king had always been careful not to be seen giving active support to the organisation, he knew and respected its leadership and had sufficient status to often withstand South African pressure.

His death allowed a deeply conservative element within the Government to push through its revised hardline policy on the ANC in return for a more comfortable relationship with Pretoria.

Its hand was further strengthened by the Maseru raid, which sparked widescale arrests and deportations of ANC activists. The South African strike on Maputo was followed by yet another spate of arrests.

The firing of former Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini probably removed the last remaining influential ANC sympathiser within the Government.

Observers feel Swaziland will not go so far as actually banning the ANC from its soil and point to its standing within OAU and Third World circles as the reason.



King Sobhuza ... his death led to the formation of a more conservative government.

20/6/83
ANC in
UN bid
for radio

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B3C
Ray

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK — An African National Congress request for a powerful radio transmitter to beam at South Africa is to be circulated to all United Nations' agencies.
The decision was taken by a panel of the UN decolonisation committee, along with a recommendation that governments should also be handed a hefty inventory of communications equipment requested by the ANC.
The list includes smaller mobile transmitters, a large printing press, 20 portable projectors, 15 telex machines, 10 duplicating machines and five movie cameras.
The powerful transmitter was needed "for internal and international communications", the decolonisation committee's sub-committee on petitions, information, and assistance reported. It would be positioned in Southern Africa and operated by ANC personnel.
The printing press was needed for "large-scale production of educational and publicity material, for distribution both inside and outside South Africa," the committee stated.

Managers must run security

Pretoria Bureau

Many company managements are abdicating responsibility for security precautions within their operations, leaving this duty to security managers with little authority.

This was one of the messages to come across at a security conference held in Pretoria today.

Saambou Nasionale Bouvereniging's general manager, Mr Botha Strydom, said managements should create security awareness but many did not want to become directly involved.

They also did not want to pay for the necessary intensification of security measures, he said.

It was "vital that comprehensive security strategies be formulated by those at top managerial level. It should be clear to everyone in the organisation that senior management have given authority to those employees carrying out security functions".

Managements should also set up control committees to co-ordinate emergency activities, he said. Contingency plans for every building should be drawn up and all measures should be co-ordinated with the local civil defence network, he said.

The protection services adviser with Shell South Africa, Brigadier H Roos, said security managers were often treated just as "glorified office boys".

They should be senior employees with access to everyone in the company and the ability to negotiate, he said.

"The security manager must be readily acceptable to allow him to motivate at director level," Brigadier Roos said.

Blacks are the ANC's terror targets as well, says professor

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

THE TOLL OF VIOLENCE

INCIDENT	1979	1980	1981	1982
Attacks on police stations	2	2	3	2
Murder of policemen and witnesses	—	2	1	3
Attempted murder of policemen and witnesses	2	1	9	1
Murder of civilians	—	2	1	1
Attempted murder of civilians	—	—	2	—
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of railroads	6	4	10	6
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of government and public buildings	1	2	9	7
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of power installations	—	—	10	6
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of fuel depots	—	5	2	3
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of telecommunication installations	—	—	1	—
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of business properties	1	—	5	—
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of private properties	—	1	—	3
Attacks on defence force buildings	—	—	2	1
Sabotage and attempted sabotage of water pipelines	—	—	—	4
Armed robbery and attempted armed robbery	—	—	—	2
Total	12	19	55	39

Blacks in South Africa must realise that ANC military activity was also aimed at them, the director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, said today.

Addressing a security conference in Pretoria, Professor Hough said the ANC claimed it was multiracial and therefore that its activities were not aimed at whites as such.

He described the bomb blast in Pretoria on May 20 as a "deliberate and obvious act of indiscriminate terror".

Although the ANC claimed it had aimed at a military target, it was clear the organisation was now seeking to cause chaos and panic among civilians. Blacks could expect to be caught up in this.

Professor Hough gave a detailed analysis of acts of terrorism and sabotage in South Africa during the last four years (see graph), saying this seemed to demonstrate that in the past the ANC's policy involved only strategic and economic targets.

This had brought the movement a measure of external support, he said. Radical pressures within the ANC, however, were causing it to swing away from this approach, "to counter reform in South Africa".

"Terrorism is supposed to escalate to a point where — combined with other activities — it will cause the target government to collapse, if necessary by means of a final conventional war," Professor Hough said. The Geneva Convention, which the ANC claimed to subscribe to, provided a measure of legal protection for terrorists.

The alternative for South Africa was the stepping up of counter-insurgency. Reform in South Africa would not make the ANC disappear but could make it more difficult to infiltrate and recruit members, he said.

30/6/83

11A

Stew

2 tell court of ANC training

~~2/2/83~~ (11A) Star 30/6/83
Pretoria Correspondent

The 1976 Soweto unrest led him to join the African National Congress (ANC) to receive military training. — an alleged member of the movement told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday.

Mr Jacob Molefe (23) was appearing on a charge of high treason along with Mr Alpheus Zacharia Molotsi (28). Both men pleaded not guilty.

Magistrate Mr CS van Loggerenberg referred the case to the Pretoria Supreme Court, where Mr Molefe and Mr Molotsi will appear on September 19. They will remain in custody until then.

In explanation of plea Mr Molefe said he had

seen police shoot a nine-year-old boy between the eyes in 1976. He had then left the country to join the ANC. He admitted receiving military training in Angola between 1976 and 1982, and planning and preparing deeds of warfare against South Africa.

He denied knowledge of weapons such as bayonettes, AK-47 rifles, hand grenades and ammunition mentioned in the charge sheet.

Mr Molotsi said he had become dissatisfied with law and order in South Africa and had joined the ANC. He said he had received military training in the Soviet Union and Angola, but denied launching an armed attack on the South African Police on February 16 this year.

Some rebanned in terms of the new security Act

By JIMMY MATYU

A FORMER president of the Port Elizabeth branch of the outlawed Black People's Convention, Mr Bonisile Moki Cekisani, of Walmer township, was today rebanned for three years in terms of the new Internal Security Act.

According to his younger brother, Mr Vuyisile Cekisani, Mr Cekisani was picked up by the security police at his upholstery workshop in Korsten today.

Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, head of the security police in the Eastern Cape, today confirmed that another restriction order had been served on Mr Cekisani.

He added there was another trade unionist served locally with a new order but he could not recall who it was.

Two others who were rebanned this week were Mr Dumile Makanda, former president of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa

(Macwusa), and Mr Max Madlingozi, an official of Macwusa.

Both were still under two-year banning orders and the new orders are for three years.

In terms of the new order Mr Cekisani has to be indoors between 6pm and 6am, and is not to leave his home on public holidays or weekends.

He cannot attend gatherings, cannot enter educational institutions and cannot enter any other black township other than Walmer township.

A Sapa report says that many of the banning orders due to expire this weekend will be allowed to lapse, but Mrs Winnie Mandela will remain banned.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr L le Grange, confirmed in Pretoria yesterday that the banning order on Mrs Mandela had already been renewed under the new Internal Security Act.

IIA

E. Post 30/6/83

Montsisi at Azaso congress

Soweto town 30/6/83 (11A) ~~11A~~

FORMER president of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), Mr Sechaba Montsisi, recently released from Robben Island, will be among the main speakers at the third annual congress of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) to be held in Cape Town next week.

The congress, which will be opened by Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), will start on Sunday evening and will end on Thursday.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, former Soweto school teacher whose three-year banning order expired recently, will also deliver a paper at the congress.

Mr Montsisi, together with Mr Terror Lekota, former national organiser of the South African Students Organisation (Saso), and Dr Diliza Mji, former president of Saso, will participate in a panel discussion on the student movement in South Africa.

A prominent Durban advocate, Mr Zak Yacoob, will speak on the National Question. The theme of the congress will be "Education for Democracy".

Buses going to Cape Town will leave Khotso House at 6pm on Friday.

Cape Times 30/6/83 11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

Tears after release from jail

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

OSCAR MPETHA, 74, broke into tears and expressed total disbelief when released from Pollsmoor Prison on R1 bail yesterday, after spending nearly three years in jail.

Mpetha was granted the nominal bail yesterday pending an appeal against his sentence of five years' jail on a charge of terrorism. He and 10 young men were sentenced on Tuesday.

"I can't believe it," Mpetha said, gazing at the bail receipt held by his attorney, Mr Brian Lutzno. "I have spent three years in jail and have been convicted and sentenced to five years, and now I get R1 bail."

Tears streamed down his face as he greeted the large crowd of family and friends who met him outside the gates of the prison.

"When they told me, I

thought they were fooling me," he said. "When I had fetched my parcels from the cell and started signing forms, then I began to believe that I was going home.

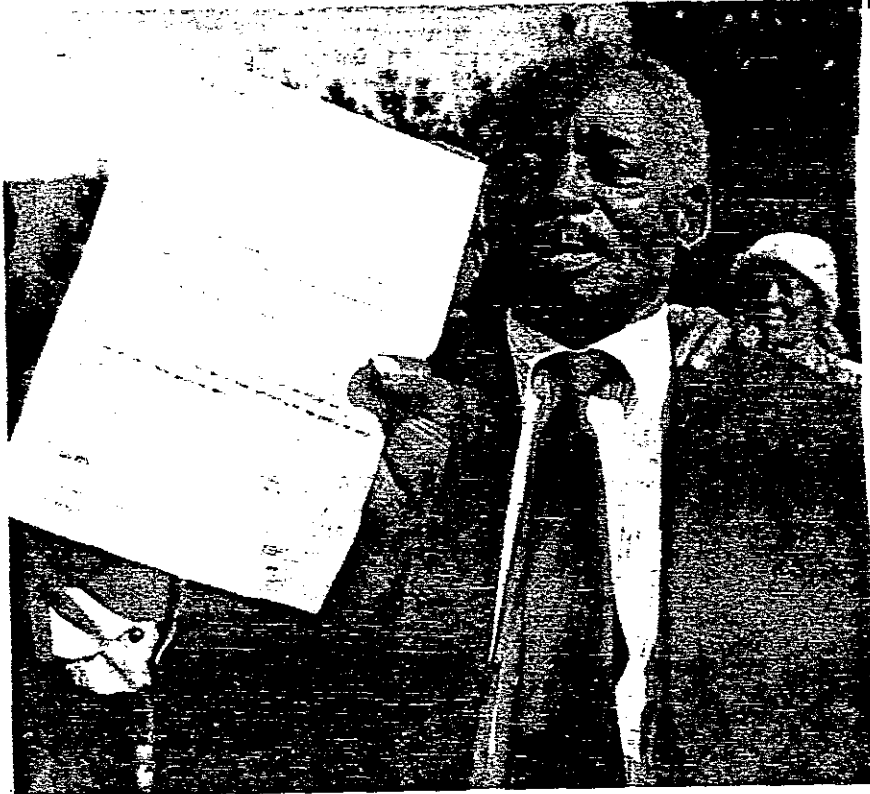
"I really thought they would give me bail of about R500 000 just to stop me getting out. Now I'm really going home after three years."

When he finished speaking, the crowd broke into song. Mpetha gazed around at mem-

bers of the crowd and wiped the tears from his cheeks. "I have been wondering who would be here to meet me."

Mpetha, who has diabetes, will be admitted to hospital on Friday to have his left leg amputated.

As Mr Lutzno prepared to drive Mpetha home, a police car drove up at speed. A police captain asked the meaning of "this gathering" and told the people to disperse.



Oscar Mpetha, who was released on R1 bail yesterday pending an appeal against his five-year jail sentence, holds up his bail form outside Pollsmoor prison where he was greeted by friends and family. Cape Times Newscolour: Ivor Markman

Most blacks 'reject new Govt proposals'

Mercury Reporter

30/6/83

THE majority of black South Africans rejected the Government's new constitutional proposals because 'its first guiding principle is racism'.

This was said by Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Gatsha Buthelezi, in his address to the Lebowa Legislative Assembly yesterday.

'We reject it because we or anybody else could not build a secure future on racist foundations. We reject it in part and in total

and even if we were offered a fourth chamber we would refuse to participate in it,' Chief Buthelezi said.

In his address, called 'black hope, courage and responsibility in the struggle for liberation', Chief Buthelezi condemned violence as the main vehicle for bringing about changes.

'We hope for a better future and we pursue that better future with courage and we do so with responsibility.'

Call convention or face violence, Inkatha warns PM

Own Correspondent

30/6/83

DURBAN — Inkatha has called on the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, seriously to reconsider calling a national convention to work out a new constitution for South Africa.

In a series of resolutions adopted this week, the general conference of Inkatha endorsed the warning by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of Inkatha and chief minister of kwaZulu, that the only alternative to such a convention was an escalation of violence.

The movement rejected Mr Botha's constitutional proposals outright and reiterated its firm belief in an undivided South Africa.

"Even at this late hour the Prime Minister should seriously reconsider his options and make preparations for the calling of such a convention," one resolution said.

Inkatha confirmed its strategy of non-violence — "in spite of the apparent hopelessness of the situation" — and urged its members to avoid despair.

It further rejected with conviction "fraudulent pseudo-independence" for kwaZulu and condemned the coloured Labour Party's participation in the Government's tri-cameral arrangements which had weakened the struggle of the South African black alliance.

The general conference endorsed Chief Buthelezi's call for the incorporation of Lamontville into kwaZulu and his plea to Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, for a total freeze on township rent hikes at a time of economic recession.

"Responsibility for the destabilisation of black society following these rent hikes must be laid squarely on the pig-headedness of the administration boards," it said.

It resolved that the first Sunday of every July be set aside as a national day of prayer dedicated to peaceful liberation.

CAPL. Tents 30/6/83

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Mpetha, nine others given leave to appeal

Supreme Court Reporter OSCAR MPETHA, 74, who was recently convicted of terrorism, was yesterday granted leave to appeal against his five-year sentence by a Supreme Court judge and released on R1 bail.

Mr Justice Williamson also granted nine other young men leave to appeal against their five-year sentences on the same charge. They are Christopher Sparanyi, Morgan Makubala, Peter Kube, Alton Sabuwa, Johannes Hlapo, Jeffrey Baardman, Vuysile Diba, Raymond Mapondo and Phillip Nonygwana.

A tenth convicted man, Aaron Tshangama, was acquitted of terrorism and was not affected.

Refused

Mr Justice Williamson refused leave to appeal against the convictions of all the men. He also refused leave to appeal against the sentences of the 10 young men convicted of murder. Their sentences on the murder charge are to run concurrently with those on the terrorism charge.

Granting leave to appeal against the sentence on the terrorism charge — which carries a five-year minimum sentence — Mr Justice

Williamson said he would have preferred to give Mpetha a wholly suspended sentence and the other young men sentences of three years.

He said it was possible that an Appeal Court might come to a different decision over whether the men should have been sentenced in terms of the Terrorism Act — now repealed — or the existing Internal Security Act, which did not carry a minimum sentence. The men were charged under the Terrorism Act.

This was a difficult legal argument in which Mr I Farlam, SC, had argued that the Internal Security Act was, in effect, an amendment of the repealed act and could therefore be used to sentence the men.

“This matter should be authoritatively settled by the highest court

Mr C J van Wyk, for the State, did not oppose Mpetha's bail application. Mr Justice Williamson said he was setting only a nominal amount as bail as there was “no question” of his running away.

Mr Farlam was assisted by Mr J Whitehead and instructed by Frank Bernadt and Joffe. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya, instructed by Omar Vassen and Co., appeared for the other men.

In the last lonely hour

12/16/83

...the only father...
...being choked...
...entering the houses...
...through the windows...
...must be decided to fight...
...for the liberation of the...
...person...
...went to Swa...
...was so hardened, I...
...should be killed. But I was...
...taught by the ANC that...
...the whites and blacks in...
...South Africa have got to...
...live together, that was...
...the greatest thing I re-...
...ceived in the ANC teach-...
...ing," he said.

It was a moment filled with sadness — the prayer meeting at 4 am for the three men who were about to face the gallows.
The meeting was, in the words of one of the speakers, to pledge solidarity with the three men and "to be with them in their last hour."
Unprecedented world-wide appeals for clemency had failed to persuade the State President to reprieve the men — Thabo Motaung, Simon Mogerane and Jerry Mosojoi.

All hope disappeared when Mr Justice Curlewis refused a last-minute application for a stay of execution.

They were to be executed at 9 am. An hour earlier people started arriving at Durban's St Anthony's Hall in Centenary Road.

The meeting, called by a hastily-arranged Committee for Clemency, with the backing of organisations like the United Democratic Front, Detainees Support Committee, Diakonia and student and worker organisations, was attended mainly by black people, most students, with a handful of whites.

Students had spent the night sitting in a circle, with a big banner of the Freedom Charter in the middle, and defiant slogans on the wall. They sang and chanted slogans throughout the night.

"Hamba Kahle Mkhonto" (Go well, Mkhonto), one of the slogans on the wall read.

The atmosphere during the night was carnival and, some would say, boisterous. But as the hour approached and the grim reality of the men's execution hit home, the atmosphere became subdued.

At 4.45, the people filed out singing, with flags and posters aloft, slowly making their way to the church hall for the service. And then church bells tolled.

People wiped their eyes and noses.

The singing changed to humming... some men mumbled.

Whether it was poetry, prayer or praise was hard to tell.

Yet people groped for handkerchiefs.

The Reverend Mcebisi Xandu, conducting the service, said the three

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
He asked God "Save us from this misery"
The men, he said, came back into the country to protest against a system that made them "non-beings". People resorted to violence after all avenues to bring about change through peaceful means had been closed to them, he said.

"I'm certain they happily gave their lives in the knowledge that through their deaths would come the freedom of their people."

He warned the Government "The writing is on the wall. The days of this kingdom (apartheid) are numbered."

Pamphlets distributed during the service said it was ironic the three "patriots" would be hanged with murderers when they were sentenced to

death for "political not criminal" offences.
"In the eyes of the oppressed, this execution will be viewed in the same light as the killing of innocent refugees in Maseru and Matola," the pamphlet said.
Church bells tolled again, and the congregation rose to sing Nkosi Sikelele Afrika and many of the voices faltered.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, overcome by grief, was helped from the hall by a white woman.

A march by Medical School students from the service to the university was broken up by police and traffic officers in Sydney Road. About 23 students were arrested. Police said they were investigating charges under the Internal Security Act.

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Marcus Motaung, weeps on Thursday for his

NO LIVED NOT KILL

October, under the ANC

the children g. near son of a ber. left military

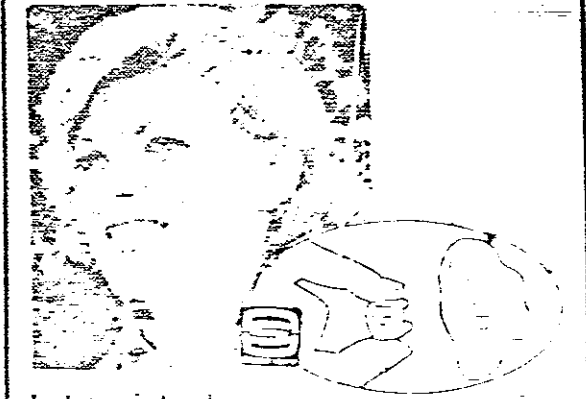
in the at- at Se-

burg He threw a grenade at the home of a policeman in Malelane in April 1980.

They said they were tortured before coming to trial. They were in solitary confinement, varying from 141 days for Tsotsobe to 252 days for Shabangu.

In mitigation, they said Swetsi of June 1979 had

NATAL HEARING AIDS



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NATAL HEARING AIDS

THE PEOPLE UNITED BUILDING

A GRIM WARNING . . . ANC armed struggle will intensify after shake-up

By Howard Barrell



"AWAKING on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth." So said Sol Plaatje, author and first secretary general of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1916 of the Natives Land Act passed three years earlier.

The ANC, which had come into being in 1912 as a sort of "Parliament" of Africans to oppose this Act and other

moves by the white government, said: "The real desire of the white population is to reduce by gradual process and artificial means the Bantu people as a race to the status of permanent labourers or subordinates for all purposes and for all times . . . To limit all opportunities for their economic improvement and independence."

Since then, the list and scale of discriminatory laws against Blacks have

grown by leaps and bounds, culminating in the Orderly Movement And Settlement of Black Persons' Bill now before Parliament.

So, too, has black determination grown to end, and reverse, this process — witnessed today by news that the outlawed ANC has undergone a major organisational revamp aimed at a more intensive prosecution of what is now its revolutionary war.

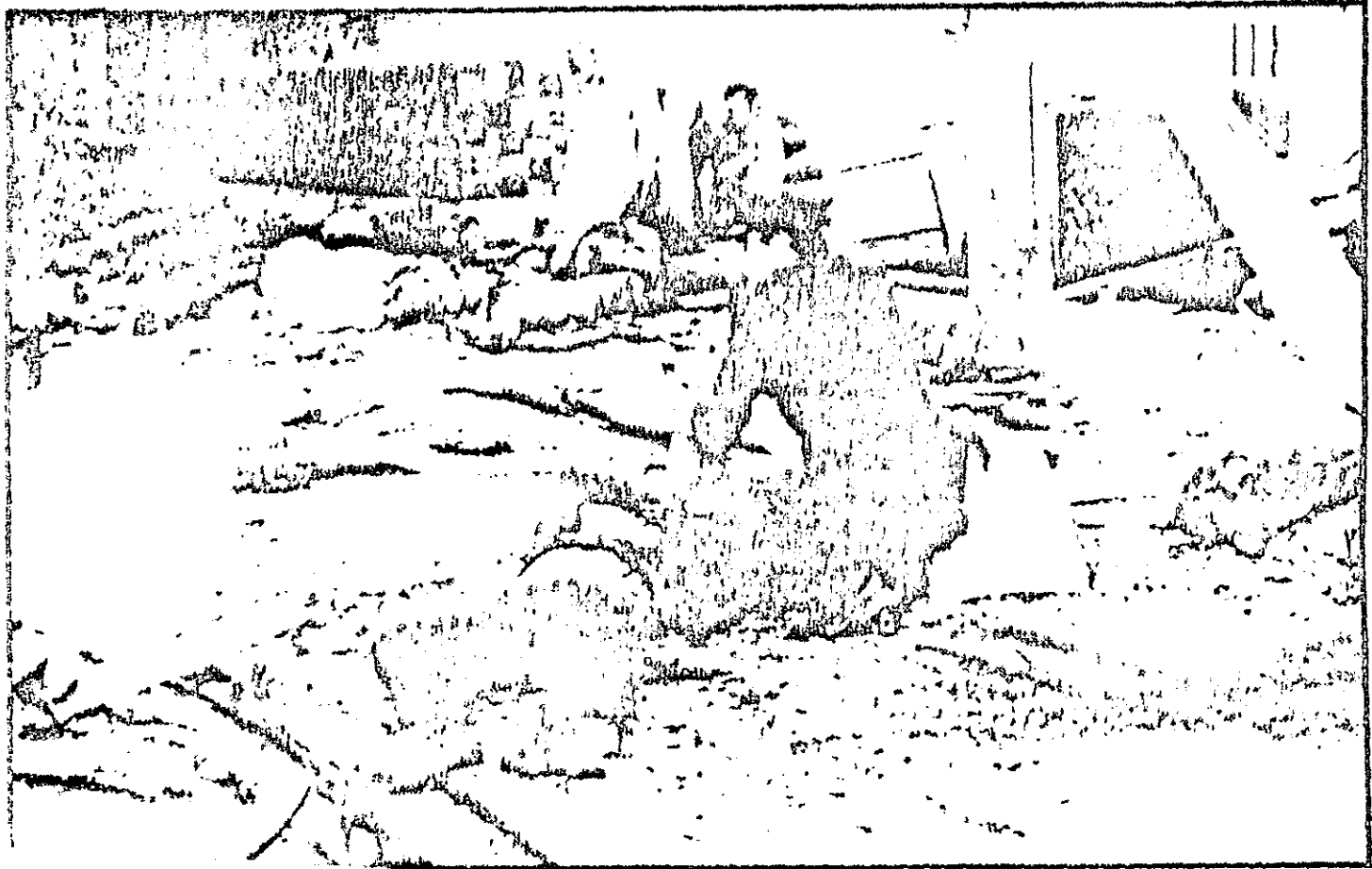
SOUTH Africa can look on an intensification of the NC's armed struggle within the country, following a reported streamlining of the organisation. Sources in the front-line states have said the NC's External Mission has both been revamped and extended, giving new power to its military arm, Inkhonto we Sizwe.

The changes immediately preceded the massive Pretoria bomb blast.

In one development, the South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions have handed decision-making on the conduct of the black nationalist war to the ANC's structure under the new arrangement.

This is a marginal shift in the alliance in which the leadership of the ANC has always been recognised.

The ANC has also decided to place new emphasis on propaganda and a new post, that of publicity secretary, has been created and filled by Thabo Mbeki



The armed struggle will be stepped up, warn

S. Tribune 19/6/83 11A

11A (207) City News
18/7/83

MIGRANTS GET COUNCIL VOTE

By KHULU SIBIYA

THOUSANDS of migrant labourers from the homelands will be allowed to vote in the forthcoming Soweto Community Council elections - provided they have been in the prescribed area for 12 months.

This was revealed yesterday by a spokesman for the Department of Co-Operation and Development, Mr J Oosthuizen.

He said unlike the previous elections, which were held in

1978, contract workers from the homelands would be eligible to vote in all Community Council elections throughout the country in November this year.

This, he said, will include workers from the independent states like Venda, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, provided they can prove that they have been in the council area for 12 months or more.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, said Azapo was committed to boycotting the elections.

"Why do they refuse people permanent rights in an urban area, and at the same time allow them to vote? The Government is actually practising double standards," Mr Mkhabela said.

Meanwhile the Anti-Community Council Committee, formed a month ago to oppose the elections, has called for a mass meeting of all Soweto residents to form a strategy to boycott the elections.

The meeting will be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday at 1pm and will be addressed by Dr Nthato Motlana, among others.

LP leader to honour vote of his people

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JOHANNESBURG — The Labour Party would not participate in the proposed tricameral Parliament if half the coloured people voted against the new constitution in a referendum, the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, pledged here.

At the same time he reaffirmed his belief that the Labour Party could do more for the coloured people by participating than by boycotting the new deal.

Mr Hendrickse's pledge to honour the wishes of the coloured people in a referendum follows a similar assurance by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Speaking in Parliament, Mr Botha said he would respect a "No" vote by whites in the coming referendum and would not proceed with the new constitutional changes if a majority opposed them.

No date has been set for either a white or a coloured referendum, but observers believe that they may be

held in November.

The Government agreed earlier this year to referendums being held in the white, coloured and Indian communities.

The Labour Party's stand means that a major political stalemate could arise if whites support the constitution, but a majority of coloureds vote against it.

Addressing the South African Institute of Race Relations conference last night, Mr Hendrickse defended the Labour Party's decision to participate in the planned tricameral Parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

But he said the Labour Party would refrain from filling seats in the coloured chamber of the "new look" Parliament if half of the coloured people voted against its participation.

The Labour Party stood for one-man, one-vote in a unitary nation, but believed it could do more by participating in the proposed Parliament than by standing on

the sidelines, he said.

The move was an attempt to become part of the "dismantling of apartheid", Mr Hendrickse said. Participation would give the party greater political leverage.

"Mr P W Botha is going to need me and the Labour Party more than ever before — he can't afford to have the whole thing collapse," he said.

Mr Hendrickse asserted that the Labour Party, in its politics of persuasion, had "realised power as a constituent of the black community". Its stand had been made in the light of the coloured community's affinity to both the black and white groups, he said.

Despite his statements of concern for the voteless black majority, Mr Hendrickse drew criticism from the floor that the Labour Party had betrayed its allies in the Black Alliance. He did not respond to the accusation. — Sapa

Reform strips blacks of status, says writer

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Denationalisation of black South Africans is as much part of constitutional change as the three-chamber Parliament, from which blacks have not been merely omitted but deliberately excluded, journalist John Kane-Berman argues.

He put this view to the annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg last night.

Mr Kane-Berman highlighted the fact that eight million blacks in the four independent

homelands had already been deprived of South African citizenship without any say in the matter.

He pointed out that this fundamentally changed the question of their franchise. "Whites are no longer just saying 'No' to blacks' request to vote but are saying they haven't the right even to make this request."

He added: "The upshot of the twin processes (of denationalisation and parliamentary change) is a huge new stumbling block — black foreigners — in the path of a common society."

The constitutional plan could not even be regarded as a starting point for those who believed in a non-racial South Africa, Mr Kane-Berman asserted.

It undermined the goals of common citizenship, elimination of racial discrimination and a say for all in the central political institutions of the country "not by default, but consciously".

"It has no more legitimacy than Soviet rule by proxy in Poland," he said.

Mr Kane-Berman dismissed as irrelevant the view that the Nationalists had a hidden political agenda which included a fourth chamber for selected blacks.

He pointed out that if those to be accommodated in the fourth chamber were people linked with homelands which refused independence it was likely they would also refuse parliamentary privileges denied to other blacks.

Mr Kane-Berman acknowledged that the Government had created a significant division between "urban blacks" and homeland dwellers.

He warned liberal opinion against colluding with this division by agitating for the inclusion of only urban blacks in the central political structure.

Labour won't fill seats if most say no — Hendrickse

The Labour Party would refrain from filling seats in the coloured chamber of the new-look Parliament if 50 percent of the coloured people voted against it taking part, party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse pledged in Johannesburg last night.

His promise came during discussion after his address to the South African Institute of Race Relations conference.

Mr Hendrickse defended Labour's decision, reached at Eshowe in January, to take part in the planned tricameral Parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

He said Labour stood for one-man-one-vote in a unitary nation but believed it could do more by taking part in the proposed Parliament than by standing on the sidelines.

The move was an attempt to become part of the "dismantling of apartheid", Mr Hendrickse said. Labour believed that by taking part it would have

greater political leverage. "Mr P W Botha is going to need me and the Labour Party more than ever before — he can't afford to have the whole thing collapse"

Mr Hendrickse said that Labour, in its politics of persuasion, had "realised power as a constituent of the black community". Its stand had been made in the light of the community's affinity to both the black and white groups.

Despite his statements of concern for the voteless black majority, Mr Hendrickse drew criticism from the floor that Labour had betrayed its allies in the Black Alliance. He did not respond to the charge.

The Labour leader attacked proponents of the Freedom Charter as taking an inherently ethnic approach. This and his criticism of efforts to mobilise outside State-created bodies evoked heated reaction from Indian Congress members.

the Freedom Charter as the constitution of the militant black opposition and of attempting to usurp the ANC's role as the premier organisation in "the struggle" against Pretoria's policies.

This would seem to be the role of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness (BC) heirs — specifically, those at the helm of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). They led the formation of the National Forum Committee at Hammanskraal on June 12 to produce an alternative blueprint which they called the "Manifesto of the Azanian People."

The cudgels were quickly taken up by Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, who castigated "ideologically lost political bandits" for diverting the struggle by rejecting the Freedom Charter and seeking to impose their own manifesto on the people.

Anniversary

Obviously aimed at the Forum, her attack came on the eve of the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the "congress of the people" in at Kliptown on June 28 1955. Among the Congress Alliance signatories of the charter were the ANC (banned in 1960) and the now-revived Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC).

In May the TIC formed the United Democratic Front (UDF), the first umbrella body (the Forum is the second) against government's constitutional plans. UDF members are dedicated to the roughly social-democratic Charter which Forum opponents see as middle class, white-inspired and too preoccupied with "ethnicity."

Some civic, trades union, church and student bodies have participated in both the UDF and the Forum. Where they, and especially the trade unions, finally stand will be important in SA's political evolution. However, the SA Allied Workers Union and the

General and Allied Workers Union, recently joined the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) in rejecting the Forum manifesto. They reiterated their "uncompromising commitment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the struggle ... It can therefore never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of SA," they said.

The Hammanskraal manifesto (*Current affairs* June 17 and 24) adopts a black "workerist" position, contains a hefty dose of utopian socialism and identifies "racial capitalism" as the chief enemy of SA blacks.

Forum convener, Saths Cooper, tells the *FM* that his organisation is loath to respond to critics "who recognise us as a threat to their little hegemonies." However, he says the divergences are not new. "In the history of the struggle there have traditionally been different types of tendencies. One of the *leitmotifs* of the struggle is the existence of such tendencies. These should be respected by democrats. The hysteria about it is reminiscent of a fascist backlash."

If people attack the Forum manifesto, they in effect attack the people, Cooper claims.

BLACK POLITICS *FM* Split grows bitter

The ideological split among black opposition groups is growing more bitter. One group stands accused of trying to supplant



Forum's Cooper ... 'attack us, attack the people'

Statements made freely ^{1/7/83}

ZWELITSHA — Statements made by three of the four people charged under the Terrorism Act trial were made freely and voluntarily, the Attorney-General, Advocate W F Jurgens, who is prosecuting, told the supreme court here yesterday.

Arguing for the admissibility of the alleged confessions, he said the accused's allegation of coercion, inducement and undue influence had been disproved beyond any reasonable doubt.

Mr Jurgens further said that Mr Mabone Duna and Mr Dumisani Maninjwa failed to prove upon a preponderance of probabilities that their statements were not made freely and voluntarily, even if their allegations were found to be reasonable and possibly true.

Mr Duna, Mr Maninjwa, Mr Bayi Keye and Mr Luyanda Mayekiso, all of Mdantsane, are being charged for participating in terrorist activities, being members of

the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training and possession of banned publications.

They have pleaded not guilty before Chief Justice De Wet to all the charges.

At present there is a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of the statements made by Mr Duna, Mr Maninjwa and Mr Mayekiso.

Mr Jurgens submitted that the fact that Mr Duna made his statement while detained under the Terrorism Act did not, in itself, render the statement inadmissible due to the statutory duty to answer questions.

The fact that Mr Maninjwa was detained under section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act when he made the statement and Mr Mayekiso under proclamation R252, likewise did not render their statements inadmissible.

He said Mr Duna alleged that he was subjected to a series of assaults, torture and

threats which culminated in him being coerced to make a bogus confession to a magistrate.

These allegations had been denied by Capt Van Wyk and other witnesses who alleged that he was questioned on a number of subjects on a number of days which culminated in him making a statement to police, and that he thereafter, of his own volition, asked to be taken to a magistrate to make a statement.

Mr Jurgens said that Warrant-Officer Muller had proved that he was attending a course at the time he was alleged to have taken part in Mr Duna's assault. This also applied to some days he claimed Capt Van Wyk participated in his questioning.

"The allegations of Mr Duna that the warning and certain of the preliminary questions to his confession were not put to him, and that certain of his answers were incorrectly recorded, were denied by both the

magistrate and the interpreter," he said.

"It is respectfully submitted that Mr Duna was not a good witness and that he was shifty and evasive under cross-examination."

Of Mr Maninjwa, he said he invented a tale during cross-examination in order to bolster his earlier evidence that he was deliberately kept from sleep for two days, when he alleged a serious assault in the mob room.

Mr Jurgens submitted that the real reason he decided to make a confession was to be found in his answer to the magistrate that he expected his "colleagues to be discharged", namely that, in remorse over the fact that others were arrested and detained as a result of his activities, he wanted to accept and confess liability so that those colleagues need no longer be detained.

He said Mr Mayekiso's pivotal allegation that he was interrogated at Cambridge for three weeks prior to making a

statement had been proved false.

The serious allegation that he completed his confession before a magistrate at the Cambridge security office, was not only denied by all concerned but conclusively disproved.

"It is submitted that Mr Mayekiso's evidence is riddled with improbabilities and far-fetched allegations."

Mr Jurgens argued that the alleged system of assaults and torture to obtain information from other persons detained in connection with the case were not proved at all because the evidence tendered could be relied on as true and the evidence, even if believed to establish a systematic course of conduct, could not swing the scales in favour of the defence in the light of the very strong case built up by the State against the individual accused as set out above.

Defence counsel, Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, will reply today. — DDR.

Reforms won't move ANC: Hough

JOHANNESBURG — Reforms in South Africa would not make the African National Congress disappear, the director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing a Security Association of South Africa seminar he said reforms could, however, make it more difficult for the ANC to infiltrate recruits.

Countries in Southern Africa would hopefully realise that those who supplied military facilities to the ANC would pay a high price.

Hopefully too, Prof Hough said, South Africa's black population would finally realise that ANC military activity was just as much

aimed at them and that the "freedom" promised by the ANC was a self-destructive and unrealistic kind of freedom

The ANC had attempted to create the impression that its military activities were primarily aimed at the government and military and economic targets.

This was part of the quest for legitimacy and external support.

Statistics indicated there seemed to have been some concentration on certain strategic and economic targets. The ANC's hope was that the government would over-react and cause dissatisfaction among the population.

Attempts by the ANC to create the impression of guerilla warfare and

not terrorism had failed.

This was clear, Prof Hough said, from the Silverton Bank attack, the explosion in the southern Free State administration offices and from the Pretoria bomb blast on May 20.

The Pretoria attack was a deliberate and obvious act of indiscriminate terror.

"This was not armed propaganda but naked terrorism aimed at intimidating and causing chaos and panic," Prof Hough said.

Speaking at the seminar an oil company security officer, Commandant A. B. Kitshoff said the time had come in South Africa for the three defence fronts — the security profession, the police and the SADF — to join forces — DDC

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D. Ashatch

2/7/83

2 groups claim civic leadership

C. Herald 2/7/83

WILL the real Manenberg Civic Association please stand up?

Cape Herald has in recent weeks been approached by two groups, both claiming to be the Manenberg Civic Association.

The confusion (at least for us and some of our readers) started when we received a statement from the Manenberg Civic Association, the Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown and Kew Town Residents Association and the Parkwood Tenants Association saying that they had withdrawn from Cahac.

They listed five "principled reasons" for withdrawing.

Shortly afterwards we received a statement signed by Mr David Meyer, as secretary of the Manenberg Civic Association, saying that they had not withdrawn and three members would be disciplined by the association.

Mr Meyer's statement said: "This decision was illegal and unconstitutional and was taken at an illegal meeting in Manenberg on May 17.

"The people who spearheaded this illegal meeting must still appear at a board of inquiry of the association.

"The present position of the Manenberg Civic Association is that we are still affiliated to Cahac as history has shown that unity is strength and only through unity can battles be won.

"The executive of the MCA therefore reiterates the rejection of the statement released and we now bluntly restate that the MCA has never formed an alliance with BBSK and Parkwood to withdraw from Cahac".

DISCIPLINED,

One of the members to be disciplined, according to Mr Meyer, was Mr Keith Dumas, who later brought us another statement refuting Mr Meyer's statement. He said Mr Meyer was the former secretary of the MCA and had been expelled with two other people.

Mr Dumas signed the statement as general secretary of the MCA.

Both Mr Meyer and Mr Dumas used the same stamp on their letters.

According to Mr Meyer, Mr Dumas was a youth representative on the association.

INITIATED

Mr Dumas denied that the move to withdraw from Cahac was initiated by three individuals and said Mr Meyer underestimated the "intelligence of the rank and file".

He said the meeting on May 17 was, in fact, "legal" and was attended by Mr Meyer who was not able to convince the people of his views.

Mr Meyer said the meeting was attended mostly by youth who could outvote the older residents in the civic body. He said the older residents were dissatisfied with the youth taking control of the civic association.

ENTERED

Mr Dumas said the alliance entered into by the MCA, BBSK and Parkwood and the Bishop Lavis Action Committee (BLAC), was a recommendation flowing out a joint general meeting of the organisations.

"The new alliance is one forged on the basis of principled unity and not where bureaucratic decisions are being made, as in the case of Cahac," he said.

BLAC is believed to have also withdrawn from Cahac. There are still about 20 organisations affiliated to Cahac. A new affiliate in the Cahac ranks is the Ravensmead Civic Association.

is a recipe for violence'

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Extracts from an address given to South African editors in Durban last week by Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, president of Inkatha and chairman of the South African Black Alliance



CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi ... "I am now shaken to the core of my political being by the present Government's attitudes and strategies".

UNDER the guise of bringing about reforms the Prime Minister has entrenched racism in the very constitution of the country and laid the foundations for such political conflict as has never

been seen here before.

This piece of legislation in one fell swoop attempts to destroy the very basis of black democratic opposition to apartheid.

It immeasurably increases the weight of argument of those blacks who opt for violence because they see no prospects of fundamental changes being brought about by any other means.

In it we see an already powerful Prime Minister being elevated to the dizzy heights of personal power which will be the characteristic of the new executive president.

Entrenchment

In the constitutional move we see in actual practice the entrenchment of the National Party and the translation of its narrow ideological approach into the values of the State enshrined in the constitution.

If ever there is going to be a political Armageddon in this country it is being heralded by the constitutional crisis into which we have plunged.

A great many million black South Africans who comprise four-fifths of the population would prefer to die rather than participate in a racist government which the new constitution conceives.

They would prefer to die rather than be committed in perpetuity to desperate poverty and disease in mini-states as satellites to Afrikaans power, which form a mi-

nority base of less than one-fifth of the total population, aims to control and enjoy 87 percent of the land and its wealth and to enjoy exclusive control not only over that 87 percent, but in effect over the remaining 13 percent and more — in actual practice over the whole of Southern Africa.

Confrontation

If the constitution represents a final Afrikaner political apartheid extravaganza then total black opposition to it represents the final confrontation with evil on which the very honour of all the future generations of this country depend.

Even newspaper editors who claim to reject

We see in it the most brutal rejection of black civic and political right and we see in it almost the death-knell of hope to

move away from poverty, want and disease on the part of the vast majority of black South Africans.

The new constitution provides only for white power because the much hailed so-called "little step in the right direction" on the part of the Prime Minister is nothing of the kind.

Coloured and Indian participants in the tricameral Parliament will be immune only from white political domination within the narrow confines of welfare and cultural fields.

Inclusion

Whereas black South Africans ever since the Act of Union in 1910 sought and strove for inclusion in the State, black South Africans now face the prospect of either voluntarily participating in their final sub-

jugation or working for the dismantling of the State and its reconstruction in an entirely different form.

I am now being shaken to the core of my political being by the present Government's attitudes and strategies.

Crisis

apartheid have in one breath condemned the exclusion of Africans as 72 percent of the country's population, and in the next breath have described Mr P W Botha's tricameral parliamentary system as "the first step in the right direction".

One would almost believe reading this that coloureds never had a vote before in South Africa.

If coloureds and Indians were being placed on a common roll I would still be as vociferous in my anger at black exclusion as I am today, but it would make much more sense than now to talk of that as a step in the right direction.

Reform stride

People who mislead the Prime Minister into believing that he is taking a giant reform stride when he in effect is doing no more than ensuring the consummation of classical apartheid, would have a lot to answer for, if there was any future judgment on the Prime Minister's political conduct at this time.

The Prime Minister's constitutional plans are no more than a recipe for violence.

Those of us who pursue non-violence have, as it were, the rug pulled from under their feet.

The only people who will have any spin-offs for the Prime Minister's political blundering are those who have opted for violence as the only solution for the resolution of the country's problems.

Labour a target in 'onslaught' — Le Grange

PRETORIA — Labour had been targeted as one of the most important areas for the onslaught against South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said here yesterday.

"Our enemies know the strength and the potential of the South African economy and they realise only too well that they will score an important victory if they undermine our economic strength," the Minister said.

Mr Le Grange was speaking here at an Iscor function.

He said the International Labour Organisation and other foreign organisations were interfering in the South African situation.

It was a well-known fact, he said, that these organisations associated with and supported the ANC and Sactu.

"The Government is fully aware of the scheming behind the scenes and can

give the assurance that wherever subversion is involved, it will be fought with every possible means." Mr Le Grange warned.

Although the police — out of respect for the concept of freedom of association in a democratic state — normally stayed out of bona fide trade unionism affairs, they would not hesitate to step in situations involving unrest, he added.

He said it had to be questioned whether the authorities could allow the increasing politicising of the trade union set-up, which would have an adverse effect on the free market system.

Mr Le Grange warned against the danger of subversive infiltration and the manipulation of unsophisticated and naive trade union members.

He added that it was the duty of every employer and worker to ensure healthy labour relations. — Sapa

Govt plans tough action on unions

PRETORIA — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned last night of tough action to combat the increasing politicisation of certain areas of the trade union movement.

Speaking at an Iscor function in Vanderbijlpark the Minister also warned of the machinations of the ANC/SA Congress of Trade Unions alliance.

"What will it help that our sons fight and die on the border if we allow white-anting on the home front and on the factory floor."

What, he asked, should the police do when confronted by the real danger of subversion, infiltration and manipulation of, in some cases, yet unsophisticated trade unions.

Urgent attention, the Minister said, was being given to the danger.

The aim was clear — to disturb the economy seriously through unrest to an extent that it collapsed, and that the government would be forced to its knees.

In the ANC/Sactu aimed to alert the total work force as an important component, and un-

fortunately some people and organisations, however well meaning, played directly into the hands of the evil alliance, he said.

The Minister referred to the outcry over the "so-called" detention and harassing of trade union members, while the fact that the detentions and interrogations without exception had to do with the country's security was lost sight of.

He warned that the labour field had been selected as one of the most important, if not the most important, area from which to attack South Africa.

"Our enemies know the power and potential of the South African economy, and they realise they would achieve an important victory if they could undermine our economic power."

The trade unions were

being seized on by the communist orientated ANC as an instrument of incitement.

The latest indications were that the ANC and its labour wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, were intensifying their efforts through the trade union movement, and the non-white workforce.

Of significance was that local trade unions and trade union umbrella organisations were similarly busy with unity initiatives, and it could only be hoped they would be alert to a possible ANC-Sactu combination, and the serious danger of revolutionary manipulation.

One of the primary cornerstones of ANC-Sactu propaganda was the mobilisation of the workforce in South Africa against the existing order.

There were already examples of certain overseas organisations and trade unions making common cause with the ANC and Sactu.

The International Labour Organisation was one of these, and its support of the ANC-Sactu was well known.

The government was aware, however, of the scheming behind the scenes, and could give an assurance that wherever subversion lurked it would be fought with everything at the government's disposal.

Mr Le Grange said although the South African Police refrained from interfering in bona fide trade union affairs it should be realised that it might be necessary when strikes were accompanied by riots, or where lives and property were threatened, for the police to intervene.

Complaints about Pollsmoor

Mandela and Suzman in frank talks

W/E ARGUS 2/7/83

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Political Staff

MRS HELEN Suzman has told of "uninhibited" talks she had this week with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other prisoners at Pollsmoor.



MRS Helen Suzman

She said Pollsmoor Prison offered them fewer facilities than their former "home" on Robben Island — but they said the food was better.

Mrs Suzman, the official Opposition spokesman on prisons, asked for the get-together after receiving information that conditions at Pollsmoor were unsatisfactory.

90-minute visit

She said: "I had a 90-minute visit with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and four other prisoners, all except one of them jailed for life.

"It was a very full and open discussion, despite the fact that both the commander of Pollsmoor and the regional commander of prisons were present. There were no inhibitions.

"It is clear to me that Pollsmoor, as a closed maximum-security jail as far as these prisoners are concerned, is less open and offers fewer op-

portunities than did Robben Island.

"On Robben Island there were better facilities for recreation — for example tennis and football.

One large cell

"Although the men are together in one very large cell (on Robben Island they were in single cells), I was not very impressed with the structure of the single cells now being built at Pollsmoor.

"I hope very much to persuade the authorities to make changes.

"All six men are studying for degrees.

"They have no complaints about medical or dental treatment and said the food was, in fact, an improvement on what

they received on Robben Island.

"They were in good health and in good spirits.

"Depressing"

"They did have a number of complaints which, I am told, are being attended to.

"The yard where they exercise and spend most of the day is certainly a rather depressing place with very high walls, and I can see that this would be very dispiriting for men who at present have no hope of remission of sentences.

"The library facilities are rather limited but, I believe, will be improved.

"They used to have a weekly film at Robben Island. It is hoped that facilities for documentaries from the library will be made available."

"Well-educated"

Mrs Suzman said the men were not ordinary prisoners but highly intelligent and well-educated.

"The fact that they have spent such a great part of their lives in jail cannot but command compassion," she added.

"It's high time the Government considered remission of sentences for these people, who, by any normal standards, have been punished for their offences."

Unions warned by Le Grange

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned last night of tough action to combat the increasing politicization of certain areas of the trade union movement.

Speaking at an Iscor function in Vanderbijlpark, the minister also warned of the machinations of the ANC/SA Congress of Trade Union Alliance.

What, he asked, should the police do when confronted by the real danger of subversion, infiltration and manipulation of, in some cases, yet unsophisticated trade unions.

Urgent attention was

being given to the danger.

The aim was clear — to seriously disturb the economy through unrest to an extent that it collapsed, and that the government would be forced to its knees.

The ANC/SACTU aimed to alert the total work force as an important component, and unfortunately some people and organizations, however well-meaning, played directly into the hands of the alliance.

The minister referred to the outcry over the "so-called" detention and harassment of trade union members, while the fact that the detentions and interrogations without exception had

to do with the country's security was lost sight of.

The trade unions were being seized on by the communist-orientated ANC as an instrument of incitement.

Significant was that local trade unions and trade union umbrella organizations were similarly busy with unity initiatives, and it could only be hoped they would be alert to a possible ANC/SACTU combination, and the serious danger of revolutionary manipulation.

One of the primary cornerstones of ANC/SACTU propaganda was the mobilization of the work force in South Africa against the existing order.

There were already examples of certain overseas organizations and trade unions making common cause with the ANC and SACTU.

The International Labour Organization was one of these, and its support of the ANC/SACTU was well-known.

The government was aware, however, of the scheming behind the scenes.

1 Court reserves statements ruling

2/7/83 (2) (11A) (557) (108)

D. Disputch

ZWELITSHA — A ruling on the admissibility of statements made by the accused in Ciskei's first Terrorism Act trial was reserved until August 1 by Chief Justice De Wet in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Four Mdantsane men, Mr Mabone Duna, Mr Dumisani Maninjwa, Mr Bayi Keye and Mr Luyanda Mayekiso, have pleaded not guilty to participating in terrorist activities, being members of the banned ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training and possession of banned literature.

In a trial-within-a-trial Mr Duna, Mr Maninjwa and Mr Mayekiso claimed that they did not make their statements freely and voluntarily.

The Attorney-General, Advocate W. F. Jurgens, who is prosecuting, has argued that they were made freely and should therefore be accepted by the court.

The defence counsel, Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, has contended

that the accused were forced and unduly influenced to make the statements, which should therefore be rejected by the court.

He argued that Section six of the Terrorism Act trial, Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act and Proclamation R252 under which the accused were detained were gross departures from criminal law which gave a person the right to refuse to answer questions and entitled them to a legal defence.

A detainee under these laws was kept in solitary confinement with no access to his legal advisor and the psychological life support system. The purpose of this was to induce him to speak.

Mr Moerane said Section six was more stringent and drastic because a person was held incommunicado and removed from the jurisdiction of the court. Inherent in the section was pressure to induce a person to speak against his will and interest, in violation of the common law and fundamental right to remain silent.

Even the act of isolation acted as an inducement. That was why up to date it was unheard of for Section six statements to be found admissible by the Appellate Division.

In Ciskei rights of individuals were guaranteed in a chapter dealing with fundamental rights in the constitution.

The fact that the detainees' statements were made while detained under the various sections mentioned, made the statements inadmissible.

He said Mr Duna's statement was made after 40 days of intensive interrogation. Warrant Officer Elsdon described the process whereby information was "extracted" from Mr Duna.

Mr Moerane said the officer knew English but chose the word "extract" as against a more neutral word than "question." He was trying to tell the court exactly what happened at the police station.

He said Mr Duna's statement that he wished his statement to be handed in court raised the proposition that benefit was expected.

Mr Maninjwa's statement that he expected his colleagues to be released when asked if he expected any benefits also raised the possibility of inducement.

Mr Moerane said the evidence of Brigadier Tamsanqa who took part of Mr Mayekiso's statement should be rejected.

Brigadier Tamsanqa could not take a statement although he was a brigadier.

He said promotions in Ciskei went by leaps and bounds and people were promoted at a phenomenal rate.

Mr Moerane said the calling of witnesses who were potential state witnesses proved the pattern of interrogation.

These people were held in solitary confinement and had no access to the accused.

They told the court they were assaulted by the police in more or less the same manner, same time and same place as the accused. — DDR.

Czech's freeze Vatican ties

VATICAN CITY — The communist government in Czechoslovakia, nervous over the role of the Catholic Church in Poland, has frozen relations with the Vatican, Vatican sources said yesterday.

Ties between the Holy City and Czechoslovakian authorities have always been among the most difficult in the East Bloc, but the sources said they had recently worsened and dialogue had been broken off. — SAPA-RNS.

Call to curb ^{11A} white ^{COM. 2/7/83} racism

IF SOUTH AFRICA could not curb the "monstrous crime" of white racism, it would destroy the country, Dr Frans Auerbach told the annual conference of the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg last night.

"Dr Nthato Motlana (chairman of the Committee of Ten) was right when he said on June 16 that the total onslaught on South Africa was not Communism, but white racism. If we cannot curb this monstrous crime against our common humanity, it will destroy us," Dr Auerbach said.

He was giving his presidential address — entitled "Racism, Youth and the Future" — at the two-day conference of the Institute, which ended last night.

The theme of the conference was "Towards an undivided South Africa: A challenge to the new proposals".

Dr Auerbach said the increase in violence in the last 10 years would escalate even further in the next decade if the social conflict in the country did not diminish.

"It seems that we are trapped in a dimly lit cave in which each side reacts to violence with more bombs, more suspicion, more abuse and yet more killings."

"The least we might do is light up the cave so that we can see more clearly. With more light, we might become aware that on so many key issues we are very severely misinformed," Dr Auerbach said.

He added that many people believed race classification was a foolproof system.

"The system should be scrapped, for it is inhuman."

Dr Auerbach said all peaceful approaches to eliminate legalised racism in South Africa had been tried unsuccessfully.

However, passive resistance, he said, might be the answer to achieving freedom and justice in the country.

"Perhaps we need to look once again at the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, and study how it might help to stem the escalation of catastrophe which has already begun."

"We must go on speaking out against oppression and injustice, because silence will be taken as consent."

"We dare not remain silent at the ravages of a system that hurts millions from the time they are little children — a system based on the evil practice of race classification," Dr Auerbach said.

Dr Auerbach called on all South Africans to work together to eliminate apartheid.

History would one day sweep it (apartheid) aside, he added, and The Institute of Race Relations would do all it could to ensure that "the sweeping is done in peace and goodwill".

Unfortunately many white South Africans had an overall picture of incompetence regarding Zimbabwe, but this was not true, Dr Auerbach continued.

He said that during a recent visit to Zimbabwe, he had been heartened by the "spectacular progress made in the field of health and education during the three years since the country became independent."

"The overall picture of the incompetence existing in the minds of many white South Africans about Zimbabwe — and largely conveyed by our Press and other media — is not true."

"My general impression, of a people on the march, self-confident and friendly to strangers, is different from the impression gained by most South Africans from what they hear and read," Dr Auerbach said.

He said Zimbabwe officials he had encountered were competent, the government was well informed and the country was "greatly interested" in South Africa: — Sapa.

Helen spends an hour with Mandela

By BRIAN POTTINGER

ONE of the longest-serving white parliamentarians this week met the spiritual leader of the banned African National Congress within the confines of prison walls.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Ppp MP for Houghton spent more than an hour with imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and five fellow-prisoners in the maximum security section of Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

The meeting follows six months of requests and negotiations between Mrs Suzman and the Department of Justice.

After the meeting, Mrs Suzman reported the men to be in good health and spirits although there were some complaints which she intended raising with the authorities.

She said that contrary to some "exaggerated" reports in the British Press about the situation of the men in their new home — they have been transferred from Robben Island — conditions were not bad as far as prisons went.

Football

"One of the biggest problems at the moment appears to be recreational facilities," she said.

"The men complained they missed the open facilities at Robben Island which included football matches.

"In the new prison they have to exercise in a yard with high walls where they can only see the sky."

Mrs Suzman said the men could play table tennis and were to be acquired. They could also study and there was a small but inadequate library.

"They found the food at Pollsmoor better than Robben Island.

"The men expressed themselves quite openly in our discussions and I was able to spend some time walking with Nelson Mandela out of earshot."

Mrs Suzman said although the conditions were not that bad as far as prisons were concerned it should always be remembered that it was still prison and the indeterminate sentences hung heavily on the men.

"It is still necessary to press for remission and release."

Weight change

Dispensation an '18th century Voortrekker dream', says Buthelezi

S. Tribune
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By Eddy Andriés

KWAZULU is so opposed to the Government's planned constitution that it will not participate in it even if a fourth chamber, for blacks, is created in the future.

The new dispensation was "nothing more than an 18th century Voortrekker dream" of white Afrikaners who sought to entrench their own domination over South Africa's other race groups, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told the Lebowa Legislative Assembly this week.

"We would reject this

corruption of a constitution even if tables were turned and we replaced whites in the tricameral Parliament. A secure future just cannot be built on racist foundations."

Calling for national tribal unity, Chief Buthelezi said it was time blacks realised their numerical strength and considered such "hard line political action" as mobilisation of the massive power of black workers and consumers.

The National Party was prepared to do all in its power to divide the country's blacks and to counter such unity, but each ethnic group had a common role to play in opposing these efforts.

He warned that anger

and despair at the Government's heartless treatment of blacks had driven many into believing democratic opposition should be abandoned and that their future could be secured only through an armed struggle.

"No matter how arduous it will become and how long it will last, we harbour a vision of an open and race-free society, and it is this which holds us together in the hope that we will ultimately triumph and eradicate the scourge of apartheid."

He said he did not condone violence as a means to obtain acceptable political solutions, but neither could he condemn "the frailty" of those whose expressions of anger led them

to violence.

Blacks could no longer afford what he termed the luxury of protest and rhetoric when what they required was more organised constituencies and the establishment of resistance movements with proper branches and leadership structures.

"Those who spurn unity and flee from our destiny will fall by the wayside."

The irresponsibility of racist white attempts to enforce separate development meant they were destroying the very future to which they were purportedly working, Chief Buthelezi said.

However, he also slammed the African National Congress and the Pan

Africanist Congress — "our brothers and sisters in exile" — for assuming self-appointed leadership of committed anti-apartheid campaigners.

"They ignore the fact that we must reject violence as a preferred strategy because it is both morally wrong and logistically impossible in this country. They pursue their ends as though they were the sole representatives of black South Africa.

"They think those who are not for them are against them."

It had to be recognised that one minority of black opinion had fled abroad to establish the armed struggle and another minority had fled into so-called

homelands to pursue their political ambitions there

This was the reason why the majority who stayed in the country had to unite

Chief Buthelezi said one of the political scars he bore was the Government's successful propaganda campaign against him — mainly through the SABC — which gave the impression that he advocated "Zulu imperialism", when nothing could be further from the truth.

"Even if Zulus are the single largest ethnic group in South Africa it does not mean we can dominate other tribes. We need to be part of one force ... to oppose the new constitution and attempts to force us

apart"

The Government could effectively be caused to flounder through the mobilisation of black people and their unified support for trade unions and other black organisations.

South Africa needed to be spared the race war which was inevitable as a result of Government measures, Chief Buthelezi proclaimed.

The spectre of civil wars in other regions of Africa was a haunting one and it was imperative for blacks' survival that unity be pursued no matter at what cost.

"Years of suffering at the hands of whites had not robbed blacks of hope or courage," he said.

Full NIC executive meet for the first time in fifteen years

UNGAGGED!

Asked what the dropping of the ban would mean to her, she said she would now be able to be heard again.

"Two weeks ago I applied for permission to visit Pietermaritzburg and Grahamstown. On Friday I got a letter to say the matter was still under consideration. Then suddenly I am unbanned.

"The whole thing is totally inexplicable. For all these years the public has been 'protected' from my writings, now suddenly it is all kosher.

"Either I was a threat or I never was."

Professor Meer said she wanted it recorded that she considered the rebanning of Winnie Mandela as "absolutely disgusting and nothing more than sheer vindictiveness."

Firoz Cachalia, who with his brother Azhar, was banned during the Anti-Republic Day protests in 1981, said he was pleased and even a little surprised that these restrictions had been lifted.

"It will have some normalising effect on my private life and in our family circle.

"Banning orders are like the Immorality Act. They can be lifted without affecting the racist nature of our society and the Government could still score a propaganda coup. Conditions of political freedom still don't exist and the Government must not be allowed to get away with lifting these orders by making it appear to be part of a liberalisation programme."

Audrey Coleman, mother of Keith Coleman, whose ban has also been lifted, said: "We are relieved our son Keith has been unbanned. But there is no reason to celebrate while the unjust laws which committed him and many others to detention and banning remain."

Pravine Gordhan, who was also secretary of the Durban Housing Action Committee at the time of his banning 13 months ago, said he was "not overjoyed at the apparent concession".

"One cannot be overjoyed when the only recognised leadership of the oppressed people of South Africa are either in exile or in jail and while there are a number of people who remain restricted and in detention," he said yesterday.

But he "welcomes the opportunity the continue his contribution to the struggle for democracy and the emancipation of all the peoples of South Africa".

"Through my organisations I shall continue to make whatever contribution I can," he said.

Others made immediate use of their new found freedom.

Mewa Ramgobin visited Durban at midnight on Friday night — his banning order restricted him to the magisterial district of Verulam — and Marimuthu Subramoney, a Durban journalist banned three years ago, went back to work in the press agency which he started just before he was banned. His restrictions prevented him from entering newspaper or publishing offices.

(11A) S. Tribune 3/7/83
Tribune Reporter

FOR the first time in nearly 15 years, the full executive committee of the Natal Indian Congress was able to meet this week in Durban.

During that time the committee could not get together because most of the members were banned. In terms of the restrictions imposed on them they could not talk to one another.

But at midnight on Thursday night their banning orders, along with restrictions imposed on 55 other people throughout the country, were lifted in the single biggest withdrawal of banning orders by the Government.

The NIC executive committee members, who are now allowed to meet one another and travel freely, are Mewa Ramgobin, the first executive committee member to be banned in 1965, George Sewpersadh, who succeeded him as leader of the organisation until he was banned in 1981, "M J" Naidoo who took over from Sewpersadh until he too was banned later that same year, and the youngest member of the committee, Pravine Gordhan, who had served 13 months of his two year banning order.

In a statement issued by the executive committee, the NIC expressed its solidarity with the 10 people who have been rebanned. They include Rowley Arenstein of Durban, one of the longest-suffering in the history of the banned in South Africa, being first banned in the late Sixties, and Winnie Mandela, wife of former leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence for his political activities.

In addition 134 people, listed in Friday's Government Gazette, are prohibited from publishing, printing, disseminating material or being quoted. Many of them have fled South Africa.

This listing has caused some confusion among those who were "listed" in terms of the old legislation.

Yesterday veteran campaigner, Helen Joseph, whose name appears on the old consolidated list, was confused and anxiously contacted lawyers and others in an attempt to discover what her position was, whether or not she may now be quoted as her name does not appear on the list of people who may not be quoted.

The NIC says in its statement that it does not interpret the unbannings as a "change of heart on the part of the regime".

It said the rebannings and unbannings came amid "unprecedented State attacks upon our people".

"This is demonstrated by the deaths and brutality in Chesterville and Lamontville, violent removals in KTC, Inanda and Clairwood and other areas, rising unemployment and escalating rent, food and transport costs."

The banning orders were lifted in terms of Section 73 (2) of the Internal Security Act which specifies that unless the banned person is served with a new banning notice his previous order, imposed under the old legislation, will lapse exactly 12 months after promulgation.

Many of those whose banning orders expired greeted the news at first with disbelief.

Professor Fatima Meer, who has been banned for nine years and still had three years to serve on her last banning order, said the dropping of the ban was a "surprise to some degree — but then I never understood why I was banned in the first place, or for that matter why it is now lifted."

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People's priest laid to rest

By KOOS COETZEE

PORT ELIZABETH —

More than 3 000 people from all over the country walked to the grave of Canon Arthur James Calata, a former secretary-general of the banned African National Congress, at Cradock in the Eastern Cape last Saturday.

Canon Calata, reaching the nineties, died on June 16, the day on which the outbreak of the Soweto riots was commemorated.

Mourners heard in an open area in the Lingelihle township tributes paid to Canon Calata by representatives of various organisations.

Mr Archie Gumede, Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front as well as the Release Mandela Committee, described Canon Calata as a negotiator committed to a peaceful and democratic settlement in South Africa.

"But in the course of time he too became disillusioned regarding the willingness of the authorities to be engaged in any dialogue with the black people.

"From then on the call was for deeds and not only words. Deputations, petitions and resolutions," Mr Gumede said.

Mrs Nonyameko Mxenge, wife of slain lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, said: "Calata did not divorce Christianity from the liberation struggle. He realised that he could not attain the freedom of his people through prayer alone.

"Calata realised that the Kingdom of God is an extension of a freedom realisable in this world and consumed finally in heaven.

"For one of the characteristics of God is freedom."

Canon Calata was among the 156 black leaders who stood trial in the marathon treason trial of 1956. He was later banned and placed under house arrest.

His coffin, draped in the colours of the ANC, was carried by youths singing freedom songs.

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FIGHT LP

One group, the Griqua National Congress led by Mr A A S le Fleur, is affiliated to the Freedom Party.

The other, the Griqua National Council led by Mr Eric le Fleur, is affiliated to the Peoples' Congress Party.

While Labour has refused to disclose its membership strength, Mr Julies claims his party has more than 160 000 members on its books. Mr Marais' PCP has 11 000 paid-up members.

"Stooge"

For the Freedom Party — which still suffers from a "stooge" label because of its Federal Party heritage, the merger would also mean a brand-new image.

For the PCP, it would mean an immediate acquisition of tens of thousands of members and, together, they could form a formidable coloured political alignment.

Both the PCP and the FP intend opposing Labour's more-moderate "negotiation strategy", and have condemned the Government's constitutional proposals.

Mr Julies has made it plain the FP accepts the Government's proposals as a "good beginning".

but declared his party to be against the "racist policies".

He said: "Let me make it quite clear, my party finds a lot of fault with the proposals and does not believe they go far enough in mapping out our future at central decision-making level.

"My party also rejects the total exclusion of the black man in the

party totally rejected the proposals as they now stood because they entrenched white domination.

proposed constitutional framework. "However, from a practical, realistic point of view, we do not believe we can operate in

The Freedom Party (FP) and the People's Congress Party (PCP), are planning to merge in opposition to the Labour Party.

FP leader Mr Charles Julies and PCP leader Mr Peter Marais this week confirmed they had already held preliminary discussions.

They said their parties had decided in principle to merge to oppose Labour in the election for the new House of Representatives under South Africa's new constitution.

It is expected that the election will be held in the first half of next year.

Provision

The Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill makes provision for the election to the House of Representatives of 80 members — of which 60 will be from the Cape, 10 from the Transvaal and five each from Natal and the Orange Free State.

By **NORMAN WEST**

Griquas

The merger could also mean the re-unification of the Griquas under one umbrella body. At present, the Griquas are split in two under the separate leadership of the Le Fleur brothers.

Full-scale talks iron out preliminary details will take place in Port Elizabeth soon, to be followed by a final round of talks in Cape Town, I was told.

The question of who the national leader and national chairman of the new party would be, as well as a possible new name for the party, are among the "delicate" issues still to be hammered out.



Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Freedom Party.



Mr Peter Marais, leader of the Peoples' Congress Party.

What is best plan to unite people?

Professor RICHARD van der ROSS, Rector of UWC, has his say.

IN the midst of the avalanche of opinions presently being expressed on the constitutional proposals, one finds it extremely difficult to say anything new. And to try to crystallise anything like the Coloured people's opinion is impossible, simply because of the wide spectrum of opinions held.

It is important to note, however, a re-grouping that is taking place, especially in the generic "black" sector. It is in this re-grouping that many of the coloured people who do not feel comfortable in the present constitutional debate will seek a political home.

Thus far, two main streams seem to be emerging. One is the "grass-roots" type of organisation, with community, civic and welfare-orientated groups in the lead; the other is the more ideologically-orientated type of organisation seeking national rather than local unity.

Meaningful movement

Protest politics of the Sacos variety may be placed under the former type; firstly because it is more at community level, and secondly because it does not effectively reach out to the black (African) sector. But because these community-based groups do not really aspire to bringing about political changes at national level — at least not in the first place — this article will deal more with the second type.

In this regard, the recent conference at Hammanskraal — where the National Union, consisting of a number of generic black (African, coloured and Asian) groups, was founded — deserves mention. Although it did not receive a great deal of prominence in the media, one notes the attempt of people with serious political intentions to create a basis of unity across the traditional colour lines. Even whites were included — at least they were not written off.

Now, such a movement has meaning. While so much attention is being focussed by and through the media on parliamentary or establishment attempts at reform and the reaction thereto, the above-mentioned developments are a reminder that these are not the only efforts and that the debate does not end there.

Vital aspect

Extra-parliamentary yet legal organisation must surely be a vital aspect of constitutional development in a situation such as ours, especially if it does not fit into the neat framework planned by the establishment. It certainly is premature to judge the new group, but it is not premature to sound a few warnings.

Basically, our politics lacks a framework of reference. The Gov-



Professor van der Ross

ernment's could be summed up as apartheid on the social-political side and free market on the economic side. Liberal white politics also claims to espouse free market economics, but lacks the dedicated (fierce?) drive which motivates the National Party.

Playing politics

Coloured politics fails to thrive because it has not defined itself in economic terms. Consequently its present activities are directed at a bread-and-butter survival and improvement level, with reaction to the NP as its tactics. It would do much better if it firmly accepted either free market (but then spelt it out), or socialism (also spelt out) or any combination of these or any other economic ideology, clearly worked out for all to see — and, of course, spelt out for the entire country and all its people.

The Labour Party, for instance, has a constitution aimed at the worker, but none of its public statements give evidence of this. This reduces all the other carryings-on to a kind of playing politics, as long as no economic theory is advanced and defended.

Our history in this regard is not very inspiring, either. We come to ask how we (coloured people) have related to blacks (Africans).

Dr Abdurahman went along with the general idea of free market capitalism and also tried to establish a (coloured) federation of trade unions. Trade unions were white-dominated, some of them having some coloured members. The exclusion of blacks did not seem to trou-

ble coloured artisans much. This persisted even in the legal Communist Party, which tried to enrol blacks in the party but could make no impact on the white-dominated trade unions.

After 1943 the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) constantly attacked and denounced imperialism and capitalism. But it never spelt out its alternative economic plan, although communism was still legal.

Grave differences

The NEUM had grave differences with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), and would not collaborate with it. Neither would it have any part of black organisations such as the ANC of Chief Luthul or Nelson Mandela. When later the Pan African Congress (PAC) arose under Robert Sobukwe, and after Sharpeville, it attacked the PAC for its "adventurism" in bringing Sharpeville about. It also refused to be part of the Congress Alliance which produced the Freedom Charter, denouncing the South African Indian Congress, the ANC and the CPC (Coloured People's Congress) and the COD (Congress of Democrats: white former Communist Party) as racists.

The only significant alliance the NEUM formed with blacks was with the All African Convention (AAC). But this federated union came to an end when in 1958 the AAC diverted from Point 7 of the NEUM's basic Ten-point Programme.

And it was precisely on the matter of economic policy that the split came. The AAC declared that it wished to acquire land according to the system of *capitalism*! The acceptance of this hated concept caused the NEUM to attack the AAC faction with all its force, so that the Unity Movement split into two sections, unfortunately on colour lines, each claiming that it was the true NEUM. The rift was never healed.

Not enough

I wish to put forward the thesis that the mere use of blanket words like "Unity", "Black" or "National", the mere saying that we see or recognise no colour, is not enough. Indeed, saying that we recognise no colour could itself be a way of recognising colour.

Probably the best way to unite people is to have an economic plan or theory which they find acceptable. Against such a theory, they may learn to handle ethnic concepts which then become less important and less divisive. Maybe then we could graduate from playing politics into real politics.

Reform Bill: 'A classic attempt to storm the Kingdom of God'



Mr Hendrickse

... aiming at federation.



Mr Thula

... mean ration for blacks.

At its annual conference last week, the South African Institute of Race Relations invited a range of speakers to address the subject, "Towards an undivided South Africa: a challenge to the new constitutional proposals". JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

The National Party's new constitution has nothing to offer those whose hearts incline to an undivided South Africa, most participants at the two-day national conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations agreed.

A wavering voice among the critics at last week's Johannesburg gathering was that of Labour Party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse. He conceded the constitution did not allow membership of a unitary state for all South Africans, but felt that joining the proposed structures of government would give his party political clout to work for a true federal nation state — not to be confused with the NP's much-vaunted confederation of states.

Not least of those anxious to disabuse Mr Hendrickse was Nationalist political commentator Otto Krause. He soundly boxed the ears of supporters of an undivided South Africa for seeking foreign solutions unsuited to local demands before declaring: "Clearly any settlement with blacks will not be on the basis of a constitution because that implies acceptance of (them within) a nation state."

Mr Krause spoke caustically of the rife use of "foreign ideology" by those who suggested

South Africa should resort to political assimilation (various shades of "left" opinion) and those who advocated partition (the far right wing). He declared that both had ulterior political motives.

Mr Krause argued South Africa was unique. "A land of nations without borders ... we fit nobody's book."

He asserted that, in framing the new constitution, the National Party, "shedding the ideology of the right and returning to pragmatism, is rediscovering its genius". He believed

that by putting the emphasis on people rather than on territory it was progressing to a point "where no group dominates the other".

Challenges to Mr Krause's argument were inherent in earlier papers delivered — notably that of a sharer of the Calvinist tradition, the Rev Shun Govender, a minister of the Reformed Church in Africa and secretary of the Broederkring.

Mr Govender argued that, far from stripping itself of ideology, the NP used declarations of Christian faith to "sacralise"

a strategy for continued minority rule.

Quoting from the preamble to the Constitution Bill ("In humble submission to Almighty God, Who controls the destiny of nations and the history of people; Who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this, their own ...") and pointing to later provisions for self-determination of population groups, Mr Govender said: "The acts of the Almighty Christian God in world history are intimately joined (in the Bill) to the national history of the people who produced this document. And His divine intentions are associated with the purposes of the ruling powers to guarantee ethnic self-determination."

He commented: "This is a classic attempt by man to storm the Kingdom of God."

Black speakers at the conference, Mr Gibson Thula, chairman of Inkatha, and Mr Steve Kgame, president of the Urban Councillors' Association of South Africa, made it clear they did not see the new constitution as a move away from domination by one group.

Mr Thula said the key issues in South Africa were political participation and common citizenship.

Mr Thula predicted the new constitution would make black people more determined to resist domination. "The inclusion of a few million coloureds and Indians won't soften hostility."

Unlike Mr Krause, who dismissed the land issue as "recalcitrant" but open to negotiation, Mr Thula regarded the proposed constitution as a key to maintaining the lean ration of land for blacks.

Mr Kgame, a participant in the revamped deal for urban blacks — the community council system — declared the experience had awakened him to his powerlessness.

His opinion on further effort within Government-created bodies? "Why play the game? It's futile. Let us find ways and means of dismantling apartheid — then we can talk."

Auerbach pleads for 'light'

Misinformation and ignorance are increasing suspicion and reinforcing violence in Southern Africa, outgoing president of the South African Institute of Race Relations Dr Franz Auerbach suggested at the weekend.

In his annual address to members, he said: "It seems we are trapped in a dimly-lit cave in which each side reacts to violence with more bombs, more suspicion, more abuse and yet more killings. The least we might do is light up the cave so that we can see more clearly."

"With more light we might become aware that on so many key issues we are severely misinformed," he said. Some of the fallacies whites were prone to, he said, were:

● Exiles were necessarily bent on violence. In contrast Dr Auerbach spoke of the spiritual loneliness of exiles and their longing to return.

● There were moves from Government quarters to "win the hearts and minds of the people",

when actions such as the drawing up of the constitutional proposals patently contradicted this.

● There was little mass support for guerillas. Dr Auerbach pointed to Zimbabwe as a signal lesson in misinformation by the State.

● Neighbouring black states were incompetent. "During my recent visit to Zimbabwe I found that the overall picture of incompetence existing in the minds of many white South Africans about Zimbabwe, and largely conveyed by our Press and other media, was not true."

Dr Auerbach said he found Zimbabwean officials competent and was heartened by progress in the fields of health and education. He acknowledged the Matabeleland problem and Press censorship, but maintained: "My general impression of a people on the march, self-confident and friendly to strangers, is different from that gained by most South Africans."

Firm relents

on stay-away

After a strike at Reef depots triggered by the dismissal of three workers who stayed away on June 16, the management of Coca-Cola have agreed that some workers may justifiably be unable to get to work on that day.

A company spokesman said the firm had agreed to carefully consider the cases of workers who stay away on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto unrest. The dismissed men were reinstated.

Expert reviews sabotage claims

11A
Staw 5/7/83
In 1979 the African National Congress accepted responsibility for 13 attacks on South African police stations by its military wing. Umkhonto We Sizwe, a Johannesburg regional magistrate was told yesterday.

Mr Izak de Vries, a lecturer in the department of State affairs at the Rand Afrikaans University and an expert on the ANC, was giving evidence for the State in the trial of two Soweto men charged with furthering the aims of the banned ANC.

Mr de Vries said the ANC in its official organ *Sechaba* in January 1983 contended that "the armed struggle against South Africa escalated" between January 1977 and October 1982.

During that period the ANC claimed attacks on 23 railway lines and 25 industrial establishments.

The ANC also accepted responsibility for 15 bombings in 30 places in South Africa during 1979.

Mr de Vries quoted one of several interviews with Mr Oliver Tambo, exiled president of the ANC, who said those inside the country who were against the ANC's revolutionary aims would be punished.

The people listed include policemen, former ANC members and those who testified for the State in ANC trials.

The accused are Mr Peter Thabo Moloi (29) and Mr Jacob Mashego (24) both of Soweto.

They have pleaded not guilty to taking part in ANC activities between September 1 and November 8 1982.

Mr Mashego admitted possession of a tape recording. He said he was not aware that the recording, which he played for friends at the Diepkloof Hotel, was prohibited.

The tape carried songs by exiled musician Miriam Makeba and American singer Harry Belafonte. On the other track were slogans and music.

The lines included: "We will destroy Smith and Vorster with grenades and guns."

Typing error, says SP man of 19 extra lines

5/7/83
A security policeman said yesterday that a typing error had resulted in his inserting 19 lines into a transcription of a tape recording which allegedly incited support for the African National Congress (ANC).

Colonel A M Heystek was testifying before a Johannesburg magistrate in the trial of Mr Peter Thabo Moloi (29) and Mr Jacob Mashego (24), both

of Diepkloof, Soweto

They are charged with participating in the activities of the outlawed ANC and playing an ANC tape.

At a previous hearing Colonel Heystek admitted under cross-examination by Mr D Kony defending, that the 19 lines on the transcription were not on the tape.

The case was postponed until July 27.

Botswana frees SAP officer

The Star's Foreign
News Service

GABORONE — A South African policeman who was jailed in Botswana for trying to bribe a local policeman to spy on the ANC has been freed and allowed to return to Pretoria.

A Botswana government spokesman confirmed today that a senior South African policeman, identified only as "Mr Steenkamp", collected Warrant Officer Jacobus Martinus Kok (44) on July 5 and brought him back to South Africa.

The spokesman said the balance of Warrant Officer Kok's sentence — it is believed he had five months left to serve — had been remitted but he did not say why. The officer was arrested in July, 1982 and was convicted several days later of "official corruption".

only
1983

(11A)

Court told of ANC

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

THE AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) has in recent years increased its actions against the South African Government by using strikes and demonstrations to achieve its goals, a Johannesburg Regional Court was told yesterday.

The outlawed organisation, the court heard, believed that an all-round offensive against the enemy means that

all possible avenues should be used such as trade unions, school children, religion and women.

EXPERT

Professor I D de Vries, a lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) and an expert on revolution in South Africa, was testifying before Mr I J J Luther in the trial of two Soweto men charged with taking part in activities of the ANC.

Mr Peter Thabo Moloji (29) and Mr Jacob

Mashego (24) both of Diepkloof, have pleaded not guilty to playing an ANC tape recording in a Diepkloof hotel lounge on November 8 last year or alternatively of advocating and encouraging its achievements and objectives.

STRUGGLE

Professor De Vries, in his lengthy evidence, quoted Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, and the organisation's secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, on what they

said about the movement and its struggle against the Government in the organisation's mouthpiece, Sechaba.

He said further the organisation was spreading its message through various ways. It told its members and supporters to give or pass on to friends any of its publications like Sechaba, Dawn, and Voice of Women.

The case will continue on July 27.

'Typist error' led to added 19 lines

Mail Reporter

A SECURITY policeman said 19 additional lines in the transcript of an alleged African National Congress cassette were the result of an error made by a typist and not himself.

Colonel A M Heysteck said this under re-examination in the trial of two Diepkloof men charged with taking part in the activities of a banned organisation — alternatively advocating or encouraging the objectives of the organisation — and being in possession of ANC cassettes.

The State alleges that Mr Peter Thabo Molo, 29, played the recording at his home while Mr Jacob Mashego, 24, played it at the Diepkloof Hotel. They have pleaded not guilty to the charges, which are alleged to have taken place between September 1 and November 8 last year.

The tape includes recordings of music and slogans such as: "We will destroy Smith and Vorster with grenades and guns."

During cross-examination at the previous hearing, Col Heysteck said he could not explain the additional 19 lines added to the

transcript that were not on the recording

Yesterday he said after reading the first typed transcript he sent the transcript back to the typist to make certain changes, which included removing the 19 additional lines.

He said he did not read the transcript after sending it back to the typist.

Another State witness, Mr Izaak Daniel de Vries, a lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University who has done a masters degree thesis on revolutionary parties in Southern Africa, said that from the official literature of the ANC, the ANC was at present engaged in an armed struggle aimed at the overthrow of the South African Government.

Quoting extensively from ANC literature and reports, he said the ANC engaged the enemy on all fronts, including strikes, school boycotts and struggle on the religious front. They avoided direct confrontation and hit at the weakest point, he said.

He said the struggle of the ANC was aimed at all people who upheld the present Government. He said even persons who testified against the ANC at inquiry commissions were regarded as the enemy.

The trial was postponed to July 27.

Unbanned (11A) leaders call ~~for~~ for one Mercury man, one vote 5/7/83

Mercury Reporter

LEADERS of the Natal Indian Congress who have been just unbanned, yesterday rejected outright the Government's constitutional pro-

posals and called for one man, one vote in South Africa.

Mr George Sewpersadh, NIC president, and Mr M J Naidoo, senior vice-president, who returned to the congress leadership after their banning orders had been lifted, said the NIC was committed to the 'freedom charter' in which the constitutional proposals were out of place.

'In no ways can the Indian community accept them,' they said.

Mr Sewpersadh and Mr Naidoo, both lawyers, said the NIC would decide soon if the Indian community would take part in any referendum on the promised political dispensation.

They also rejected as 'completely unacceptable' a recent survey by Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, which found that more Chatsworth residents favoured the South African Indian Council than the NIC.

Buthelezi in call

for unity

By Eddie Andriés

KWAZULU is so opposed to the Government's planned constitution that it will not participate in it even if a fourth chamber, for blacks, is created in the future.

The new dispensation was "nothing more than an 18th century Voortrekker dream" of white Afrikaners who sought to entrench their own domination over South Africa's other race groups, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told the Lebowa Legislative Assembly last week.

"We would reject this corruption of a constitution even if tables were turned and we replaced whites in the tricameral Parliament. A secure future just cannot be built on racist foundations."

Calling for national tribal unity, Chief Buthelezi said it was time blacks realised their numerical strength and considered such "hard line political action" as mobilisation of the massive power of black workers and consumers.

DIVIDE

The National Party was prepared to do all in its power to divide the country's blacks and to counter such unity, but each ethnic group had a common role to play in opposing these efforts.

He warned that anger and despair at the Government's heartless treatment of blacks had driven many into believing democratic opposition should be abandoned and that their future could be secured only through an armed struggle.

"No matter how arduous it will become and how long it will last, we harbour a vision of an open and race-free society, and it is this which holds us together in the hope that we will ultimately triumph and eradicate the scourge of apartheid".

He said he did not condone violence as a means to obtain acceptable political solutions, but neither could he condemn "the frailty" of those whose expres-

sions of anger led them to violence.

Blacks could no longer afford what he termed the luxury of protest and rhetoric when what they required was more organised constituencies and the establishment of resistance movements with proper branches and leadership structures.

The irresponsibility of racist white attempts to enforce separate development meant they were destroying the very future to which they were purportedly working, Chief Buthelezi said.

ANC

However, he also slammed the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress — "our brothers and sisters in exile" — for assuming self-appointed leadership of committed anti-apartheid campaigners.

"They ignore the fact that we must reject violence as a preferred strategy because it is both morally wrong and logistically impossible in this country. They pursue their ends as though they were the sole representatives of black South Africa.

"They think those who are not for them are against them".

'ANC'
clothes
found in
dawn raid

West Rand Bureau

A man who was allegedly found in the possession of clothes bearing the colours of the banned African National Congress (ANC) appeared before a Krugersdorp magistrate yesterday charged with being a member of the organisation.

Mr Isaac Genu (30) of Kagisi, Krugersdorp, appeared before Mr T J la Grange. He also faces alternative charges of being in possession of clothes and a publication which indicated he was a member of the ANC, and with taking part in activities of the ANC.

He pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Captain P A J Kruger said Mr Genu's house was searched at 4 am on March 4.

Police found a T-shirt depicting a woman with a gun and men carrying spears, a second shirt with the slogan "Mayibuye", and another shirt with a map of Africa.

Also found were two children's shirts bearing the slogans "Viva Mandela" and "Aluta continua" (the struggle continues), and two head scarves.

All the items bore the colours green, yellow and black.

"The colours used and pictures depicted are used from time to time by the ANC in its propaganda war waged against this country," said Captain Kruger.

The case continues.

PAC on a first visit to Maputo

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — The Pan Africanist Congress is about to make its first formal visit to Mozambique, with a delegation headed by the president, Mr Nvati Pokela.

Expected within a week, it is being billed as evidence of the movement's recovery from the dire straits of a year ago, when de-recognition by the Organisation of African Unity loomed as a threat.

The aim now is diplomatic parity with the African National Congress and any measure of recognition from the Maputo Government would be regarded as a step in that direction.

The PAC is also trying to counter the ANC's much more potent international image by seeking to associate itself with the national movement in South Africa, to the exclusion of the PAC.

In May, Mr Pokela ventured into other territory generally regarded as an ANC preserve when he made a Scandinavian tour.

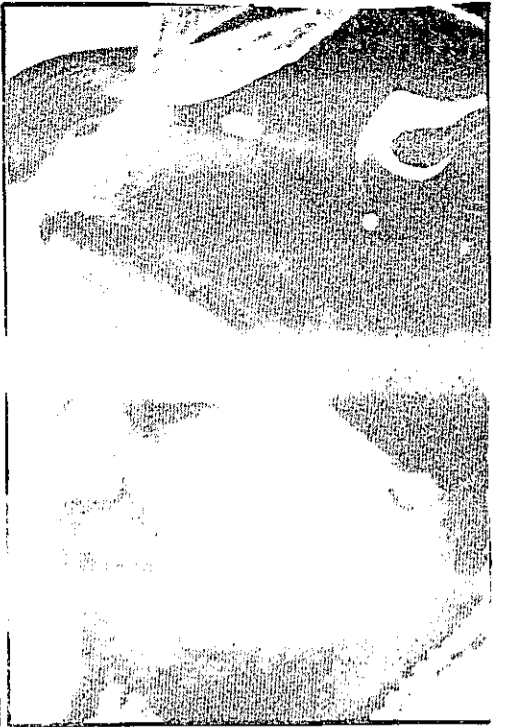
He also seized the opportunity of the Non-Aligned Movement summit in New Delhi to make overtures to India.

Earlier, the PAC had foiled an ANC bid for full Non-Aligned membership by posting its own membership application.

Group rules allow only one member a country and the matter was left in limbo.

A driving force behind the PAC fight-back is the foreign affairs director, Mr Gora Ebrahim, a doggedly persistent personality who bases himself at the United Nations, where the ANC has dominated in the four years since the murder of an Mr Ebrahim's predecessor, Mr David Sibeko.

Nagging insistence on equal treatment — the PAC and ANC have the same observer status at the UN — has helped stop the rot there, though PAC aspirations to open offices in India, Algeria and other ANC strongholds are not taken seriously by the ANC camp.



MAMPHELA RAMPHELE . . . close to Biko.

HLAKU RACHIDI . . . ex-head of BPC.

ALBERTINA SIZULU . . . supports Charter.

THE lifting of banning orders on dozens of black leaders will provide a powerful impetus to black political movements operating outside officially sanctioned institutions, and will almost certainly have a direct bearing on the incipient ideological struggle between leaders of the black consciousness movement and champions of the Freedom Charter.

Restriction orders on at least 50 people, many of them prominent figures in the black community, were allowed to expire last weekend.

They include outspoken men and women who were either protagonists of black consciousness or dedicated defenders of the Freedom Charter before they were banned, as well as people who straddled both camps.

Former top black consciousness figures who are now free to speak out include Mr Kenneth Rachidi, a former president of the banned Black People's Convention, and Dr Mamphele Ramphele, a close associate of the father of black consciousness, Steve Biko, until his death in detention in September 1977.

Prominent people who are no longer restricted but were strongly inclined toward the Freedom Charter before their banning include Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr M C Naidoo, a former president of the Natal Indian Congress, and Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, a top black educationist.

Typical of those who had the confidence of both camps before they were banned and who are now free to act as potential mediators in the threatened conflict are Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, founding president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa and son of Mr Walter

Black ideals: the new battle lines are drawn

11A ROOM
6/7/83
[Handwritten signatures]

By PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

Sisulu, and Father Sman-galisso Mkhathswa, secretary of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference.

In its pristine form black consciousness laid heavy emphasis on the need for black initiative, black self-reliance and black solidarity and tended to eschew contact with whites, accusing them of wanting, consciously or unconsciously, to take over and divert the black struggle.

Supporters of the Freedom Charter — or Charterists as they are known — draw their inspiration from the Freedom Charter, a socialist-inclined document accepted by 3 000 people of all races at the Congress of the People at Klip-town 28 years ago.

In broad terms it encouraged co-operation between the different races or "national groups" and its adherents tended to emphasise the primacy of class rather than race as the driving force

in South Africa's political system.

The African National Congress was a signatory to the Freedom Charter and today, 28 years later, it is still pivotal to the ANC's view of a "liberated" South Africa.

With its socialist rather than nationalist outlook, the Freedom Charter was strongly rejected by Africanists within the ANC, who later formed the Pan-Africanist Congress and whom some observers today see as potential ideological progenitors of the black consciousness movement.

Shortly before the restriction orders on the 50 banned people expired last weekend, however, unbanned leaders of the black consciousness movement made a bid to heal the rift in the black community between themselves and supporters of the Freedom Charter.

The attempt was made at a

unity conference attended by more than 200 black organisations.

The Azanian People's Organisation, most prominent of the black consciousness organisations, played a key role in organising the conference, which ended with the unanimous adoption of the Manifesto of the Azanian People.

On the surface, the manifesto appeared to constitute a retreat from classical black consciousness and to be entirely reconcilable with the Freedom Charter.

Instead of emphasising race as the dominant force in South Africa's political economy and concomitantly, of the need for "black solidarity in the face of white oppression", the manifesto conceded the importance of class as a political force and identified "racial capitalism" as the real enemy.

Adoption of the manifesto was linked with appeals for unity in the black community and provisional plans were made to hold another unity conference to reassess the manifesto next Easter.

Instead of providing for reconciliation with the Charterists, however, the unity conference appears to have evoked their ire.

The first clear sign that the bid for a rapprochement with the Charterists was unlikely to succeed came in a speech by Ms Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

She referred scathingly in her speech to "ideologically lost political bandits" who "diverted the struggle."

Although Ms Mandela did not mention any organisation specifically, she was almost certainly alluding to the men behind the unity conference which adopted the manifesto.

Giving full vent to her anger she accused "political bandits" of trying to impose their manifesto on the people instead of accepting the Free-

dom Charter, which, she said, had already been adopted by the majority of South Africa's people.

Levelling the ultimate ideological accusation, Ms Mandela went on to charge the "bandits" with opposing apartheid only because they themselves wanted to rule under a similar system.

At the same meeting Dr Essop Jassit, leader of the newly revived Transvaal Indian Congress — one of the partners with the ANC in the old Congress Alliance — repudiated charges made at the unity conference that the Transvaal Indian Congress was a "divisive ethnic organisation."

In a clear reference to the organisers of the conference, he said: "They must remember that the majority of the people have accepted the Freedom Charter, which is South Africa's only hope."

More recently, Mr Curtis Nkondo, a controversial former Azapo chairman, attacked black consciousness, saying that the battle in South Africa was not between black and white but between the haves and the have nots.

He rejected the idea of people mobilising on the grounds of race: "I have never heard of yellow consciousness or green consciousness and I must say I am surprised that there is black consciousness."

Mr Nkondo, who was suspended as Azapo chairman during his tenure of office for ideological deviation, was speaking at the inaugural conference of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, another of the proliferating new movements supporting the Freedom Charter.

As a former chairman of Azapo, albeit one who was suspended, his support for the Charterists is significant.

Another clear sign that Azapo's unity bid had been rebuffed came when three prominent pro-Charter movements, the Azanian Students Organisation, the Congress of Students and the General and Allied Workers' Union — disassociated themselves from the Manifesto of Azanian People.

More recently Mr Dan Montsisi, a former president of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council who served four years in prison for sedition, seemed to place himself in, or near, the Charterist camp when he accepted an invitation to speak at annual conferences of both National Union of SA Students and the Azanian Students Organisation.

Now, however, observers are waiting to see what influence recently unbanned black leaders will exert as they enter the political arena.

Judging from comparable precedents in the past, few are likely to withdraw from politics.

Aluta continues remains their slogan — the only question is how and on whose side.



Poor will die at home, says Azapo of new hospital rule

The new hospital ruling in the Transvaal that out-patients must pay bills in full before treatment will result in poor people staying away and dying at home. Azapo claimed today.

The health secretariat spokesman of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Abu-Baker Asvat, was commenting on the new payments policy announced by the Director of Hospitals, Dr Hennie Grove.

The policy is that in-patients, to whom a day tariff is applicable, must pay a deposit on admis-

sion. Where a non-recurrent tariff applied, as with out-patients, the patient "will be expected to pay the full amount on admission". A patient will not be refused treatment if he cannot pay — but will be expected to arrange payment as soon as possible.

The ruling would increase hardship in the townships, particularly among "people who are battling to make ends meet and who are living a hand to mouth existence," Dr Asvat said.

Health services should be the duty of the State

— available to one and all, and free of charge, he said.

Mr Isaac Mogase of the Soweto Civic Association said the ruling was "a terrible situation".

Mr Tom Manthatha of the Soweto Committee of Ten said the ruling was "ugly and inhuman".

People attacked in the street or involved in serious car accidents were not likely to have cash on them when taken to hospital, he said.

"The ruling is a horrifying idea. The Government is responsible for the health of its citizens, he said.

CAPE TIMES 6/7/83 (11A) 2014/30

Political dispensation for SA blacks must be found — Rosholt

Finance Reporter
A POLITICAL dispensation acceptable to South African blacks would have to be found if they were to support the free enterprise system and share in it, warned the chairman of Barlow-Rand, Mr Mike Rosholt, yesterday.

He was speaking on the challenges and opportunities for black

found for the blacks if they are to support and share in the private enterprise system."

He also said that to redress inherited inequalities, and to avoid the "very grave danger" that free enterprise would be rejected by "the majority group", an economic system of compromise would have to be found.

This would have to be "based on a mixture of unrestrained free enterprise and enlightened social responsibility".

Distributing the benefits of the system more fairly would be lengthy, but in the short-term steps to demonstrate bona fides would have to be taken.

These would include:

- Eliminating discriminatory laws as quickly as possible;
- Educational reform;
- Public and private employers accepting equality of opportunity



Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow-Rand, who gave the keynote address at the opening of the 19th Nafcoc conference in the City yesterday.



business development in Southern Africa at the 19th conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce at the Good Hope Centre.

"History tells us in many examples that economic parity can never be achieved without some share in political decisions," Mr Rosholt said.

"It follows that in this country some form of political dispensation and one acceptable to them will have to be

and treatment in labour practices and pay;
● Promotion on merit;
● A "major reform" of influx control laws and their administration.

Botswana ^{11A} invites SA ^{1/2} to identify ^{slow} ANC bases

By Brendan Nicholson,
The Star's Foreign
News Service 6/7/83

GABORONE — Botswana has issued a standing invitation to South Africa to identify any African National Congress bases on its territory.

Since the South African attacks on targets in Mozambique and Lesotho there has been considerable concern in Gaborone that Botswana might be next on the list.

The fear was reinforced when South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned on May 22 that Botswana was one of three countries which provided "conduits" for ANC guerillas and should expect retaliation.

Mr Lebang Mpotokwane, the Administrative Secretary in the office of the Botswana President, emphatically denies that the ANC has any military bases or training facilities in Botswana.

Botswana had a strict policy of not allowing its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on its neighbours and anyone preparing to attack South Africa would be apprehended by Botswana security forces, he

said.

"We have given a standing invitation to South Africa to come and show us where the ANC have any such facilities in Botswana but Pretoria has not responded.

"If they can give us such information we will act on it," Mr Mpotokwane said.

The possibility of a South African raid into Botswana is being taken seriously by the British Foreign Office. It advised two South African political activists, Mr Marius Schoon and his wife, Jeannette, to leave.

ASB, Inkatha Youth co-operate

(11A) (21)

Pretoria Bureau

Star

6/7/83

Members of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) and the Inkatha Youth Brigade held successful talks in Pretoria at the weekend and have agreed to form a joint committee to tackle special projects.

In a joint statement yesterday the two student organisations announced they hoped their joint

committee would be functioning by the end of August.

Discussions between the two groups were largely concerned with the planning of joint projects.

The ASB has invited Mr Musa Zondi, a member of the Inkatha Youth Brigade executive, to address the ASB during its annual congress from July 10 to July 14.

Pebco will fight bus fares rise

~~2/7/83~~ (11A) Post Reporter Post
RESIDENTS of New Brighton were told at a meeting last night to brace themselves for a tough fight against the increased bus fares.

The meeting, organised by the action committee of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) to investigate ways of effectively opposing the bus fares, was held in the Great Centenary Hall, New Brighton.

It was chaired by Mr Qagawuli Godolozzi.

7/7/83
president of Pebco
Mr Mkhuseh Jack, a member of the action committee and president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Organisation (Peyco) said today the meeting was called to tell residents of the steps taken so far.

He said strategies and plans to fight the busfare increases were put to the people and a final decision when to launch these plans, which would call for "sacrifices" from all residents, would be taken at a mass meeting to be held at a later date.

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'Azaso to continue backing of UDF'

Education Reporter

THE main task facing student organisations in South Africa was to fight for a free and democratic education system. Mr Tiego Moseneke, the newly appointed president of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), said today.

Interviewed after the five-day Azaso conference in Cape Town, Mr Moseneke said free and equal education was not possible in an undemocratic society.

"Our conference, therefore, unanimously resolved to work actively in the broad democratic movement in South Africa, especially within the United Democratic Front (UDF)," he said.

DRAMATIC

The UDF is the coalition of labour, student, youth, community and women organisations formed earlier this year to oppose the proposed new constitution.

Mr Moseneke, a second-year B Comm student at the University of the Witwatersrand and president of the Black Students Society on the campus, said Azaso had grown "dramatically"

"Our continued growth will undoubtedly mark an upsurge in activity on the campuses where we are organised," he said.

In an interview the outgoing president, Mr Joe Phaahla, predicted that the growth of the student movement would go "hand-in-hand with a harsher clampdown on student leaders" by the authorities of more conservative universities as well as the security police.

8/7/83 (11A) ~~SP~~ ~~SP~~ *Sowetan*

Cosas mourns for artist

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE VAAL branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has expressed great concern over the death of their member and popular artist, Mr Michael Oupa Ditabe, who was found hanging from the rafters of his home on Friday last week.

A statement released by the organisation yesterday said: "The death (of Michael Oupa Ditabe of Zone 7, Sebokeng) left us with a question: Why did he do it after suffering all the harassment and detentions since the Vaal

branch of Cosas was formed in March 1980? We do not know who is going to follow him. Since the organisation was formed in the Vaal, five members have died.

"The first was Sikhumbuzo Khambule of Evaton, Dillo Khubeka of Evaton, Oupa Morekisi and Richard Pheto, both of Sebokeng, and now it is Michael. In his speech at the June 16 commemoration service which was held at the local Roman Catholic

Church, Ditabe called on all parents and students in the Vaal to carry on with the struggle because some of us were not going to reach that end. Now we can understand why he said those words."

The organisation also expressed concern and worry about the contents of the letter which was reported to have been found next to Mr Ditabe's body. Cosas said regardless of how he died the organisation is going to bury him as a

hero. The Vaal branch is also drawing a programme for the funeral.

Speakers at the funeral will be from Cosas; Vaal Youth Organisation; the newly formed Women's Federation of South Africa in the Vaal and the Vaal Civic Association. The organisation said it has received messages of condolence from various people and organisations and those who want to send messages are asked to contact Mr Gcina Malindi, at 2176 Zone 13 Sebokeng and Simon Nkodi at 68 De Korte Street,

Braamfontein or phone 724-4441, mornings only.

Mr Ditabe, who is survived by his parents, two sisters and two brothers, will be buried at the Evaton cemetery tomorrow. According to his mother, Mrs Elizabeth Ditabe, Michael had been sick in recent days and was receiving treatment from a local doctor. He complained of a severe headache. He was found hanging with a piece of rope around his neck from the rafters in his bedroom which was locked.

Azaso ^{11A}

backs ²¹⁷

^{UDF}
Freedom

^{9/7/83}
Charter

~~Man Correspondent~~

CAPE TOWN. — The Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) this week pledged to work actively with other organisations towards achieving a democratic society in South Africa.

In particular, Azaso pledged its full support for the United Democratic Front — a coalition of labour, student and community organisations which was formed earlier this year to oppose the constitutional proposals.

At the end of the five-day Azaso conference held in Cape Town this week, the students committed themselves to the aims of the Freedom Charter and thus also to working within the UDF.

The conference also pledged support for the community in Lamontville, Durban, which has been the scene of much violence since the Port Natal Administration Board announced a rent increase three months ago. The delegates have called on the board to reduce the rentals.

Veteran trade unionist and community leader Oscar Mpetha, who is currently on bail pending an appeal against his five-year conviction under the Terrorism Act, had to cancel his address to the students because of his poor health.

Instead, he sent a message saying the students had an important role to play in fighting for a free and democratic education system. The unity shown by students had to be extended to include those inside and outside universities, as well as to the community at large.

His message was received with a standing ovation and a resolution, calling on the State to withdraw Mpetha's conviction, was passed. It said Mpetha was "one of the leaders of the community and of the people".

The conference condemned bannings and detentions and resolved to popularise the campaign to establish an education charter on which a democratic education system could be founded.

Azaso's new national president is Mr Tiego Moseneke, a BComm student at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr Abba Omar, an honours student at the University of Durban-Westville, is the new vice-president.

any information.

Hendrickse in new pledge

THE Labour Party would refrain from filling seats in the coloured chamber of the newlook Parliament if

50 percent of the coloured people voted against it participating, party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse pledged in Johannesburg last week.

His promise came during discussion after his address to the South African institute of Race Relations conference

Mr Hendrickse defended the Labour Party's decision, reached at Eshowe in January, to take part in the planned three chamber parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

He said the Labour Party stood for one-man-one-vote in a unitary nation but believed it could do more by participating in the proposed Parliament than by standing on the sidelines.

CLARIFIED

The move was an attempt to become part of the "dismantling of apartheid". Mr Hendrickse said. He later clarified that the party believed participation would give it greater political leverage.

"Mr P W Botha is going to need me and the Labour Party more than ever before — he can't afford to have the whole thing collapse."

Mr Hendrickse said that the Labour Party, in its politics of persuasion, had "realised power as a constituent of the black community"

He added that its stand had been made in the light of the community's affinity to both the black and white groups

CRITICISM

Despite his statements of concern for the voteless black majority, Mr Hendrickse drew criticism from the floor that the Labour Party had betrayed its allies in the Black Alliance. He did not respond to the charge

The Labour leader attacked proponents of the Freedom Charter as taking an inherently ethnic approach. This and his criticism of efforts to mobilise outside State-created bodies evoked heated reaction from Indian Congress members.

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A There's only one way you can regain your self-respect and your husband. You have to become the attractive woman he married and that means losing weight. A safe and easy way to do that is by using Slimming Dragees. One tablet twice a day is enough to suppress your appetite and help you eat less . . . they give you the willpower you don't have yourself. They've been clinically tested and I've even used them myself with great success. Get your Slimming Dragees today from any pharmacy. And enjoy your courting days all over again!

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Student congress condemns proposals

THE Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) kicked off their week-long national congress in Hanover Park on Sunday night with a packed protest meeting condemning the Government's constitutional proposals and presenting as an alternative the 1955 Freedom Charter.

The meeting, which started the third annual congress, was addressed by recently unbanned Mr Curtis Nkondo, the past president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The president of Azaso, Mr Joe Phaahla, said the organisation's congress was being held at an exacting time in South Africa's history.

"The student movement can only be relevant if it is part of the broader progressive movement under the leadership of the workers.

STRUGGLE

"Our struggle is against the system of apartheid capitalism, and not against white people," he said.

Mr Phaahla said Azaso joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) because they felt that was the only means of opposing the constitutional proposals.

He called on students to be committed and disciplined.

"There is no doubt that

the masses of our people are thirsty for freedom, but they need to be organised.

"The future of our country is in our hands but it will depend on what we do with it," he said.

Mr Trevor Manuel, general secretary of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, said the constitutional proposals were "clear attempts to disorganise our ranks".

"We must not only oppose the proposals. We must take the struggle forward from here," he said.

Throughout the meeting, the audience of about 700 broke into spontaneous singing and applause.

Posters on the walls called for support for the UDF, the Freedom Charter and a democratic system of education.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was supposed to address the meeting, but had to cancel at the last minute to attend to other problems.

'New deal' is a fraud says former Azapo head

EVEN if Africans were included in the Government's constitutional proposals, the situation in South Africa would not be changed, recently unbanned Mr Curtis Nkondo said in Hanover Park on Sunday.

Mr Nkondo, the past president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), was addressing the third annual congress of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso).

"The constitutional proposals and the President's Council are frauds and people who accept this fraud, go into it for their own benefit.

"Even if some Africans are drawn into the President's Council, our conditions will not improve. They will not deliver the goods, because they are not meant to do that. They will be co-opted as sub-oppressors.

He said South African society was full of contradictions.

"I've learnt to fear reforms, because it always happens that behind reforms, there is repression.

"The Government builds beautiful schools, but they still give us gutter education.

"They talk about reforms and at the same time they tell us to go to the homelands. We must not be misled by these things.

"We are not interested in reforms. We want liberation," he said.

Mr Nkondo said the constitutional proposals were being imposed from the top and were not drawn up by the majority of the people.

"We don't want big words to confuse us. We want simple statements that reflect the demands of the people and can be understood by all. The Freedom Charter is such a document," he said.

The Freedom Charter was drawn up in Kliptown in 1955.

Leaking solidarity

It is not only on the far Right of South African politics that tension levels are on the up. At the other end of the spectrum they're having problems of their own — at least as bitter and potentially as significant, although much less publicised. CRAIG CHARNEY explains the What and the Why of what's going on.

WHILE white eyes focussed on the shifts in political allegiances during the Battle of the Bergs, significant realignments were underway behind the scenes in black politics.

Splits have arisen among the organisations which identify with the non-racial political tradition established by the now-banned African National Congress (ANC), leading to some surprising changes of alliance. At the same time, there has been a resurgence of Black Consciousness organisations closer to the black exclusivist tradition represented by the banned Pan-Africanist Congress.

These developments could have considerable importance, for they involve the two most powerful forces in black politics "outside the system." The clashes between the non-racial organisations are essentially over who within the country's borders can lay claim to the tradition of the ANC which opinion polls say is the most popular political movement among blacks. For the Black Consciousness Movement, the issue is whether it can re-constitute itself as a credible alternative to the non-racialists.

In 1980-81, a loose alliance of black civic, student, and trade union organisations publicly emerged which rejected the Black Consciousness approach dominant during the 1970s. They rallied instead to the Freedom Charter, a social democratic programme endorsed by the ANC and allied organisations during the 1950s. They also accepted political ties with like-minded whites, anathema to Black Consciousness supporters.

Now, divisions have emerged within the non-racialist movement, between the student and community-oriented groups on the one hand and two key trade unions on the other. These unions, the 25 000-strong Food and Canning Workers (FCWU) and the 9 000-member General Workers Union (GWU), have agreed in principle to unite with the country's largest black worker body, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu).

With several other unions joined as well, the likely result is the creation of a new black union federation — the most powerful in South African history, with a potential industry-wide presence in at least six major industries.)

This marks a turnabout for the FCWU and GWU, who (along with the other pro-Charter groups) clashed with Fosatu during 1980-81. However, the community and student bodies have privately expressed hostility to the drive to create the new union federation.

The split reflects, in part, differences

in political strategy between the unions and community bodies.

The community-oriented organisations are broadly "nationalist" in approach, seeking to unite blacks across class lines (along with sympathetic whites) around civic issues in black townships. This has gone along with a populist, barnstorming style. Cape Town coloured civic groups launched petition drives to change the electricity billing system, while the Anti-SA Indian Council Committee stumped the Transvaal to organise the boycott of the 1981 Council elections. All this is reminiscent in flavour of the tactics of the ANC and its allies of the 1950s.

The Fosatu position, on the other hand, is that industrialisation since those days has created a far stronger black working class, which needs a workers' political movement centred around factory organisation. The FCWU and GWU stand somewhere in the middle.

The clashes also reflect the differences in aims and background between the New Left of the 1960s and 1970s (a force in the unions) and the Old Left (which enjoyed influence in the ANC and allied bodies up through the 1950s).

In the trade unions, a crucial role has been played by white student leaders from the late 1960s and early 1970s. They grew up in an era in which the ANC and the pro-Soviet Communist Party (CP) had been smashed, and their views were shaped by the overseas student rebellions of the 1960s and humanistic New Left thinkers like Herbert Marcuse.

"They would look to Solidarity for inspiration, not the Soviet Union," says one academic close to them. The classic exposition of their views was the late Rick Turner's "The Eye of The Needle", a call for a democratic, socialist South Africa based upon worker self-management.

By contrast, the leadership of the community and student bodies contains figures from Congress-related movements of the 1950s. Most of these organisations' younger activists have been drawn from the post-1976 generation, which matured against a background of riots, strikes, school boycotts, and ANC guerilla attacks.

During this period, the prestige of the ANC and CP has risen among blacks, so it's hardly surprising that they look for guidance from figures reared in the older tradition.

The split began to emerge during 1982.

After the large-scale detentions of trade unionists in late 1981 and the death in detention of Dr. Neil Aggett (an FCWU organiser) in early 1982, the FCWU and GWU gave a favourable response to unity moves from Fosatu. Like Fosatu, they had established industry-wide shop-floor organisations, and they decided to sink their differences to defend their hard-won bases against the onslaught. Fosatu, for its part, took a more political stance, finding a few good words to say for the ANC, and pledging to campaign against the new constitutional proposals.

However, the unity initiative received a chilly response from other non-racial unions who were relatively weak in the factories and strong on community issues, such as the SA Allied Workers Union (Saawu). Organising primarily through township mass meetings rather than at plant gates, they seemed to have more in common with the community and student bodies than with industrial unions like Food and Canning or those of Fosatu. Although Saawu and other unions from this group agreed to sit on a committee set up in April this year to study the new federation, a big question mark hovers over whether they will actually join the new grouping.

It became clear that their scepticism was shared by many of the community and student organisations at two meetings called by the FCWU this year to discuss the unity initiative. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC), sole surviving co-signatory of the Freedom Charter, registered particularly strong opposition. These groups evidently feared that the FCWU and GWU, by joining the new federation, would be lost to the "chartersist" movement and strengthen the Fosatu camp.

The continuing rift was in evidence at the May 1 Lenasia meeting to re-constitute the Transvaal Indian Congress, a sister body to the NIC defunct for 20 years. Though representatives of student and community bodies were present, the only unions to send messages of support were Saawu and two small like-minded unions. The keynote speaker, Advocate Zac Yacoob of the NIC, launched an unmistakable attack on "workerists" — a small group of Indian activists sympathetic to Fosatu.

Likewise, at the meeting a few weeks later to establish a United Democratic Front against the government's constitutional plans, community, student, and

PLEASE TURN OVER

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New signs of life from BC

CONTINUED

church groups joined. Fosatu was conspicuous by its absence, and FCWU sent only observers.

It, as seems likely, the new union federation becomes established, the two sides are likely to patch up an accommodation, because they need each other too much to continue cold-shouldering each other. The union grouping will probably try to strike a balance between the pro-Charter and Fosatu approaches, while the community groups are too realistic to ignore an organised force of 175 000-plus black workers. The key question, however, is whether they will achieve real unity, or merely paper over a cleavage which may surface again to disrupt the non-racial movement.

Meanwhile, there have been new signs of life from the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement, which seemed to be waning until the release of a number of key leaders from Robben Island last year, and the expiry of banning orders on others. These included Saths Cooper and

Strini Moodley, convicted in the South African Students Organisation (Saso) trial in 1976, Lybon Mabasa, another Saso figure, and some of the younger student leaders from the Soweto Students' Representatives Council.

They have been making some inroads among black university students, a major source of activists for non-racial groups.

Cooper started studying this year at Wits, where Black Consciousness has been little heard-of for three years. He and his colleagues gained enough of a following to call a political seminar at the black student residence in May and confront the non-racialists in shouting matches afterwards. At the Indian University of Durban-Westville in April, for the first time a BC supporter contested a by-election for the Students' Representatives Council, until now dominated by NIC people.

The graduates of prison and bans have also revitalised the major BC political movement, the Azanian People's Organisation. (Mabasa became President and Cooper Vice-President.) Azapo has held more commemorative mass meetings and sharply criticised the President's Council proposals, announcing plans to set up a "National Forum Committee" in June to formulate a response. However, it has

saved some of its harshest words for the re-constitution of the Transvaal Indian Congress, attacking it as an "ethnic body".

Since the split with the non-racialists in the late 1970s, the remaining adherents of BC have been perceived as less radical on social and economic questions, such as the clauses of the Freedom Charter on nationalising major industries. Recently, they have been trying to blur the differences using some Marxist jargon and class analysis in their political discourse.

The BCM suffers, however, from a sizeable lag on the non-racialists in grass-roots community and worker organisations. To remedy this they have launched the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union, now 7 500-strong under Azapo Labour Secretary Lesetsa Mosaia. What remains to be seen is whether the BC forces can break away from their elitist reputation and form a broad front of popular organisations.

The ins and outs of black politics may seem arcane to outsiders, but they will have a very real impact on South African society now and in the future. In the short run, they will shape the conflicts developing in factories, townships, and schools, while they may eventually help determine who will rule South Africa.

Shaking on it

A JOHANNESBURG journalist reports an unexpected experience.

He had occasion to speak to Bishop Tutu. The only time available was at a lunchtime adjournment of the Eloff Commission hearings. The journalist duly made his way to the capital and accosted Tutu on his way out of the hearing. Tutu walked him to a nearby church, where it was apparently his habit while in Pretoria to pass the lunch-hour in solitary prayer.

Returning the journalist was surprised by a middle-aged black man rushing towards him. For a moment, he thought a mugging attempt was afoot. But the man stopped and said: "Please may I shake your hand."

Holding out his hand, the journalist enquired why.

"Because you were walking with Bishop Tutu. I want to shake the hand of a man who is a friend of the Bishop."

"Fine, but why don't you shake his own hand?"

The man averted his eyes, looking bashful. "I cannot do that," he said, "I am not worthy. But I will be pleased if I can shake the hand of the man who is his friend."

THE SIMPLE matter of shaking hands is not always, in South Africa, as simple as meets the eye.

A businessman tells the story of how some time ago he was to pick up a black

not qualify for a home of his own and rented premises (unbeknown to the householder) from the live-in chauffeur of a wealthy industrialist.

The businessman arrived and, feeling slightly awkward, made his way to the servants' quarters. There he found Siphosha sharing a dingy room with the chauffeur, who was introduced as "Edmund".

Thinking nothing of it, he did what he normally did on being introduced to anyone, which was to shake hands. He and Siphosha then went about their business.

Soon afterwards, Siphosha moved to other pastures. Some three years later, the businessman bumped into him by chance.

After greetings were exchanged, Siphosha reminded him of that day. "Edmund is always asking after you," he said, "he's always wanting to know if I've seen you, and wanting me to send his regards."

"What?" said the businessman. "Why, I've hardly met him."

"Yes. But you have a special place in his mind. You're the only white man who has ever shaken his hand."

THEN AGAIN, there are some people whose hands you never get to shake at all.

Like the hand of one Lucas Mangoshe, as a recent visitor discovered.

The visitor had arranged an appointment several weeks in advance. This was confirmed in writing, and then, close to the Great Day, again reconfirmed by telephone.

himself out of his Johannesburg bed somewhat earlier than is good for mental health, and set off on the three hour drive to Mafikeng. Arriving in good time, he was primed at length by aides and assistants and introduced to the anteroom of the imposing presidential suite, whence a grim portrait of Stone Face, as Mangoshe is known to numerous acquaintances, glowers forth at the assembled petitioners.

Some 90 minutes later, he was finally advised to embark on the next three hours of driving, as His Excellency the President would not see him.

Why not? No reason. Evidently "The President", living up not only to the worst image of tinpot dictatorships but also to the despotic nature suggested by his glacial demeanour, had simply decided he had other things to do. These included lunching at the Mma-batho Sun.

The visitor recorded his opinion that this summary decision represented an extremely low level of civility on the President's part. An outraged official, whose colleagues had spent the best part of the morning bragging about Bophuthatswana's terrific record on civil rights, promptly threatened to call the cops.

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City Press

10/7/83



Generations of resistance....

● Student leaders spanning two decades traced developments in the education struggle at the six-day Azaso congress in Cape Town, which ends today (Friday). From left: former Nusas president and detainee Auret van Heerden; former Saso permanent organiser and Robben Island prisoner Terror Lekota; former Saso president Diliza Mji; Azaso executive member Abba Omar; Azaso president Joe Phaahla; and former Soweto Students Representative Council leaders recently released from Robben Island: Sechaba Montsisi and Murpheson Morobe. The entire Cosas executive was also present. Veteran Cape Town community and union leader Oscar Mpetha, recently released on bail following his conviction under the Internal Security Act, was due to address the congress last night.

(274) (11A) ~~(327)~~ S. Times 10/7/83

ANC plans to beam propaganda into

THE banned African National Congress (ANC) has asked the United Nations to set up a powerful radio transmitter in Southern Africa.

The transmitter would beam propaganda broadcasts into South Africa as part of the overall "liberation struggle".

It would vastly intensify the presently limited programme of

By **ANDRE VILJOEN**
Harare

broadcasts made by the ANC over the official radio stations in Lusaka, Dar-es-Salaam, Luanda, Tananarive and Addis Ababa.

The plan was disclosed at a major, five-day meeting of the ANC leadership which took place in Lusaka this week.

The meeting is regarded as one of the most important recently held by the ANC command.

It was called specifically to deal with the situation following the Pretoria bomb blast.

Informed sources say an important new stage in the "propaganda offensive" is perceived after the bomb, and the debate in Lusaka centred mainly on this.

The Lusaka conference was opened by Zambia's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Mark Tambatama, and ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo.

A Swapo propaganda spokesman also spoke.

It is believed the ANC's new information chief, Mr Thabo Mbeki, will seek support for the conference recommendations at a frontline states Information

Ministers' meeting soon in Harare.

The ANC has long placed heavy emphasis on publicity.

Now, at a time when it has greater international support than at any previous period in its 71 years' history, the ANC is clearly determined to capitalise on any opportunity to improve its propaganda machinery.

This week's conference re-

viewed the ANC radio plans, and the work of the ANC film unit and of ANC publications, including the journals Sechaba, Mayibuye, (Youth) Forward, the Voice of Women, Dawn, as well as related journals such as the South African Congress of Trade Unions, publication Workers' Unity, and the African Communist, a quarterly of the banned South African Communist Party.

All these

In the after bomb blast in F has enjoyed a radio and te around the wor enunciate AN policy.

But it is in t that the ANC r platform.

Malan warns Press

By **DIRK VAN ZYL**

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday made a veiled threat against newspapers which "serve the public lies and blatant propaganda" about South Africa's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours.

Speaking at a "Commando Day" at Kempton Park he said "allegations and half-truths" being spread about South Africa by government leaders in neighbouring states were being supplemented "with absolute lies by

'Blatant lies and propaganda' come under heavy fire

correspondents in some of these states".

The SADF's media liaison section was daily confronted by reports dealing with South Africa's alleged bids to destabilise Southern Africa.

"We have recently been very obliging about the application of the Defence Act as

regards newspapers and news organisations, but this government cannot allow lies and blatant propaganda to be served to the public.

"One gains the impression that the Republic has been outlawed and that every Marxist-inclined journalist is daily sucking allegations out

of his thumb and sending them to South African newspapers for publication."

South Africa had no desire to attack its neighbours, General Malan said.

"It simply has the will to defend itself. Should our neighbours remove those areas of conflict, for example support for terrorists who threaten our territorial integrity, they need have no fear.

"It is interesting, however, to note how many of our neighbours are now sending allegations into the world that we intend attacking them."

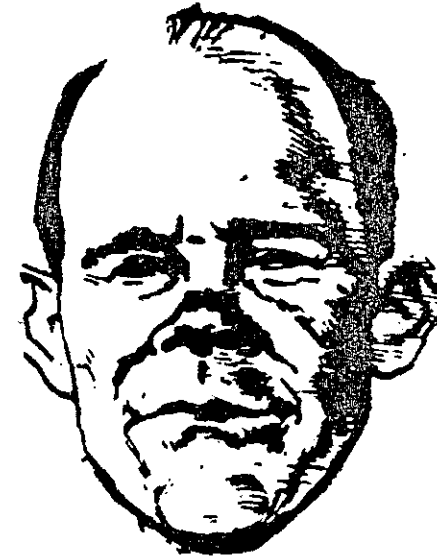
They have to know that we don't, and won't, act against

them, but only against terrorist nests — and we will continue with this should it be found to be in the interests of our country."

All South Africa's neighbours had to do was examine themselves and if they were sure that they were not engaged in subversive activities "with the Russian imperialists and their agents" then they need not fear action from South Africa.

South Africa's unchanging self confidence and its ability to defend itself posed no danger to its neighbouring states, he said.

It had no desire to attack its neighbours, it simply had the will to defend itself.



GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN
Allegations and half-truths

Seminar Press fre

By **DIRK VAN**

THE question of Press f Africa will be examined a nar in Pretoria on Thursd

Presented by the Preto. part of its fifth anniversary will include State interver media; professionalisation SABC as political inform. strictive legislation; the pe freedom surviving in Sout. freedom of the individual : the Press.

Speakers are: Mr Justice Louis Nel, MP; Professor Pretoria University; Mr Editor of the Sunday Times. Tyson Editor of the Star, MP; and Mr Jan van Zyl

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ANC plans to beam propaganda into SA

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All these publications are banned in South Africa.

In the aftermath of the ANC bomb blast in Pretoria Mr Tambo has enjoyed a major platform on radio and television networks around the world from which to enunciate ANC strategy and policy.

But it is in South Africa itself that the ANC most dearly wants a platform.

Malan warns Press

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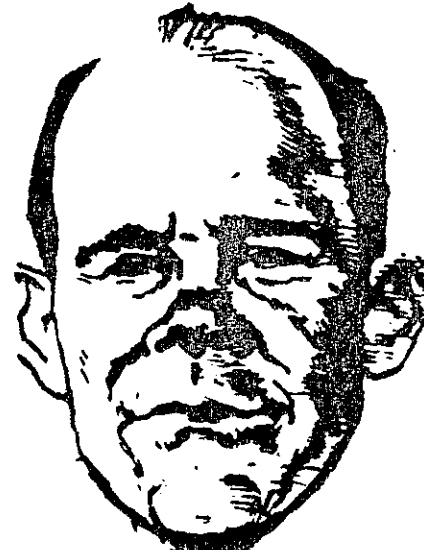
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GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN
Allegations and half-truths

Seminar on Press freedom

By **DIRK VAN ZYL**

THE question of Press freedom in South Africa will be examined at a one-day seminar in Pretoria on Thursday.

Presented by the Pretoria Press Club as part of its fifth anniversary, seminar topics will include State intervention in the news media; professionalisation of journalism; the SABC as political information service; restrictive legislation; the possibility of Press freedom surviving in South Africa; and the freedom of the individual as against that of the Press.

Speakers are: Mr Justice Tienie Steyn; Mr Louis Nel, MP; Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University; Mr Tertius Myburgh, Editor of the Sunday Times; Mr Harald Pakendorf, Editor of the Vaderland; Mr Harvey Tyson Editor of the Star; Dr Alex Boraine, MP; and Mr Jan van Zyl of the SABC.

Why black teacher will not go back...

Handwritten notes:
 IIA
 S-Express
 10/7/83



● Mr Nkondo — he wants free, compulsory education for all.

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

THE STRAPPING young visitor shuffling his feet respectfully in the doorway of the Eldorado Park house was received with all the graciousness of a monarch holding court.

"Follow the noise through the house and you'll find my son," Mr Curtis Nkondo told him gently.

The man quickly complied and Mr Nkondo returned to the business of the interview. The graciousness was still there, but the kindly voice of the school teacher had been replaced by the emphatic cadences of the political convert.

Mr Nkondo, the controversial first president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), is wearing a new political coat.

A former school principal who led the mass walk-out of about 600 Soweto teachers in 1977, he has veered away from the principles of black consciousness to the tenets of the Freedom Charter.

His intensely articulate speech is now peppered with the two words representing the blueprint that has divided rival black groups since it was adopted at Kliptown 28 years ago.

"I want to see free and compulsory education for everybody because the Freedom Charter said the doors of learning and culture should be open to all," he says firmly.

That is Mr Nkondo's first and foremost consideration — that he is a teacher.

For him the crisis in English education is the subject of a grimace and a wry shake of the head.

He believes the English language will remain South Africa's vehicle of communication, but that the concept of separate education for English speakers is a colonial anachronism.

"What impresses me is that English-speaking people have become more progressive," he said this week.

After training for three years at the Pretoria Normal

history and geography, but he finally switched to English.

"I was very lucky in that the principal of my school at that time was very understanding, and allowed me to try and make English more interesting," said Mr Nkondo.

"I scrapped formal essay writing and told students they could write what they wanted.

"There was only one condition. Their writing had to be an indication of their true

bad is rubbish," he said.

By all accounts he was a superb teacher, but his coordination of teacher resignations after the 1976 Soweto riots incurred official wrath.

The then principal of the Lamula Secondary School, he was suspended from teaching.

In October 1977 — the month of the mass bannings of 19 black consciousness organisations and two newspapers — Mr Nkondo was detained for eight months under Section 10 of the Inter-

"We want good education now, and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon," he told the students at the time.

His three year banning order came the following month.

At the time Mr Nkondo was conducting English lessons for matric pupils on Sunday mornings in Soweto, but the banning barred him from Soweto and forbade his teaching anybody other than his own children.

them, and this does not constitute misconduct," he said.

However, he is not interested in returning to his earlier posts.

"I feel there is no use in teaching when the whole education system is wrong.

"We still have gutter education, and only the names have been changed."

Currently working on developing computer-based educational programmes with a Sandton firm, he said he would return to the profession only if the principles

education was only another part of the total strategy to defuse the struggle for liberation; said Mr Nkondo.

Until May this year Mr Nkondo's three-year banning order prevented public airing of his new beliefs, but since its lapse he has re-entered the fray with enthusiasm.

One of the first organisations to feel his eloquent tongue was Azapo, and last month he used a Port Elizabeth meeting to lash out at his former organisation's "misleading" black con-

PHOTO BY WOLFRUM/EPZ/REUTERS/CONTRAST TO LIFE/SA/AF/1977

told him gently.

The man quickly complied and Mr Nkondo returned to the business of the interview. The graciousness was still there, but the kindly voice of the school teacher had been replaced by the emphatic cadences of the political convert.

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"I want to see free and compulsory education for everybody because the Freedom Charter said the doors of learning and culture should be open to all," he says firmly.

That is Mr Nkondo's first and foremost consideration — that he is a teacher.

Perhaps a teacher in limbo since his suspension from the profession after he chaired the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, but nevertheless an educator.

Yet his firm belief that education is inextricably linked with politics means that even if he could, he now would not enter another classroom until some of his criteria were met.

For him the crisis in English education is the subject of a grimace and a wry shake of the head.

He believes the English language will remain South Africa's vehicle of communication, but that the concept of separate education for English speakers is a colonial anachronism.

"What impresses me is that English-speaking people have become more progressive," he said this week.

After training for three years at the Pretoria Normal College, Mr Nkondo began his teaching career at Pimville High School in 1953 — the same year the Bantu Education Act prescribing different education for blacks and whites became law.

"I felt that teaching was the best way to solve the problems of the people," he said in this week's interview.

He began as a teacher of

history and geography, but he finally switched to English.

"I was very lucky in that the principal of my school at that time was very understanding, and allowed me to try and make English more interesting," said Mr Nkondo.

"I scrapped formal essay writing and told students they could write what they wanted.

"There was only one condition. Their writing had to be an indication of their true feelings and relevant to the struggle for liberation."

His face alight with the enthusiasm that characterised his discussion of teaching, he continued: "However, I told them that they must not write that whites were bad.

"The Animal Farm syndrome which categorises those with four legs as good and those with two legs as

bad is rubbish," he said.

By all accounts he was a superb teacher, but his coordination of teacher resignations after the 1976 Soweto riots incurred official wrath.

The then principal of the Lamula Secondary School, he was suspended from teaching.

In October 1977 — the month of the mass bannings of 19 black consciousness organisations and two newspapers — Mr Nkondo was detained for eight months under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act.

Five days after his release he was detained again, this time for 43 days under Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

In April, 1980 Mr Nkondo was detained for the third time soon after he had condemned the South African education system at a mass meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"We want good education now, and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon," he told the students at the time.

His three year banning order came the following month.

At the time Mr Nkondo was conducting English lessons for matric pupils on Sunday mornings in Soweto, but the banning barred him from Soweto and forbade his teaching anybody other than his own children.

"In this way the banning order was a disadvantage, because my not being able to teach caused a reduction in student numbers," he said this week.

The former principal is still bitter about his 1977 suspension, for "misconduct", by the Bantu Education Department.

"The teachers had given me a mandate to act for

them, and this does not constitute misconduct," he said.

However, he is not interested in returning to his earlier posts.

"I feel there is no use in teaching when the whole education system is wrong.

"We still have gutter education, and only the names have been changed."

Currently working on developing computer based educational programmes with a Sandton firm, he said he would return to the profession only if the principles of the Freedom Charter were met.

"We must have a democratic system of education, which involves everybody on equal terms.

"I'm not prepared to fight for white education, which perpetuates white supremacy by indoctrinating children, creating a war psychosis and preparing them to manage and to rule."

The De Lange report "on

education was only another part of the total strategy to defuse the struggle for liberation," said Mr Nkondo.

Until May this year Mr Nkondo's three-year banning order prevented public airing of his new beliefs, but since its lapse he has re-entered the fray with enthusiasm.

One of the first organisations to feel his eloquent tongue was Azapo, and last month he used a Port Elizabeth meeting to lash out at his former organisation's "misleading" black consciousness ideology.

The attack was the latest move in the chequered relationship between Azapo and Mr Nkondo, who was ousted from the presidential post only four months after his unanimous election for allegedly violating principles and policy.

Some of the alleged infringements included his violation of an Azapo resolution that statements be issued only to members of the blacks-only Writers' Association of South Africa and his meeting of an American senator despite Azapo's no-dialogue policy with officials of the Western Five countries.

Another reason for his dramatic expulsion in January 1980 was his "nullification of the principle of non-negotiation" by asking PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman to help secure the release of his brother Zinjiva, a poet who was detained when his Swaziland-Lesotho flight was forced to land in Bloemfontein.

● Mr Nkondo — he wants free, compulsory education for all.

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

Report by ARNOLD GETZ



11A (3) S. Times 10/7/83

Student body supports UDF

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

A LARGE student body has joined opposition to the Government's constitutional proposals and this week pledged support for Dr Alan Boesak's United Democratic Front (UDF).

The Front was recently initiated by Dr Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and so far about 40 organisations have backed it.

At the annual congress of the Azanian Student Congress (Azaso) held in Cape Town this week black leaders said the reform plans were riddled with "discrimination and contradiction"

Azaso is the most widely-supported black student body in the Western Cape and about a thousand delegates and observers from all over South Africa attended.

Delivering a keynote address at the week's congress, blind Advocate Zac Yacoob called for equal rights for all "national groups" in South Africa.

According to Mr Yacoob — an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress and chairman of the Democratic Lawyers' Association — people needed to ask themselves what kind of change they were looking for.

"In general terms, we work for the removal of injustice, poverty, violence, and exploitation in South Africa," he said.

I WOULD argue without any fear of contradiction that the Government is taking this step so as to reduce pressure on it to include Africans. This so-called step does the following things for the Government:

It opens an opportunity for Indians and coloureds to join the whites. It is an invitation to add numbers to the laager of people determined never to share power with the majority.

It is intended to win some relief from overseas pressures. It is a ploy, a strategy of confusion.

Weakened

It is a step being taken by the Government to make the idea of a confederation or constellation of mini-states more possible. The Government's policy of confederation was weakened by the fact that Indian and coloured people could not be fitted into the scheme. The Government has agreed time and again that there is no basis for a coloured or Indian homeland.

Therefore they were defenceless when they were attacked for a policy which could not accommodate people without a homeland.

This step, then, is a way of taking a weak element out of a policy mainly designed to rob Africans of their rights.

Urban

In this regard let me say that in a much less obvious way the Government is trying to do the same thing with so-called urban Africans.

They are trying to get South Africans to see urban-based Africans as different to the so-called homeland Africans.

They are trying to do this by tinkering away at the hated "pass law" system so as to give urban Africans a different status to other Africans.

This is another strategy of trying to remove a weak link from the overall policy of separate development. It also serves the purpose of their divide and rule technique which is the core of their policies.

In response to each of these reasons we

There can be no future built on racism

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Gibson Thula, Inkatha's chief urban representative, hit out at the Government's constitutional plan in this address to the Institute of Race Relations' 53rd annual conference recently.



tion will not make a jot of difference to the vulnerability of whites. Whites are obsessed with numbers.

Hostility

Surely they should realise that both their strength and their weakness lies not in their numbers but in their arms, their technology and their strategies.

Secondly, the inclusion of a few million Indian and coloured

the exclusion of the majority of blacks more noticeable.

Thirdly, the lack of a "homeland" for coloureds or Indians is also no real argument. In fact, the Zulu-speaking people and most other Africans do not really have a "homeland". Zulus live all over South Africa, and so do members of all other African language groups.

Frustration

political apartheid causes.

It will increase the sense of frustration of African people and make us more determined to resist separate development. It will be a constant reminder to us of the steps the Government has taken to keep us out of the system of white privilege.

Another danger is that we Africans in the major resistance movements have always been non-racial in our approach.

By trying to divide Africans from other blacks, the Government is in fact pushing us in the direction of racism.

Descent

We in Inkatha will resist the descent into the hell of racism. Many Africans in South Africa, however, will start thinking in racial terms. Hence the proposals are inviting race polarisation.

The proposals avoid the main issue facing South Africa, that of the constitutional future of the South African majority, the Africans. By avoiding it, they make that issue even more of a source of conflict than it already is.

We reject this constitution because its first guiding principle is racism. There can be no future built on racism.

Rejects

Inkatha would reject the present constitution even if the tables were turned and we blacks replaced whites in the tricameral parliament. Inkatha rejects it because blacks or anybody else could not build a secure future on racist foundations. Inkatha rejects it in part and in total and even if we were offered a fourth chamber we would refuse to participate in it.

Inkatha views the proposed tricameral parliament as a total strategy to limit blacks to 13 percent of the land area of South Africa and the small white group in effective control of 87 percent of South Africa.

It is in the interests of all people and organisations that are opposed to the new constitutional proposals and apartheid in general to know that

so-called step does the following things for the Government:

It opens an opportunity for Indians and coloureds to join the whites. It is an invitation to add numbers to the laager of people determined never to share power with the majority.

It is intended to win some relief from overseas pressures. It is a ploy, a strategy of confusion.

Weakened

It is a step being taken by the Government to make the idea of a confederation or constellation of mini-states more possible. The Government's policy of confederation was weakened by the fact that Indian and coloured people could not be fitted into the scheme. The Government has agreed time and again that there is no basis for a coloured or Indian homeland.

Therefore they were defenceless when they were attacked for a policy which could not accommodate people without a homeland.

This step, then, is a way of taking a weak element out of a policy mainly designed to rob Africans of their rights.

Urban

In this regard let me say that in a much less obvious way the Government is trying to do the same thing with so-called urban Africans.

They are trying to get South Africans to see urban-based Africans as different to the so-called homeland Africans.

They are trying to do this by tinkering away at the hated "pass law" system so as to give urban Africans a different status to other Africans.

This is another strategy of trying to remove a weak link from the overall policy of separate development. It also serves the purpose of their divide and rule technique which is the core of their policies.

In response to each of these reasons we in Inkatha have the following responses. Firstly we say that adding numbers to the team of white domina-

be no future built on racism

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10/7/83

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tion will not make a jot of difference to the vulnerability of whites. Whites are obsessed with numbers.

Hostility

Surely they should realise that both their strength and their weakness lies not in their numbers but in their arms, their technology and their strategies.

Secondly, the inclusion of a few million Indian and coloured people will not soften the hostility towards the white-dominated government. It will in the end simply make

the exclusion of the majority of blacks more noticeable.

Thirdly, the lack of a "homeland" for coloureds or Indians is also no real argument. In fact, the Zulu-speaking people and most other Africans do not really have a "homeland". Zulus live all over South Africa, and so do members of all other African language groups.

Frustration

There is simply no logic in the Government's scheme. It is no more than a confused response to the

rate development. It will be a constant reminder to us of the steps the Government has taken to keep us out of the system of white privilege.

Another danger is that we Africans in the major resistance movements, have always been non-racial in our approach.

By trying to divide Africans from other blacks, the Government is in fact pushing us in the direction of racism.

Descent

We in Inkatha will resist the descent into the hell of racism. Many Africans in South Africa, however, will start thinking in racial terms. Hence the proposals are inviting race polarisation.

The proposals avoid the main issue facing South Africa, that of the constitutional future of the South African majority, the Africans. By avoiding it, they make that issue even more of a source of conflict than it already is.

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Inkatha views the proposed tricameral parliament as a total strategy to limit blacks to 13 percent of the land area of South Africa and the small white group in effective control of 87 percent of South Africa.

It is in the interests of all people and organisations that are opposed to the new constitutional proposals and apartheid in general to know that they cannot arrive at the final solution of South Africa's problems without Inkatha participation.

ANC men apply for political asylum

MBABANE — Two members of the South African guerilla organisation, the African National Congress, have appealed for political asylum in Swaziland after fleeing across the border from the Republic.

Their official request must be made from jail,

(11A) Soweto 11/7/83
where the men were sent last week pending trial on arms charges. Police said they had 10 hand-grenades, two pistols, three machine gun magazines and 17 rounds of ammunition.

Raymond Kekoa-nyatsi of Daggaskraal and Maxwell Diamini of Soweto told a court they

had fled to Swaziland because they had spent time in detention in South Africa for their activities with the outlawed ANC. They demanded asylum from the dock.

They were fined R200 for illegal entry and were remanded in custody for 30 days to await

trial on possession of arms of war.

A court official later said the men would have to appeal to the Deputy Prime Minister's office for asylum within the next 30 days. If it was refused, he said, they would be sent back to South Africa. — Sapa-
Reuter.

ARGUS 11/7/83

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Many coloured people confused about the PC

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Argus Political Staff, reports the results of a survey

CONFUSION and uncertainty among many coloured people about the role of the President's Council has been shown in a survey done by researchers of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

A large proportion of the people questioned were unable to form an opinion even on some of the most elementary aspects of the President's Council as an institution.

It was found that to a large extent they were so ill-informed that they could not decide about the merits or demerits of the Council.

The survey could provide a broad indication of the kind of response the Government could receive in the forthcoming referendum on its constitutional plan.

If the survey is any guide, the Government's referendum question — no matter how elementary — could in effect fall on deaf ears as far as a large part of the South African electorate is concerned.

Not only coloureds, but also many whites and Indians are likely to be in this category unless politicians can perform an educational miracle by making the masses understand the constitutional complexities almost overnight.

Baffled

Without such magic a substantial part of the response to the Government's referendum question will come from an ill-informed, baffled or confused electorate.

A key question in the HSRC survey was: "Do you think the President's Council will succeed as an instrument for a peaceful solution to South Africa's racial problems?"

The largest proportion (43,1 percent) of the respondents to whom the question was put were unable to form a clear opinion. They could not say "yes" or "no" and chose "uncertain" as their answer.

Of those questioned 32,9 percent replied "yes" and 24 percent said "no".

Rejected

Significantly, the survey showed a clear tendency among coloured people on the higher educational levels to reject the President's Council outright.

Nearly 80 percent of those with at least three years' post-matric education or training said "no" to the question above, while none of the respondents on this educational level thought the President's Council would succeed.

About 21 percent of the respondents in this category were unable to form a clear opinion and replied "uncertain".

The investigation, conducted by researchers of the HSRC's Division of Conflict Studies, was originally planned for the white, coloured and Indian population groups. But the survey report says that because of "circumstances beyond the control of the HSRC" data was collected among coloured people only.

The report is based on a sample survey conducted among a cross-section

of coloured people aged 18 years and older and living throughout the Republic of South Africa. There were 1 070 respondents and their educational qualifications ranged from none to three years or more post-matriculation training.

Only 40,7 percent of those questioned were in favour of the creation of the President's Council. Forty-three percent declared they were "uncertain" while 16,3 percent were against the President's Council as an institution.

About one-third (33,9 percent) of all the respondents regarded black representation in the President's Council as essential if it were to succeed in its aims. Forty-five percent were uncertain and 20,9 percent did not think black representation was essential.

The survey findings indicate that a startlingly high proportion of coloured people know little or nothing about the purpose and aims of the President's Council.

As many as 60 percent of respondents on the lower educational levels — below Standard Two — chose "uncertain" as their answer to basic questions about the Council.

An overwhelming majority (78,9 percent) of respondents on the post-

matric level said the coloured representatives on the President's Council were not acceptable leaders. Only 5,3 percent of the respondents in this category accepted the Council's coloured members as leaders.

In the overall survey most of the respondents who accepted the Council's coloured members as leaders were in the lower educational categories.

The pattern was somewhat similar in regard to the acceptability of white and Indian members of the President's Council. But the white members seemed to be more acceptable than the coloured members to respondents at all educational levels.

A basic lack of knowledge about the composition and purpose of the President's Council was revealed by replies to a series of questions designed to test the knowledge of the respondents.

When they were asked whether blacks were represented on the Council, 17,2 percent wrongly replied "yes" and 33,5 percent were uncertain.

When asked whether the President's Council could make laws, 33,9 percent wrongly replied "yes", 26,3 percent said "no", 33,7 percent were uncertain and 6,2 percent did not answer.

Mandela Street

11/7/83
11A
A LONDON Council's decision to name a street in honour of imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, has run into opposition from residents.

Camden
Camden Council, controlled by the Labour Party, decided on the name change last month after the anti-apartheid movement shifted its offices to the street — which was, and maybe still is, called Selous Street.

The AAM said the name might associate them with the Selous Scouts, the former Rhodesian counter-insurgency unit. The street was, in fact, named after a 19th century English painter, Henry Selous, who lived in the district.

The Council has put up new name plates — Mandela Street — but has left the previous ones in place because a final decision has not been taken.

Residents have formed an association to protest against the name change, saying businesses with premises in the street will have to pay thousands of pounds to change letterheads and brochures. — Sapa.

11A (207) City News
18/7/83

MIGRANTS GET COUNCIL VOTE

By KHULU SIBIYA

THOUSANDS of migrant labourers from the homelands will be allowed to vote in the forthcoming Soweto Community Council elections - provided they have been in the prescribed area for 12 months.

This was revealed yesterday by a spokesman for the Department of Co-Operation and Development, Mr J Oosthuizen.

He said unlike the previous elections, which were held in

1978, contract workers from the homelands would be eligible to vote in all Community Council elections throughout the country in November this year.

This, he said, will include workers from the independent states like Venda, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, provided they can prove that they have been in the council area for 12 months or more.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, said Azapo was committed to boycotting the elections.

"Why do they refuse people permanent rights in an urban area, and at the same time allow them to vote? The Government is actually practising double standards," Mr Mkhabela said.

Meanwhile the Anti-Community Council Committee, formed a month ago to oppose the elections, has called for a mass meeting of all Soweto residents to form a strategy to boycott the elections.

The meeting will be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday at 1pm and will be addressed by Dr Nthato Motlana, among others.

LESOTHO LEADER RAPS ANC

Sources 12/7/82

THE Leader of the Lesotho United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Mofeli, said yesterday the African National Congress should not be allowed to conduct clandestine and subversive activities against South Africa from his country.

Speaking in a radio interview monitored by the SABC in Johannesburg, Mr Mofeli said the ANC's activities were bringing about con-

frontation between South Africa and Lesotho.

Turning to the situation in Lesotho, Mr Mofeli said members of the ANC were regarded with suspicion and as a nuisance in the villages there, because they looked down on the customs and traditions of the Basotho nation.

Mr Mofeli accused the Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, of leaning on communist support to

establish a dictatorship.

Speaking on the same programme, Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana, said that if South Africa could show his government any ANC terrorists who had attacked South African targets from bases in Lesotho and prove that the Lesotho government had connived with them, the Lesotho authorities would publicly apologise to the Republic — Sapa.

Azapo says new health tariffs will cause suffering

11A



12/7/83

THE TRANSVAAL executive of the Department of Health Services' decision to charge in-patients between R20 and R175 on admission to all provincial hospitals will bring untold suffering to most people.

In a statement to The SOWETAN yesterday, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation's Health Secretary, Dr A Savat, said that in future patients would be reluctant to go to hospitals and clinics for fear that they would be turned away if they did not have money.

Azapo was reacting to a statement by the Director of Hospital Services, Dr Hennie Grove, that the advance payments expected from in-patients to whom a non-current amount applied would be between R5 and R35.

CASES

According to a directive it will also be expected of out-patients.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

including emergency cases, to pay an amount ranging between R2 and R13 before treatment.

Dr Grove has also said that a patient is classified in a specific tariff group on the basis of the family's total income and the number of persons constituting the family.

In the statement Azapo says that the decision was taken without considering the untold suffering it would cause to all concerned.

MONITOR

However, the statement says Azapo will monitor this decision and keep the public informed about its consequences.

"The standpoint of the organisation is that health services are a basic right which should be available to all free of charge," the statement says.

Meanwhile patients at

medical aid membership cards to the hospital.

This scheme, according to sources, is likely to bring about a lot of

inconveniences to people who might get ill while not in possession of their documents or money.

Baragwanath Hospital have been asked to bring reference books or

Jan (11A) [Signature]

Court told of Mozambique visit

ANC wanted list of Security Police

By Themba Molefe

A Soweto mechanic was told by the African National Congress (ANC) to frequent shebeens where he could obtain names and addresses of members of the Security Police and supply them to the organisation, a Johannesburg Regional magistrate was told yesterday.

Mr Moses Langa (38) of Zone 4, Meadowlands, has been charged with illegal possession of a weapon, a Russian 9 mm Makarov pistol, with intent to commit acts of terrorism and, alternatively, to endanger law and order.

He is also charged with gathering information within the country and supplying it to the ANC.

Mr Langa has pleaded not guilty to all the charges before Mr J van

Dam.

He said that during his 1981 visit to Mozambique, where he was born, he met two men who said they were members of the outlawed ANC. They said that when he returned to South Africa he should send them names and addresses of security policemen.

One man also showed Mr Langa the Makarov pistol which he promised to send to him once he was back in South Africa.

Mr Langa said he had agreed to furnish the men with the names and addresses but had not intended to be the ANC's informant. He did not think they would send the pistol.

Late in 1981 a young man had brought the pistol to Mr Langa in Soweto. The man said it was

from two men in Mozambique.

Mr Langa said he went to a friend, Mr Sam Maminza, who sold the firearm for R300. Mr Langa got R150 from the sale.

Mr Langa said he wanted to get rid of the pistol that day because he had no intention of keeping or using it.

He admitted that the ANC "possibly wanted to eliminate" the security policemen whose names he could supply but he did not give the ANC the list nor did he intend doing so.

On returning to Mozambique, Mr Langa said the man who had supplied him with the firearm threatened to kill him when when he learned that he had sold it.

Mr Langa is in custody. The case continues today.

(11A) (16) 2/7/83
**ANC is a nuisance,
says Lesotho leader**

THE leader of the Lesotho United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Mofeli, said yesterday that the African National Congress should not be allowed to conduct clandestine and subversive activities against South Africa from his country.

Speaking in a radio interview monitored by the SABC in Johannesburg, Mr Mofeli said the ANC's activities were bringing about confrontation between South Africa and Lesotho.

Turning to the situation in Lesotho, Mr Mofeli said members of the ANC were regarded with suspicion and as a nuisance in the villages

there, because they looked down on the customs and traditions of the Basotho nation.

Mr Mofeli accused the Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, of leaning on communist support to establish a dictatorship.

Speaking on the same programme, Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana, said if South Africa could show his government any ANC terrorists who had attacked South African targets from bases in Lesotho, and prove that the Lesotho Government had connived with them, the Lesotho authorities would publicly apologise to SA. — Sapa

Four killed in Cape

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A man was killed and four other people were injured — three of them seriously — when a car and an ambulance collided near Knysna on Sunday morning.

The driver of the car, Mr Nicolaas Gerhardus Strobel, 21, of Nelson Street, Knysna, was killed.

Meanwhile, Boland police yesterday released the names of the three people killed in a car which was involved in a collision with a bus near Touws River on Sunday night.

They were Mr Cedric Engel, 18, of Siberland Avenue, Mitchells Plain, Miss Daphne Akkers, of Stallion Road, Mitchells Plain, and Mr L. Lodewyk, of Athlone.



Mr David Curry ... Labour Party willing to take part.

Bill 'should only be an amendment'

AKS 45
12/11/83
11A

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party has called for the Constitution Bill to be only an amendment to the present constitutional system and not replace it entirely.

This is one of the points made by the party in a memorandum it presented to the parliamentary select committee on constitutional affairs which is hearing representations on the new draft Constitution in Cape Town.

Details of the memorandum were released today by Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party.

In the memorandum, the party also expresses misgivings about the wide powers given to the President.

"Conflict"

"In view of our conflict society the President must be seen as a person resolving conflict and not becoming part of the conflict."

The right of appeal to the courts on constitutional matters, or a specially convened constitutional court is also suggested.

The party reiterates that, although it thinks the Bill is unacceptable because it excludes blacks and entrenches ethnicity, it is willing to take part in an effort to have transitional change.

"A process"

"We wish to enter into a process in which a negotiated settlement can be reached. We propose to use the structure proposed to work for further change to arrive at a constitution acceptable to the majority of South African citizens."

A delegation of the Association of Cape Management Committees also gave evidence to the committee today.

They were Mr David Curry, the president, Mr E J Manikkam, the vice president, Mr J Johnson, Mr C Green, Mr Y Chotia and Mr E Samuels, director of the association.

Policy

It says in a memorandum that its policy remained one of direct representation on local government bodies on a non-racial basis.

It rejects racial representation as the economic structure of local government as each city or town involves the total community of races.

The association agreed with the Labour Party that the reform proposals should serve as an amendment to the present Constitution and not as an entirely new one.

It makes it clear that it supports the process of reform, but warns that the present legislation

(Turn to Page 3, col 2)

The memorandum also deals with the "tremendous powers" of the President.

Earlier the Association

Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assoccom) had called for a common citizenship for all races under the proposed new constitutional system.

A delegation of the association, led by its chairman Mr H Wilmut,

gave evidence to the select committee yesterday. Assoccom also called for the courts to keep their traditional role and for steps to prevent possible abuse of executive powers.

AKS 45
12/11/83
11A
Constitution Bill 'should only be an amendment'

(Contd from Page 1)

could increase rather than decrease the conflict situation.

The association says it wants to reaffirm its commitment to the process of reform "so as to reach a negotiated settlement which will have the support of the majority of South Africans".

According to the memorandum, Assoccom regarded the latest constitutional moves as being in the right direction, with the SA Constitution Bill providing the necessary basis for evolutionary change.

Wrab gives doctor final marching orders

GOODBYE ASVAT

13/7/83
Sowetan
MORE than 500 people whom the benevolent Dr Abu Baker Asvat selflessly helped in times of need will be left on their own when he vacates his surgery at Mochaeneng at the end of July.

Dr Asvat, who is the chairman of the health committee of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), has received a final notice from the West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) informing him that his lease for the surgery will be terminated on July 31. Dr Asvat has been practising at this surgery since 1972.

The news of Dr Asvat's move from Mochaeneng, which is opposite Regina Mundi,

has been met with despair by the small community of this area and his more than 18 000 patients. Many of his patients came from the nearby townships of Rockville, Dlamini, White City Jabavu and Senaoane.

Dr Asvat, together with the Witwatersrand Council of Churches, played an important role in helping the shack people who had been evicted from the townships and were squatting around Mochaeneng. He had highlighted the plight of these people and helped in getting them accommodated in tents. Dr Asvat was always on hand to assist the community of Mo-

chaeneng whenever they encountered problems with authorities.

To the people of Mochaeneng, Dr Asvat was more than just a doctor to them. And they are worried about what is going to happen to them when he leaves. "Dr Asvat did not only attend to our health problems but also to our financial problems," Mrs Jane Shezi said.

She said Dr Asvat had no qualms about giving loans and then completely forgetting about it.

Dr Asvat also treated those who could not afford his services, either on credit or charged them a minimal amount.

Miss Eunice Ngcun-

ga said she never experienced problems calling on Dr Asvat to attend to a person who could not make it to the surgery. "All we did was to rush to the surgery and informed him about our predicament and he would, without hesitating, return with us to the patient," she said.

Mr Lord Hlongwane says since he came to stay at Mochaeneng he has been assisted by Dr Asvat in both his personal and health problems. "I found him to be very approachable and willing when requesting aid from him," he said.

But all these people are worried about what would happen to them in the event of a confrontation with the West Rand Board.

By PHIL MTIMKULU

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The case was postponed to August 12 for further investigation. — DDR

manager imprisoned

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pay gambling debts.
Tony Branch, 36, a confessed gambling addict, said he lost the money betting on horse and greyhound races.



Mrs H. Coetsee's collection of costume
Hall last night.

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Soviet mayor

LONDON — Jewish demonstrators, some wearing prison camp clothing, jostled and shouted at the mayor of Moscow yesterday as he arrived for lunch with representatives of London's Council.

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Woman assaulted husband, court told

EAST LONDON — The regional court was told yesterday that a woman assaulted her husband by beating him with her fists, banging his head against a wall and hitting him on the head with an iron bar.

The evidence was heard by Mr S. van Zyl when Mrs Lizzy Martin, 36, formerly of Union Arcade, East London, pleaded not guilty to a charge of culpable homicide.

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UMTATA — The five times banned wife of Robben Island prisoner Mr Nelson Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela visited graves near here yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was on her way back to Brandfort in the Free State to which she is banished.

She was in Transkei to attend a funeral of her late uncle, Chief Delihlazo Madikizela, of Bizana in Eastern Pondoland.

Chief Madikizela, 72, died last week and was buried at his Bizana home on Sunday.

Before coming to Transkei, Mrs Mandela, whose ban was reimposed on June 30 this year, had obtained permission from the South African police to attend her uncle's funeral.

She has to report to the South African Police today.

Winnie Mandela visits graves

Nelson Mandela is a blood relative of the Tembu kings of the Delindyebos, the Matanzimas the Joyis and the Mtiraras.

Mrs Mandela visited the graves of her late father-in-law, Nelson's father, Chief Henry Mphakanyiswa Mandela, her mother-in-law, Mrs Nowisile Mandela and that of her late sister-in-law, Miss Bliwe Mandela who was buried last November which are below the former Mandela home in Qunu location. — DDR.

Doctor's wife thanks helpers

EAST LONDON — The wife of local board sailor, Dr H. J. S. Kayser, who was blown several kilometres down the coast by a strong wind has thanked the people who helped her husband.

Mrs H. Kayser said she met last week with Mr Ian Cunningham, the jogger who discovered Dr Kayser on the beach near Gonubie, to "thank him most sincerely for all he had done."

She said Mr Cunningham, who was training along that stretch of beach, had noticed the Divisional Council res-

cue vehicle and the spotlight from the search craft, and was just about to leave when he saw Dr Kayser coming in over the rocks.

"Mr Cunningham then helped my husband over the rocks and three kilometres of sand to his car, and drove him to casualty for treatment," she said.

Mrs Kayser said besides thanking Mr Cunningham, she was also extremely grateful to the National Sea Rescue Institute, Mr Rob Walmesley and the Divisional Council Ambulance service. — DDR.

father being assaulted by a young woman. Mrs Gqomfa said.
Mrs Martin then assaulted her. She said Mrs Martin hit Mr Martin on the head with an iron implement used for stamping garlic.
He was bleeding profusely. When she tried to call his son, Mrs Martin threatened her with a knife, Mrs Gqomfa said.
She said Mr Nelson Leve, another employee, called Mr Martin's son

principal district surgeon, said there had been bleeding on the brain which could have been caused by head injuries.

He said he also found Mr Martin had pneumonia, which could have been caused by the initial bleeding of the brain.

Dr A. Appavoo said Mrs Martin brought Mr Martin to him on the evening of November 18, and he found Mr Martin was unable to speak.

Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party, looks at South African society and the question of racism. He says whites — and particularly Afrikaners — have a problem in dealing with the so-called coloured problem.

Slavery may have ended but the ^(11A) malady lingers on ^{Star 13/7/83}

The present fight in the ranks of Afrikanerdom is nothing new. The reason for the in-fighting is the inability of white South Africa to find a solution to the so-called problem of colour.

It is a historical fact that slavery was one of the main roots that led to the establishment of the coloured group.

Many coloured people came from slavery — and slavery, more or less, has shaped and re-shaped the personality of all South Africans, particularly whites.

Because slaves were men of colour and slave-masters were white, a new social structure was created. The South African structure was born with a congenital defect.

Racism became a way of life and all values in this country were governed by the colour of a man's skin.

Afrikaners were slave-owners and colour became their yardstick, and so our social patterns were formed.

People will say that slavery ended more than a century ago; but though the song has ended, the melody (or, for that matter, the malady) lingers on.

Racism is a learnt response. We learn it at home. In this country we do not live up to our ideals but according to our habits, and our habits are racial ones.

Coloured people share the same culture as whites. They are Western, they speak Western languages, belong to the same churches — and yet they have never been accepted by whites because racism is still deeply rooted in our society.

Some whites find it difficult to accept coloureds as people. This is what the fight in Afrikanerdom is about: how to bring the coloured people near, but not too near.

The apartheid policy became the method by which racism became institutionalised and was one of the keys that opened the door for the National Party



Mr David Curry — "slavery shaped SA".

to win the general election in 1948.

We are a minority group in terms of numbers. And yet, Afrikanerdom is splitting because of us.

The Conservative Party was founded not because of blacks but because of the colour question. Afrikaners are constantly reminded that no person of colour can share in the white man's power structure.

The colour question became one of the reasons for the Great Trek. No person of colour had voting rights in the old republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, only persons of European descent could sit in Parliament.

When the Nats came to power, they made sure we were taken from every voters' roll at national and local level.

It is the problem of colour that has made South Africa the pole-cat of the world. It is this problem that will keep South Africa out of the international sports arena.

Racism is found in other parts of the world, but in our case it became law.

Apartheid is the biggest threat to the future security of

South Africa. In the real fight against communism, white South Africa will have to give up its racism so as to win the battle for black minds.

It is this moving away from racism that is causing the split in Afrikanerdom. Petty apartheid to many Afrikaners is not petty — it is the foundation on which grand apartheid is built. The removal of racial laws is to them the beginning of integration. Apartheid is the wall they need to keep up the Afrikaner power structure.

We will carry on the fight against apartheid. We refuse to carry on apologising for our existence.

You can truly put a label on us: Made in South Africa. We did not come to Africa by boat. In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck met our ancestors on the shores of Table Bay.

The fight against the "system" will continue as far as we are concerned. We might quarrel and fight about the methods or the strategy to reach our goal of removing apartheid. But there is no argument about the destruction of racism, the removal of this stigma from our society.

Afrikanerdom will be forced to implement real change

Anti-council campaign grows

14/7/83

THE CAMPAIGN for the boycott of community council elections scheduled for September is going to be intensified and nationalised.

11A

A formidable alliance of political, worker and community organisations, spearheaded by the anti-Community Council Committee, is working on plans to highlight the campaign.

[scribble]

A spokesman for the committee, Mr Isaac Mogase, said the campaign was going to be intensified through a series of meetings to be held throughout the country.

"It is important that people must know that community councils are useless, dummy institutions," Mr Mogase said.

Some of the organisations that are going to participate in the campaign are the Soweto Civic Association, General and Allied Workers' Union, Federation of South African Women and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

A significant aspect of the campaign is that it will mobilise for the boycott of the elections even if community councils are given town council status.

"We cannot accept participation at local level without meaningful participation in the central structure of the country," he said.

The chairman of the Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, said he was confident the campaign would succeed.

Speculation is rife that faced with such a massive campaign, the Government is likely to postpone the elections indefinitely.

The publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said his organisation would co-operate with the committee.

ADJUSTED FOR
LADIES
& GENTLEMEN
BY
HELA

Inkatha attack shakes students

By CHRIS FREIMOND and
HELENE ZAMPETAKIS

THE Afrikaanse Studentebond congress in Pretoria was severely shaken yesterday when an executive member of the Inkatha Youth League, Mr Simphiwe Mxumalo, warned that blacks could resort to violence unless whites showed a willingness to share political power.

He further stunned the students by stating that after "liberation" blacks would be concerned with the rights of individuals and not minority groups.

And in a response that drew strong applause and underscored the tense situation, a former ASB president, Mr Chris Fisser, said Afrikaners would "fight for the specific rights of groups, come hell or high water".

Many of the 300 delegates murmured their disquiet as Mr Mxumalo said non-violence was an Inkatha strategy and not a principle.

In an aggressive statement he said: "Inkatha does not want violence, and although you have the arms, we are very many."

"We are faced with a monster of apartheid that will devour us all and no-one will survive."

He told the delegates and observers — including a leading Rightwinger Professor Carel Boshoff — that the Government had repeatedly excluded blacks from decisions of national importance.

It had rejected the Buthelezi Commission into the future of the Natal-KwaZulu region, and had excluded blacks from the new constitutional plan.

A new dispensation without blacks was a recipe for disaster and if ASB delegates, as future leaders, "miss that point, you will miss your future". Blacks were reaching the point where they believed dialogue with Afrikaners was becoming useless, he said.

He asked whether Afrikaner youth felt it was worthwhile following Inkatha's advice, to which a number of hecklers quietly, but firmly, said "No".

In reply Mr Fisser said Inkatha was the most numerically powerful organisation in South Africa and Afrikaners had to acknowledge its importance and listen to its ideas.

By JIMMY MATYU

A FORMER secretary-general of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Wilberforce Danile May, was evicted from his Mankayi Street home in Zwide IV today.

Mr May, who has not paid rent for about two years as "a form of protest" against increased rents, owed the East Cape Administration Board R1 500.

"This is what I call sheer victimisation," he said. "I think Ecab feels I am a threat to them because of my civic work among the people. They have now applied the law to have me evicted from my house."

Mr May said that a messenger of the court, accompanied by police and three labourers, arrived at his home at 7.30am today.

The official handed him an eviction order made out on June 29, 1983, stating he had to be out of the house, and signed by the Clerk of the Court on June 30.

He said he was aware that on June 28 the Administration Board had applied to the court to have him evicted from the house.

He said he could not remember the date but some-

Ex-Pebco man owed R1 500 rent — evicted

time in June he did receive final summons instructing him to pay the R1 500 within three days.

"I did not have the money as I was unemployed at the time. I have sought assistance from the East Cape Council of Churches since February this year and handed them the summons I had received. But promises of assistance made to me were never met.

"I started working for an insurance company at the beginning of last month and I was planning to pay the whole money I owe the board. I tried to contact Mr Louis Koch, Chief Director of Ecab, to put my case to

him. Every time I was told he was busy," he said.

Mr May said he managed today to contact Mr Koch by phone and when he appealed to him to give him time to raise the money, Mr Koch told him the matter was now out of his hands.

"He explained it was in the hands of the court," he said.

Mr May said he was also told he would have to re-apply for a house.

Now he was faced with the problem of getting temporary accommodation for his two minor children and two younger brothers who were staying with him.

"We say, contrary to the older generation, that we will stand for unity."

In an oblique reference to recent National Party versus Conservative Party arguments, he warned against writing off someone else's standpoint as "naive and unscientific" and "unbiblical".

He said, however, that one must realise the situation in South Africa today, and not "naively cut ourselves off from the ideas and aspirations of other young people in the country."

"We must undergo critical self-examination to see where we went wrong. But we do not have to feel guilty about what happens in this country."

"I ask for a fair, just dualism between our struggle for freedom and maintaining with that of other people's," he said.

'Blacks won't be free till apartheid goes,' says Inkatha youth leader

ARGUS 14/7/85

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Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Conservative Afrikaner youth have met the movement which claims the biggest black membership in South Africa in a debate which was not always friendly.

Mr Musa Zondi of Inkatha Youth Brigade shared a platform with ex-Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) president Mr Chris Fismer at the ASB's congress in Pretoria yesterday.

Both Mr Fismer and Mr Zondi presented their views in an amicable atmosphere — but when the discussion opened, a member of Inkatha in the audience told students "talking to you is becoming useless ..."

An ASB member caused a stir when he asked Mr Zondi whether Inkatha "trusted" the Afrikaner when he came into contact with him.

"Do you trust us when you come into contact with us?" was Mr Zondi's reply.

Addressing himself to the congress theme of freedom, Mr Zondi said: "Black South Africans want to be free also — but we will never be free

until the merciless, devouring monster — apartheid — is dismantled.

Reiterating Inkatha's advocacy of a national convention, Mr Zondi said the organisation was committed to a peaceful solution of South Africa's problems.

But "if white South Africans accept no human rights for black South Africans, we have no meeting place".

QUOTA BILL

"As a young man I want to defend my country. In Die Stem you sing 'Ons sal lewe, ons sal sterwe' for South Africa — blacks cannot say this because to die for South Africa is to die, to a degree, in defence of apartheid."

Mr Zondi condemned the proposed Quota Bill which limits the admission of blacks to white universities to a Government prescribed quota and told students that the call to guard against the "total onslaught" fell on deaf ears in the black community because "blacks will not believe there is anything worse than apartheid".

COURTS

Teenager kicked woman, 67, in face, court told

• Court Reporter

A TEENAGER found guilty on two counts of theft in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court asked for "leniency" because he had already been sentenced to five years that morning for housebreaking.

John Solomons, 19, of Irvin Street, Manenberg, had pleaded not guilty. But after hearing the evidence, he changed his plea to guilty.

The magistrate, Mr N C Burt, sentenced Solo-

mons yesterday to 12 months' imprisonment on each count.

The court heard that Solomons knocked down and kicked a 67-year-old woman in the face while trying to steal her handbag on September 30 last year.

Half an hour earlier, he and two friends had robbed 16-year-old Derek Wilson after threatening him with a pair of scissors.

Mrs Marie Bam, 67, said she had been walking along a road in Hanover Park when Solomons came up behind her, pushed her to the ground, dragged her into the middle of the road and tried to take her handbag.

She screamed for help and did not let go of her handbag. Solomons ran across the road but returned and dragged her off the road into a ditch. He kicked her in the face and she lost consciousness.

Solomons was arrested by Traffic Officer John Hans who saw the incident.

Mr Hans told the court he had to protect Solomons from an angry crowd. One bystander had punched Solomons.

In mitigation, Solomons said a regional court magistrate, Mr A S McCarthy, had imposed a five-year sentence on him that morning for housebreaking.

Mr Burt told Solomons that each case had to be

taken on its merits. The theft crimes had been committed before those he answered for in the Regional Court.

"This court will impose a stiff sentence on you because this sort of crime is becoming too frequent in this area.

"More and more cases are being heard in these courts of theft and robbery. A horrible factor emerging is that victims are now old people, women and children."

Mr A J Basson prosecuted Solomons was not represented

rettee, Comfee, Toughees.

Bata toughees have been putting young ladies one step ahead for years. In comfort. In style. With flair and fashion.

But we know their shoes have got to be tough to stay as good looking as they should. For as long as they should.

Labour Party gives views on reform plan

8 Jan 14/7/83

Political Staff

(11A)

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party has called for the new Constitution Bill to be only an amendment to the present constitutional system — not to replace it entirely.

This was one of the points made by the party in a memorandum to the parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Affairs which is hearing representations in Cape Town.

Details of the memorandum were released yesterday by the party.

It has also expressed misgivings about the tremendous powers which may be given to the President.

"In view of the conflict in our society, the President must be seen as a person resolving conflict, and not becoming part of it."

The right of appeal to the courts on constitutional matters, or a special constitutional court, is also suggested.

The party repeated that although it considered the Bill unacceptable because it excluded blacks and en-

trenched ethnicity, it was willing to take part in an effort to have transitional change.

"We wish to enter into a process in which a negotiated settlement can be reached. We plan to use the structure proposed to work for further change to arrive at a constitution acceptable to most South Africans."

A delegation of the Association of Cape Management Committees also gave evidence to the committee.

It said in a memorandum that its policy remained one of direct representation on local government bodies on a non-racial basis.

The association agreed with the Labour Party that the reform proposals should serve only as an amendment to the present constitution.

It made clear that it supported the process of reform, but warned that the present legislation could increase rather than decrease conflict.

The memorandum also dealt with the "tremendous powers" of the President.

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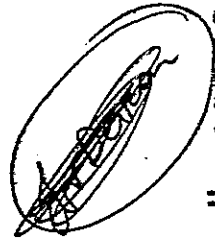
07/20/83

The conflict is about leadership, not ideals — Azaso

The decision last week by the Azanian Students' Organisation to endorse the Freedom Charter has highlighted the conflict in the student fold between Black Consciousness followers and Charter supporters. JO-ANNE COLLINGE spoke to new Azaso president, Tiego Moseneke, about this and other issues which face the organisation.



Mr Moseneke ... "black student unity vital."



11A

Freedom Charter splits black student organisations

The Azanian Students' Organisation is potentially a "home" for all black students and there is no need for the founding of rival groups, says the new Azaso president, Tiego Moseneke.

Mr Moseneke, a second-year B.Comm student at the University of the Witwatersrand, was elected last week at the annual Azaso conference in Cape Town.

The gathering also committed the organisation to the principles of the Freedom Charter adopted 28 years ago in Kliptown by the Congress of the People.

NO SURPRISE

The endorsement of the Charter represents Azaso's sharp break from its predecessor, the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), which was firmly in the Black Consciousness (BC) tradition.

It also places Azaso in solid opposition to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), one of the bodies which sponsored Azaso's formation just four years ago.

Azaso's no-holds-barred Charterist stand came as no surprise to the BC camp. Azapo, anticipating the move, had launched a rival BC student body, the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), just days earlier.

Reflecting on these de-

velopments this week, Mr Moseneke said he believed the conflict between Azaso and Azasm — as between Charterists and BC groups in general — was over leadership and not over ideals.

He argued that the present BC views, put forward last month in the manifesto of the National Forum Committee (NFC) — an alliance of BC groups, did not differ substantially from the Freedom Charter. He suggested that the play on words — for instance, substituting "anti-racist" for "non-racial" — was irrelevant.

"If we so nearly agree why are there alternative organisations?" he asked.

It might equally be asked, if the creeds are interchangeable, why Azaso will not gracefully give up its allegiance to the Freedom Charter and take to the NFC manifesto.

The reasons are twofold, according to Mr Moseneke. Firstly, Azaso believes the process of mass consultation by which the Freedom Charter was adopted is at least as important as its content. "Even if it has some flaws we cannot out of the blue have small groups of ideologues making up their own alternatives."

Secondly, endorsement of the Charter went hand-in-hand with continued acknowledgement of the national leaders associated with it — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and

others, Mr Moseneke said. He added that present BC proponents, unlike their Saso predecessors, had called into question these leaders.

Unity of black students was paramount, he argued, and said he believed Azaso could accommodate students who were not Charterists. "There is a home in Azaso for all students irrespective of their outlook. We are open to all students at all times."

Mr Moseneke said a major task of the incoming executive committee would be to establish Azaso as a visible national body.

GRASSROOTS

"To date we have done a lot of work at grassroots level, getting students to understand our analysis of the situation, encouraging them to read and to discuss things. But we haven't managed to achieve an effective national presence."

The launching of a national publication is planned this year. It is expected to be a specially valuable tool of organisation on campuses where Azaso is banned or where its activities are discouraged by the administrations.

Much effort will be concentrated on a national campaign for an education charter. This will involve wide-ranging discussions with students and community mem-

bers, culminating in a set of demands and principles for education. The idea was mooted last year and the project would probably be completed in 1984, said Mr Moseneke.

Azaso's established community role would be played out mainly in association with the United Democratic Front (UDF), he expected. The UDF is a body co-ordinating political groups, community organisations and trade unions along broadly social democratic lines. It was formed in February this year as a force to combat the Government's "reform" plans, as

embodied in the proposed constitution and the Koornhof legislation affecting black South Africans.

Azaso is a formal affiliate of the UDF. It also regards itself as a moving force in the Anti-Community Council movement launched in Soweto at the weekend.

Despite its range of community activities Azaso admits it is limited by its purely student membership. It aimed to strengthen links with former students by expanding its associate membership and increasing the number of its branches, said Mr Moseneke.

Leaders slam 'freedom' plan

By Themba Khumalo
The Soweto Council's decision to give the Lenasia-based 21st Battalion of the South African Defence Force the freedom of Soweto was yesterday strongly criticised by black leaders.

Mr Popo Molefe, chairman of the Soweto branch of the Anti-community Council Committee, said the decision clearly exposed the limitations of community councillors to administer the complex without calling for the assistance of the army.

"They have failed dismally to represent the residents. They often take decisions without consulting the people because they know they will be opposed."

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, executive member of the South African Women's

Federation, called on the councillors to make the acute housing shortage in Soweto a priority instead of worrying about the Defence Force.

"Let the councillors think of the plight of thousands of people who are homeless. Most of them have been charged under the Squatters Act with erecting shacks to provide a roof over their heads at night," she said.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, said that Mr Thebehali (Soweto's mayor) and his colleagues were out of touch with the black thinking.

At a public meeting held in Dube YWCA on Sunday to oppose the coming community council elections, residents unanimously condemned the councillors' decision.

~~Dispatch~~ D. Dispatch 16/2/83 (11A)

Buthelezi's blunder?

By Professor Hermann Giliomee

During the past few months the most over-used metaphor in debates about the constitutional dispensation is whether it represented a step in the right direction.

To a large extent the question of wrong or right is largely hypothetical for only future developments will decide the issue. However, the issue has suddenly acquired concrete meaning through Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's announcement that Inkatha will not take part in the elections for the new black local authorities.

Chief Buthelezi firmly linked his decision not to take part to the exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional dispensation and the arguments advanced by its protagonists.

In a letter to Dr Piet Koornhof, Chief Buthelezi referred to an information sheet issued by the National Party which rhetorically posed the question why blacks have been denied participation in the President's Council and the proposed new constitutional framework. The answer given in this sheet is well-known: blacks are enjoying political rights via the homeland governments and the new black local authorities in places like Soweto will be given extended powers — in some cases greater than their white counterparts.

For Chief Buthelezi the crucial problem with this argument is that these new local authorities are being held up as an adequate substitute for excluding urban blacks from the new constitutional dispensation.

For Inkatha to participate in the new black local authorities would mean that it would help to legitimate the new constitutional arrangement. This the chief finds completely unacceptable — he considers it Inkatha's prime duty to ensure that what he calls "the rot of the new dispensation" does not permeate to the regional and local level. Chief Buthelezi has, of course, been willing to accept the Kwazulu homeland structure thrown up by government policy. However, he could still argue that it was a step in the right direction. In his 1974 federation speech he proposed that homelands, together with white and "multi-national" political entities, should eventually be linked together under a common

federal authority

More recently he has made more generally-phrased demands for black representation in both the central government and at the regional level, where homeands could either be properly consolidated or merged with a contiguous white regional structure (for instance Kwazulu and Natal) to become future provinces.

In 1980 he rejected the recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission and refused to participate in the proposed separate black advisory council because it was a step in the wrong direction.

He envisages a unitary state in which all the races share power within one political system which guarantees the political rights of all national groups and defends minority rights.

Chief Buthelezi would risk losing all credibility if his Inkatha participated in the black local authorities after the new constitution has drawn the line so firmly between Africans and non-Africans.

Indeed the new Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act is a distinct step backward relative to the regional level of black, white, coloured and Indian local government. In terms of the new Act blacks are specifically excluded from the terms of reference of the South African Co-ordinating Council for Local Authorities which is to recommend new local government structures accommodating the mutual interests of the various racial communities.

The government's answer is that it is still — to continue with the metaphor — watching its step with respect to blacks living in so-called white South Africa, which is the subject of study by a special cabinet committee.

However, in the meantime the new dispensation, which leaves blacks out on a limb with respect to local and regional co-ordination, is unfolding. According to Dr Piet Koornhof the preparatory work on the conversion of community councils into proper black local authorities has nearly been completed with respect to 25 townships.

These communities could, in the minister's words, "hold elections during September, October or November, should they wish to do so". No wonder that Chief Buthelezi has thrown up his hands in horror and

has refused to walk any further steps in whatever direction.

Nothing, of course, stands quite still and the pace of South African politics is accelerating in a disconcerting way. Could it be that Chief Buthelezi's step is a fatal blunder? The Labour Party has decided to take part in the new dispensation because it is above all interested in capturing local government and from this base (rather than from the coloured chamber in Parliament) will try to negotiate a better deal.

For Chief Buthelezi, control over the townships on the Witwatersrand is vital if he is to extend his rural base and truly become a national leader. For Chief Buthelezi the decision to pull out from the new black local authorities must be a particularly painful decision in view of the fact that his post-Soweto strategy has run into difficulty on several fronts.

Firstly, his effort to build up a Black Alliance to forge black unity is in trouble after the decision of the Labour Party to pull out. Secondly, Chief Buthelezi has tried to promote Inkatha as the internal wing to the ANC since the Soweto disturbances. This is no longer credible after the ANC repudiation of the Chief, the recent ANC attack on Ujundi and the stepped-up ANC violence, while Inkatha still holds out for a negotiated settlement.

Thirdly, Buthelezi has, in Roger Southall's words, sought to present itself as a potential third force mediating between opposing white and black nationalism. However, the new constitutional dispensation will make such a role infinitely more difficult.

And now Buthelezi has rejected the chance to get a base on the Witwatersrand through the new local authorities. Even with a membership of nearly three-quarters of a million, Inkatha's opportunities for action seem limited.

While there may be some leedvermaak in certain circles about Chief Buthelezi's troubles, the government and the business community have reason to be worried about Inkatha's decision not to participate in the elections of the new black local authorities.

From the Nationalist point of view the coloured people and Indians are an ideological problem; however, these communities do

not at the moment constitute any real political problem in terms of maintaining stability.

The position with respect to the urban Africans is different. Here a major crisis can build up if the authority vacuum in the townships remains. Rents will simply have to be raised if services and amenities are to be improved.

But raising of rents is an explosive issue, as shown by the disturbances of 1976 and the current nasty turmoil in the Durban townships, Lamontville and Chesterville.

When Chief Buthelezi in 1980 and 1981 showed interest in taking part in the new Soweto election there were great hopes that a credible local black authority could be established. However, the new constitutional dispensation, together with the fact that the government has still not spelt out a financial formula for the new black local authorities, has come as a serious blow.

Qualified Western approval for the constitution rests on the assumption that giving coloured people and Indians an enhanced constitutional status is a step in the right direction — that of accommodating urban blacks as well. The setbacks with the new black local authorities will seriously put a question mark over that assumption.

It also raises an important question about the future stability of South Africa. Sam Nolutshungu, a prominent black sociologist, argues in his important new study *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations* (David Philip, 1983), that the accommodation of the black middle class "presupposes a black middle class with considerable ideological and political influence over the rest of their kind, sufficient to deflect workers and others less privileged from the paths of revolution" (p. 122).

Clearly the new separate dispensation for urban blacks makes it all but impossible for middle-class blacks to fulfil that crucial role.

The so-called step in the right direction of the proposed new constitution could at the same time be one towards a greater turmoil in our black townships. And that's where the real heart of South Africa's political problems lies.

Call for boycott of next year's festival

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

DR RAM SALOJEE, a prominent leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA) and the Lenasia Federation of Rate-payers Associations (FRA), has called on people to boycott the Johannesburg centenary celebrations next year.

Dr Salojee made the call in an open letter attacking the city council's recent decision to make political organisations pay five times more than other organisations to hire a council hall in Indian and Coloured areas.

The letter also said the reasons given for the move by the director of housing, Dr M P Wilsnach, were insulting, discriminatory and "reflect a racist attitude".

Mr Wilsnach had said that the move was taken to prevent "rowdy meetings" by "tuppence ha'ppeny organisations".

The letter was addressed to Mr Wilsnach last week and copies have been sent to the Johannesburg management committee, the political parties represented in the council and the Press.

Mr Wilsnach said yesterday that he had not received the letter. When told the contents, he said he would refer the matter to the management committee.

Dr Salojee is chairman of the FRA and vice-president of the TIC and ICSA.

"Your comments regarding this blatantly discriminatory action against political groups in places like Lenasia reflects a racist attitude which makes your position as director of housing untenable," Dr Salojee said in the letter.

"If the recent by-election meetings in the Northern Transvaal are a barometer of civilised standards, then your comments should equally apply to the white group," he said.

The move was an attempt to "hamstring our democratic right to freedom of assembly" and an interference in religious freedom.

"As a Moslem, I would also like to know what constitutes religion and non-religion, because in Islam there is no such division between religion, politics etc." he said.

To say these moves were approved by the "self-entrenched and undemocratically elected" coloured and Indian management committees was an attempt to shift the responsibility to someone else, said Dr Salojee.

This also underlined the belief that these bodies were mere conduits for State policy, he said.

Dr Salojee also questioned the qualifications of council officials to decide which organisations were political and which non-political.

Calling for a boycott of next year's celebrations, he said "the people can do without insults from public servants".

"If our status is regarded as tuppence ha'ppeny, we have enough pride to dissociate ourselves from programmes that merely insult our dignity and self-respect," he said.

(11A)



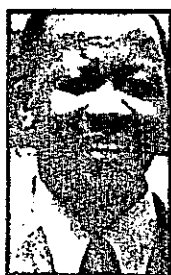
Kaiser says

NO



Buthelezi says

NO



Mopeli says

NO



Phatudi says

NO



Ntsanwisi says

NO



Mabusela says

NO

to the destiny prescribed by the whites

SOUTH Africa's black homelands — independent and self-governing — are mobilising for a head-on clash with the Government over its constitutional proposals.

A low-key summit involving six leaders this week thrashed out a declaration of intent laying the groundwork for a united and non-apartheid South Africa.

A second and crucial meeting of the homeland leaders is scheduled for October at which implementation of the declaration will be discussed.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

The latest moves now confront the Government with a wide range of public black opposition pressure groups — from homeland leaders through to their ideological rivals in the grass-roots umbrella bodies.

Six homeland leaders signed the declaration of intent: President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr

Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa, and Mr Enos Mabusela of KwaNgwane.

A high-level Venda Government official represented President Patrick Mphahlele and, according to organisers, President Lucas Mangope of Bophutha-Tswana sent his apologies.

The only significant absentee from the summit was President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei — a staunch supporter of the Government's confederation idea.

Organisers claim they have not yet received an explanation from President Sebe for his

absence.

The declaration of intent commits the signatories to strive for a greater non-racial and democratic South Africa.

It pledges a re-unification of those divided by apartheid so they can play a central role in the future.

The destiny prescribed by whites is rejected and the signatories promise to turn their present constitutional situations into "weapons for liberation".

Organisers of the summit emphasised this week that the meeting was not specifically a

response to the Government's constitutional initiative.

"We had been working on this long before. We believe the time is now ripe for new initiatives in federal forms of government," said Dr Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa and a main mover of the summit.

Observers point out, however, that there has been a steady warming of relations between various homelands since the Government's latest constitutional initiative got under way.

Transkei has relaxed restrictions on the KwaZulu national

cultural organisation, Inkatha, in its territory and there have since been several meetings between President Matanzima and Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi and other homeland leaders have hinted broadly in recent months that an alignment of homeland leaders against the Government's whites, coloureds and Indians-only constitution was on the cards.

For the South African Government the endorsement of the declaration of intent by Transkei is a severe embarrassment.

The oldest of the homelands is now wish to re-enter the of South African

Although the declaration tent establishes broadest of principles expected more details will be discussed meeting.

Dr Phatudi is a protagonist of a government in South Africa this week said he necessary ingredients for a successful non-racial society were in place.

PCP, FP to meet Heunis for talks

S. Times 17/7/03

THE People's Congress Party (PCP) of Mr Peter Marais and the Freedom Party (FP) of Mr Charles Julies have been asked to come to Cape Town for talks with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

This follows a report in the Sunday Times ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ last week that the two parties may merge or form a coalition in opposition to the Rev Alan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP).

The LP has declared it will fight an election for seats in the proposed coloured House of Representatives, if 50 percent of the coloured electorate voted "yes" in a referendum on participation in the proposed tri-cameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Both Mr Julies and Mr Marais confirmed yesterday that they and their full executive committees would meet Mr Heunis on Thursday in Cape Town.

Both also confirmed that they had agreed to have talks in Uitenhage on August 6 and 7 about a possible merger of the two parties.

Mr Marais's delegation clashed with Mr Heunis in March this year when they discussed the Government's constitutional proposals and the talks ended in deadlock.

Mr Marais and Mr Julies told me this week that last Monday they had been contacted by Mr Heunis's secretary regarding talks with the Minister.

"We have agreed to talk to Mr Heunis and he has agreed to pay all the expenses, including airfares of my national executive, many of whom have to fly from Johannesburg, Kimberley and Durban to attend the talks in Cape Town," said Mr Marais.

"We have not been given any indication of the agenda. So, I gather, our talks will be wide-ranging.

"I believe in negotiation politics and I had no hesitation in accepting the Minister's invitation," he said.

SAIC 'can't negotiate on constitution'

Mercury Reporter

AMENDMENTS to the Constitution Bill which the South African Indian Council's executive committee was seeking to make the new constitution more acceptable, would not affect the fundamental principles on which the constitution was being reared, Mr Ibrahim Bawa, executive director of the Islamic Council of South Africa, said yesterday.

An SAIC delegation under its executive chairman, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is going to Cape Town today to give evidence before the parliamentary Select Committee investigating the Bill with a view to seeking amendments, including a Bill of Rights it wants enshrined in the constitution.

Mr Rajbansi has said his council would accept the constitution if its suggested amendments were accepted by the Government.

Commenting yesterday, Mr Bawa said the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had made it clear in Parliament that the principles on which the new constitution was being based could not be negotiated under any circumstances.

'So what then is the purpose of the SAIC's latest exercise?'

He said: 'Attempts made in the past by the SAIC to draw wool over the eyes of the Indian community are too transparent to dupe anyone.'

'For one thing, we do not believe there will be a referendum to test Indian opinion on the constitution.'

No option

'And that if one is in fact held and the result is convincingly against the acceptance of the constitutional proposals, the SAIC will nevertheless still accept them and go into the proposed parliament's Indian chamber.'

'We have known all along that the SAIC has no real option but to accept and implement the will of the Government.'

Mr Bawa said the new chamber would be a 'natural extension' of what the SAIC was presently empowered to do, but to manage own affairs in the Indian chamber would be disastrous for the community.

The Indian chamber's members would also 'very extensively' involve themselves in the maintenance and administration of existing laws which, he said, were deeply entrenched on the basis of race.

Pumps for SA, cash for apartheid victims

By Stephen McQuillan

Sweden — the ANC's biggest Western "sugar-daddy", according to a Pretoria academic — this year filled a vital gap in South Africa's R35 million emergency plan to keep the lights on.

Sweden was the only country in the world known to be able to deliver sophisticated engineering equipment to South Africa before the project deadline, according to the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom).

Without the crucial equipment, the seven-weir scheme to reverse the flow of Vaal River and channel water to the country's most important power complex in the Eastern Transvaal would have been vulnerable to breakdown.

The contract with the Swedish company was worth R2 million.

But, as the first batch of equipment was arriving in South Africa during May, another transfer of a different kind was being made from Sweden — R5 million for the banned African National Congress.

Sweden released the cash for "supportive victims of South African apartheid".

And, says Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Sweden's contribution to the ANC was the biggest from any Western country.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information said Sweden had a love-hate relationship with South Africa, though the countries had exchanged diplomatic envoys.

Despite Sweden's strong support for the ANC, trade links had been forged.

"Perhaps the value of the relationship is trade," said the spokesman.

Politics did not interfere with business.

What unfolded is seen by the engineering world as a masterpiece of organisational and logistical planning — against the clock — which prompted high-speed responses from contractors involved.

The weir scheme's planners

Sweden aids both ANC and Escom

needed sophisticated underwater pumps for the weirs to make sure the pumping operation from Vaal Dam to Grootdraai Dam near Standerton would continue even through surprise flooding.

Escom, responsible for installing the pumps, tried all over the world to secure a deal, including Japan, the United States and European countries.

A company called Flygt of Sweden was the only one which could supply the pumps in time.

The weir scheme had to be completed by the end of September, before the electricity rationing threat became real.

Escom raced against time to organise their side. Flygt won the R2 million contract.

A "few strings" were pulled in Sweden to ensure a rapid delivery, according to Flygt's Johannesburg agents, Hugh Mellor and Company Limited.

RUSH ORDER

Mr Nigel Macbeth, the product manager, said a cargo ship was about to leave port in Sweden when the order was made.

Flygt managed to secure space on the vessel.

If the space had not been made available, pumps would have been airlifted to South Africa — at considerable cost, Mr Macbeth said.

The company supplied 77 pumps. The first arrived on site within 1½ hours of the expected delivery time.

The factory order was placed on April 27 and the first batch was on site by May 28.

"That is exceptionally quick. We have never been involved in ordering anything which had such critical urgency," said Mr Macbeth.

Nothing similar to the Swed-

ish units were manufactured locally.

An Escom spokesman said normal pumps would not have been able to cope in a flood, rendering the scheme inoperable.

The Swedish pumps had to be fitted on weirs one to five (nearest to Vaal Dam) because of the risk of a surprise torrent rushing into Vaal River from Klip River.

"But where it was possible, we used South African pumps," he said.

Other, less controversial suppliers also pulled out all the stops.

The second of three pump suppliers involved was Johannesburg-based Mather and Platt (SA) (Pty), an Australian subsidiary company.

They agreed to supply seven pumps — the largest — for the final pumping operation from Vaal River into Grootdraai Dam. They won a R1 million contract. All the giant nine-ton pumps were built in South Africa, according to sales manager Mr John Sinfield, although mouldings had first to be flown in from Australia.

"As there was only one direct flight a week, we had to route the mouldings via Europe

"Normal delivery on this type of pump is nine months. We received the order on April 29. They are almost ready now," Mr Sinfield said. Mono Pumps (Africa) (Pty) Ltd made 12 other pumps within eight weeks, said product manager Mr Mike Shaw.

The Escom spokesman said: "Local people stopped production to do the work we needed. They have really done a tremendous job."

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British salutes for three Mandela occasions

The Star/Bureau 1977/83
LONDON On the eve of Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday today, The Observer newspaper devoted its leader page to the "Ruler who chose Revolution".

The lengthy article by former South African journalist Mr Denis Herbstein examines the role of Mandela and the African National Congress.

"The charismatic Mandela places Pretoria on the horns of a dilemma," writes Herbstein.

Calls for Mandela's release have come from many leaders both inside and outside South

Africa. Even General Hendrik van den Bergh, the former security chief who was responsible for getting Mandela jailed, thinks he has "served his debt to society".

"But release him and his presence in the corridors of world power would undermine South Africa's already uncertain position. Why, some Third World and Eastern countries could even recognise the ANC as a government-in-exile."

Mandela and his second wife, Winnie, "celebrate" their silver wedding this year, and one grandchild has already been to

see him in prison.

"Others will no doubt follow, since 'life' in South Africa's political language means exactly what it says," the article concludes.

● Traditional brews of "skokiaan" were available in the exhibition hall at Alexandra Palace in North London yesterday and hundreds of people pushed aside their chairs and danced at the African Sounds Festival to mark Mandelas's birthday.

Internationally known jazz trumpeter Hugh Masekela topped yesterday's bill which

also included the brassy West African group Osibisa.

Apart from his classic "Skokiaan", his repertoire included a song calling for rain in South Africa, and beaty blues refrains about Soweto and District Six.

The crowd ranged from dreadlocked Rastafarians to elderly South African expatriates of Rivonia treason trial vintage.

This week will also see a number of sombre political events across Britain to mark the nationalist leader's 21st year in jail.

'Media neglected protests'

By Eugene Saldanha

Star 18/7/83

(11A)

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed to unite organisations with common objectives behind a programme of minimum demands for a future South Africa, says Mr David Johnson, recently unbanned former head of the Black Students Society (BSS).

Mr Johnson told the general council meeting of the Transvaal region of the UDF at Khotso House in Johannesburg at the weekend that the UDF had never been a closed organisation as some people had said.

"The UDF is a front made up of several organisations which have come together on the basis of a set of minimum demands," he said.

The art of liberating society is to increase one's forces and aim, at every stage of the struggle, for the highest degree of unity without sectarianism and without sacrificing principles."

This could be achieved only through "unity in action", he said.

"By this I mean that organisations with common objectives should unite against high rents, high transport costs and other common grievances."

Mr Johnson said the media had supported the Government's reform proposals and had neglected to give coverage to the views of organisations which were representative of the people.

"The UDF is not a 'Charterist' organisation as it has been labelled in the Press. The media have distorted and interpreted the UDF from its liberal framework.

"But we call on all democratic organisations to join the UDF, not on the basis of compromise, but as a step towards unity in action," he said.

Erweyan 18/7/83

VOW TO FIGHT DR K'S BILLS (11A)

THE principle of establishing a national United Democratic Front (UDF) body that will consolidate the fight and opposition against the proposed Constitutional Bill, and the three Koornhof Bills was formally adopted at a Transvaal UDF general council meeting at the weekend.

The meeting, which was attended by more than 150 delegates representing some 40 worker, church, civic, community, political, students, cultural and women organisations, was held at Khotso

house in Johannesburg.

Seeing that there now exist in the country four regional bodies of the UDF, it was agreed to consolidate and forge ahead with the establishment of a more broadly based permanent national body.

A mass rally will be held in Johannesburg next month and this meeting would be jointly organised on behalf of the UDF by the Transvaal Indian Congress, Anti-President Council and the Anti-Community Council Committee.

July 18, 1983 *ROM*

Call to unite *11A* 'for SA's *18/7/83* future

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has called on other organisations to join them and unite behind a "programme of minimum demands" for a future South Africa.

Mr David Johnson, the recently unbanned former head of the Black Students' Society at the University of the Witwatersrand, issued the call at a meeting of the Transvaal general council of the UDF at Khotso House, central Johannesburg, on Saturday.

"The UDF has never been a closed organisation. It is not and has never said it is an exclusive organisation.

"The UDF is a front. It is not a single organisation, but a number of organisations which have come together on the basis of a set of minimum demands," he told 100 people.

The minimum demands, he said, were to mobilise against the new constitutional proposals and to establish such things as the right to work, housing and education.

"We invite democratic organisations to come in and join us on this basis," he said.

He quoted Prof H Coovadia, of the Natal Indian Congress, who said earlier this year that the differences between groups which differed in political philosophy had to be tackled so that the struggle was always enhanced and not hampered in any way.

"Diversity and debate are vital to democratic processes, provided that all groupings continue to strive for maximum common ground for opposition to apartheid."

Mr Johnson said the UDF was not an organisation that subscribed to a particular ideology. He criticised the Press for labelling it as "Charterist".

The UDF was a co-ordinating unit which brought together different forces and not simply "Charterists", he said.

Calling on people to strengthen their organisations, Mr Johnson said: "The UDF must become a front impregnated with the day-to-day struggles of the people and a force to reckon with."

ANTON HARBER

MANDELA TURNS 65

LONDON — On the eve of Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday today The Observer newspaper here has devoted its leader page to the Ruler Who Chose Revolution.

The lengthy article, by former South African journalist Denis Herbstein, examines the role of Mandela and the African National Congress.

"The charismatic Mandela places Pretoria on the horns of a dilemma," writes Herbstein. "Inside, he is a martyr. Yet the movement of which he is the spiritual leader does not enjoy the best wishes of the governments of Washington, Bonn and London.

"The ANC's dependence on Russia for arms and sometimes training — aid which is refused by the West — makes it 'marxist orientated'.

"Certainly the congress movement has come a long way from the mission-educated leadership of the turn of the century. But it is not communistic,"

Herbstein says. ^{18/7/93} Calls for Mandela's release have come from many leaders both inside and outside South Africa. Even General Hendrik van den Bergh, the security chief who was responsible for getting Mandela jailed, thinks he has "served his debt to society".

"But release him and his presence in the corridors of world power

No freedom in sight for jailed ANC leader

would undermine South Africa's already uncertain position. Why, some Third World and eastern countries could even recognise the ANC as a government-in-exile."

Mandela and his second wife, Winnie, "cele-

brate" their silver wedding this year, and one grandchild has already come to see him in prison.

"Others will, no doubt, follow since 'life' in South Africa's political language means ex-

actly what it says.

"Unless, that is, Nelson Mandela comes out to be the first president of the non-racial republic of Azania (formerly South Africa). Only the very optimistic can expect that," Herbstein concludes. — SFS.

11A (SAP) (SAP) (SAP)

9/7/83

SAP chief speaks on border control

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The presence of the African National Congress and "other hostile elements" in Lesotho necessitated stricter control of border traffic between Lesotho and South Africa, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said in a statement last night.

However, General Coetzee added, every effort would be made to ensure the minimum possible inconvenience to "bona fide border traffic".

In his statement last night, General Coetzee described the security situation between the two countries as unsatisfactory.

The close co-operation between South African and Lesotho security forces — as envisaged in the June 8 agreement between Mr Botha and his Lesotho counterpart, Mr Evaris-

tus Sekhonyana — had not materialized, General Coetzee said.

Lesotho has persistently denied that it allows ANC insurgents to use its territory as a springboard for attacks on South Africa. It has said it will apologize publicly if South Africa is able to identify any ANC guerilla bases.

Lesotho has, however, defended its right to offer sanctuary to refugees from South Africa, including members of the ANC, under conditions set out in the United Nations charter on refugees.

Stricter border controls were imposed late in May following a bomb explosion in Bloemfontein. After traffic piled up on either side of the border, talks were held in Johannesburg between Mr Botha and Mr Sekhonyana.

Traffic returned to normal following an

agreement by both parties that neither would allow its territory to be used for cross-border attacks.

However, attacks in Lesotho by rebels of the Lesotho Liberation Army led to charges by Lesotho that the rebels had been aided by the SA Defence Force. South Africa counter-charged that Lesotho was trying to win international sympathy by blaming South Africa for internal problems.

Pretoria also turned down a request from Mr Sekhonyana for a second meeting with Mr Botha to settle the dispute, partly because Lesotho had purportedly broken faith by not sending its security chiefs to a meeting with their South African counterparts in Bloemfontein.

● Leading article, page 8

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BOYCOTT: Progress High School's principal, Mr Piet le Roux (left), with some of the 900 boycotting pupils.

Tension mounts at schools

By **MONO BADELA**

THERE was mounting tension in Soweto schools yesterday as the second group of students in two weeks took to the streets.

The number of students who are now roaming the streets of the township is more than 2 000, after 900 pupils at Progress Senior Secondary School in Klipspruit yesterday boycotted classes in protest against the alleged practice by the principal, Mr Piet le Roux, of replacing black staff members with whites. The head prefect of the school, Mr George Mokone, told **THE SOWETAN** that: "We shall continue with our protest action of boycotting classes until our demands are met."

The situation at Progress Secondary has given the school boycott situation an entirely different complexion — that of race.

Ironically, the problem at Ibhongo High School, where trouble first erupted, was not racial. The students had demanded the removal of a white principal who had replaced another white teacher.

Yesterday the pupils at Ibhongo said they were tear-smoked once more by police after they left school to congregate at St Hilda's Anglican Church in Sensoane. They had gathered at their school in defiance of the directive from the Department of Education and Training (DET) that the school would only be reopened if parents accompanied their charges to various points "as from tomorrow."

they would continue to resist the presence of principal in content Mr R T Venter, at school. They will back to Ibhongo to and retire to St Hilda's classrooms are locked.

At Progress Secondary the principal decided to close the school as the students had boycotted classes for 10 hours. There were no incidents.

The students said they would be back at school today but they would remain outside the classrooms until the principal recalled two black teachers who recently left their school with them being told why.

Mr George Mokone said two very competent teachers, Mr Zakes Mokoena and Mr B S Ikoeko, who taught mathematics and history respectively, were replaced by white teachers. He said they were not told why teachers were replaced by whites.

A car used by **THE SOWETAN** staff stopped by Security Police near Progress school. The car was searched and after police said they would take the two staff members, Mr Mono Badela and Mr Phikela Zwane, to Protea Police Station they changed their minds and instead took down their particulars.

The regional director of DET, Mr Philip Engelbrecht, said he was not aware of the event at Progress Senior Secondary School, but DET would investigate. The principal of the school was not available for comment.

When the students got

Mandela's birthday observed in silence

19/7/83

By **ZWELAKHE SISULU**

YESTERDAY was Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday and his family and friends observed it in a way that has become a tradition — a day of silence and fasting.

While local and world leaders paid tribute to the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, his wife, Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, spent a lonely day in Brandfort to where she has been banished.

Not only that, she is among eleven people recently banned under the new Internal Security Act.

"It is a great pity that my father is not where he should have been — with us and with the people," Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, said yesterday.

Throughout her father's 21 years in prison, the family has always observed a day of fasting on his birthday. "We also light a candle as a symbol and we only break the fast at midnight with the national

anthem," said Zinzi. She is not the only one who goes through this ritual. A close friend of the family and one of Mandela's contemporaries, Helen Joseph, has also observed it all these years.

The secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said it was unfortunate that Mandela was still in prison.

"I am deeply saddened that such a great man is still where he is and we look forward to the day when he will come out and lead this country," Bishop Tutu said.

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Dr Essop Jassat, said Mandela's birthday was also a day on which his colleagues in jail should be remembered.

He said: "We are confident that he will soon join the people and lead the country to a free and

democratic South Africa."

Meanwhile in London Mandela's birthday was marked by a festival featuring Hugh Masekela, Julian Bahula and the West African group, Osibisa.

Masekela was given a standing ovation from the crowd of more than 3 000 and Bahula played his new composition honouring Mandela.

Mandela's other daughter, Zeni, made a brief appearance on stage, introduced by the ANC chief representative in London, Mrs Ruth Mompati. Zeni answered the cheers from the crowd with a broad smile and a clenched fist.

The east coast city of Hull named an open space Nelson Mandela Gardens and in London an exhibition was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Free Mandela Committee.

Wrab to decide on rights of immigrants

sowetan

19/7/83

By **ZWELAKHE SISULU**

THE WEST Rand Administration Board (Wrab) will decide this week on whether migrant workers from independent homelands

this week on the matter.

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The president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena

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UK invitation for jailed Mandela

The Star's
Foreign News Service

LONDON — The Labour Party has invited jailed African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela to be its guest at this year's party conference in Brighton.

The invitation has been sent to Mandela, who turned 65 in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday. It was signed by the party's gener-

al secretary, Mr. Jim Morrison. Mandela's daughter Zenani was at yesterday's ceremony in Harlow, north east of London, where the local council renamed the town's First Avenue "Nelson Mandela Avenue."

Zenani also attended the opening at the Royal Academy of an exhibition of 15 anti-apartheid works by leading international artists.

In the north east, the City Council of Hull has named its ornamental gardens, which are opposite the home of anti-slavery campaigner William Wilberforce, after Nelson Mandela.

Poet Brutus faces death if deported, court told

Star 19/7/83

(11A)

CHICAGO - Poet Dennis Brutus would face death at the hands of South African assassination squads if he were forced to return to Zimbabwe, his homeland, a civil rights campaigner said in Chicago yesterday.

Mr Randall Robinson, head of Trans Africa, an anti-apartheid organisation, told a federal immigration court that Mr Brutus was "one of the most prominent activists against apartheid" and, thus, a likely target of South African wrath.

"I have absolutely no doubt that, if Dennis Brutus is forced to return to Zimbabwe, his life will be serious jeopardy," Mr Robinson said.

He added that the threat

would come from "the South African forces against which the Zimbabwean Government can offer no defence".

The testimony came during the first day of a hearing on the US Government's decision to deport Mr Brutus because he was an alien with an expired visa.

Mr Brutus, who is on the staff of Northwestern University, served time in South African prisons before he left the region a decade ago.

Lawyers representing Mr Brutus say they will appeal against any deportation order and are confident they can, with legal manoeuvres, keep him from being forced out of the United States for years. — Reuter.

Nelson Mandela — traitor or symbol of hope for SA?

By Jon Qwelane *11A* *4/25*

He has been out of circulation for 21 years now, yet the very mention of his name stirs feelings ranging from hatred to deep admiration.

To many whites he is a downright "terrorist" who deserves his fate, while to other whites and many blacks he represents a symbol of hope.

Yesterday services and protests were held in his honour in many parts of the world.

His name is Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and he was born in Umtata into the Tembu royal family of the Transkei.

He is a tribal uncle of the President of Transkei, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, and a cousin of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who is in exile after spells of detention under Transkei security laws.

Mandela, who turned 65 yesterday, showed at a very early age that he had little interest in tribal custom and fled to Johannesburg.

He had earlier been a student at Fort Hare University where his interest in politics was nurtured, and in 1940 was elected to the Students' Representative Council. However he soon resigned in protest against the authorities when they curtailed the SRC's powers.

He later studied at Wits and through Unisa.

After fleeing Transkei he worked in Johannesburg, where he joined the African National Congress and later helped found its youth league. He also worked in legal partnership with the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, who is now in exile.



President Matanzima ... a tribal nephew of Mandela.

In 1948 he became general-secretary of the youth league and in 1952 was elected Transvaal president of the ANC and deputy national president. It was then that he led thousands of people in defiance campaigns in disobedience of unpopular laws enacted by the new Nationalist Government.

He received a suspended sentence for his part in the campaigns and was immediately banned and restricted to Johannesburg.

In 1956 he was among more than 150 nationalist leaders of all races charged with treason. The trial ended in acquittals.

His banning extended until 1961, when he and other ANC leaders formed Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) in the Eastern Cape. The organisation was later to become the military wing of the ANC.

Thereafter he visited several African countries and campaigned against the South African Government. On his return he went underground until his

arrest in Natal on his way to consult with banned ANC president, Chief Albert Luthuli.

He was charged with inciting strikes and leaving the country illegally and received a five-year prison term.

In October 1963 he was again in court to face charges as the main accused in the Rivonia Trial. For conspiring to commit sabotage, he and several other leaders of the ANC were given life sentences.

Mandela has had his fair share of honours, including a public statement in the House of Commons by the then Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan, who said he had long been an admirer of Mandela's.

Earlier this month the City College of New York awarded him an honorary doctorate.

Among other international awards Mandela has received have been the honorary citizenship of the Greek village of Ancient Olympia, the Freedom of Glasgow, life membership of the University of London Union, and India's Jawarhalal Nehru Award.

His wife, Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, is one of the most restricted people in South Africa and — apart from a brief period in the mid-Seventies — has been constantly banned and house-arrested. She has also been detained on a number of occasions and is now banned and banished to the Free State town of Brandfort.

The couple have two daughters — Zeni, who is married to a Swazi prince and Zinzi, who was recently detained but was released after charges of being in possession of forged travel documents were dropped.

Stat 19/7/83

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COOPER SPEAKS OUT ON INFC

SOWETAN: What motivated the founding of the National Forum Committee and the subsequent solidarity conference held in Hammanskraal recently?

Mr Cooper: The lack of unity among organisations struggling for liberation in this country.

SOWETAN: Does this lack of unity have anything to do with ideology?

Mr Cooper: Well, ideology must come into this type of thing because where you have a lack of unity, ideological differences emerge and this is why the National Forum Committee has not put any ideological pre-conditions to those invited to participate . . .

SOWETAN: But do you agree that ideological differences are the main causes of differences that exist among black organisations in this country?

Mr Cooper: To a certain extent, but I think ideology is being played up more than it actually deserves. You must have seen the type of hysteria being drummed up, more personalised attack and this rests with the problems of leadership and the zealotry with which people

one dealt with the role of the youth and two more dealt with education. So half of the papers were on unity.

SOWETAN: The criticisms go further to say that the conference did not identify or acknowledge the existence of problems causing disunity, after which the question of unity could then be addressed to.

Mr Cooper: Well, I don't know where this criticism comes from. But our approach towards unity is more positive than negative. We tend to look at things that bring us together rather than concentrate on those issues that separate us.

SOWETAN: Are there organisations and/or individuals who were deliberately excluded from this conference?

Mr Cooper: Yes, organisations like Inkatha.

SOWETAN: You may have heard that Cosas, Azaso and Gawu claim that they were not officially invited.

Mr Cooper: If you asked Jabu Ngwenya, he is the man I spoke to personally and I gave him an invitation at Wits and if you want me to, I can give you names of witnesses who saw me do

'SA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT'



IS the Manifesto produced by the National Forum conference in Hammanskraal an attempt to supplant the Freedom Charter, an historical document that was drawn up by various organisations including the African National Congress? Some organisations have dissociated themselves from the Manifesto and in this article SAM MABE talks to Azapo vice president and convener of the conference, SATHS COOPER.

any difference between demands in the manifesto and those in the Charter?

Mr Cooper: I think the Charter is a particular demand at a particular epoch in history. Certain things there would not find much relevance in a society almost three decades removed because a society is not a static thing, like a document bound in history can be.

So, just as somebody pointed to me once, a young person who is not of my political persuasion, asked me about the Unity Movement's 10-point programme, even its language is outdated. It talks in terms

minority rights and I don't think United Democratic Front people would believe in that either.

If they did, I don't think they would be that fervent in their opposition to the President's Council which I think they are correct in opposing because it furthers divisions and entrenches group rights.

Now, we don't believe with Azapo that there should be group rights because there is nowhere in the world where group rights can be enshrined in a constitution.

SOWETAN: You, as National Forum would not speak to the UDF,

can you say why? They were referred to as a minority group at the Hammanskraal conference.

Mr Cooper: Nobody said they didn't want to speak to the UDF. I don't know where you got that from.

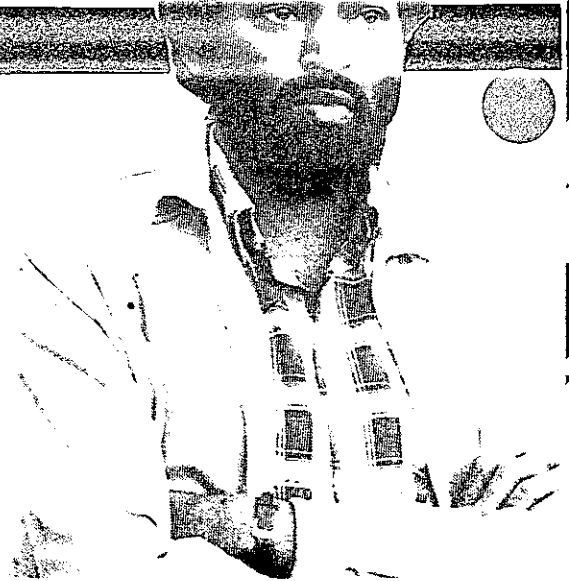
SOWETAN: It came up during the talks at the conference.

Mr Cooper: No, I don't think that's a true reflection at all. A resolution adopted where this manifesto was pushed through was that all those groups that were not fully represented for one reason or the other should be approached by the Forum Committee, in preparation for the next forum meeting.

We actually warned people against attacking the UDF.

SOWETAN: You have spoken of anti-racism and anti-imperialism as some of the principles on which the Manifesto of the Azanian People is based, could you say what you mean by anti-racism and anti-imperialism?

Mr Cooper: In the future society towards which we are working,



we will have no vestiges of racism. We will not consider whether a person is white or black, whether a person is a he or a she, professional or blue-collared worker, moslem or Christian.

Anti-racism to us represents a much more positive advance on previous attitudes. For instance, right now there is a lot of talk on non-racialism and among the organisations that are most clear on non-racialism, I think, Sacos stands out as an example.

But you get other organisations which claim

they are non-racial, when in actual fact they are confusing between non-racialism and multi-racialism. And any type of approach that is going to give any credence to ethnic bases must be gotten rid of when we approach liberation in this country.

We equally oppose alliance with groups that work within the system. We believe that what must be entrenched is an independent working class leadership for the future state.

**CONTINUED
TOMORROW**

in respect of this leadership view their own paramountcy.

SOWETAN: Would you be able to say what this conference has achieved so far?

Mr Cooper: Well, for the first time in the history of the struggle in this country, we spoke together. People from a diversity of organisational background and with divergent ideological views. Under one roof, and without any political strings attached, we discussed a common basis for a future working relationship.

SOWETAN: What common basis did the conference raise on which all of you will now be working in future?

Mr Cooper: We had four commissions at the Forum. These were respectively the land question, the basis for principled unity, our minimum demands and the last one was mobilising and consolidating these efforts against the so-called new deal.

Now, the whole idea was to see consensus for working together without regard to whether one was black consciousness or progressive democratic or whatever.

SOWETAN: There are criticisms that came up after the conference that only two of the six papers read there dealt with unity.

Mr Cooper: No, there are three papers that dealt specifically with unity. One was on the national question in relationship to ethnicity,

that.

SOWETAN: What was their status at the conference? They claim to have gone there as observers.

Mr Cooper: This could be so. What I do know is that there were people from the organisations you mentioned who registered as observers. But as soon as discussions started, they changed their status to that of participants.

The Land Question Commission and the Minimum Demands Commission had a preponderance of people who subscribe to the Freedom Charter and they dominated discussions.

Never before has there been this kind of unity. In 1943 when the Unity Movement adopted its 10-point programme, their convention was of those groups that subscribed to Unity Movement principles.

In 1955 when the Kliptown Charter was adopted, there were five groupings at the Congress Alliance. In 1976 when the Mafikeng Manifesto was adopted, it was specifically Black People's Convention-orientated approach.

Here we have the Manifesto of the Azanian people without any organisational slant. It does not speak about black consciousness, it does not speak about Progressive Democrats or Unity Movement principles. It is an amalgam and a development of these previous historical programmes.

SOWETAN: But is there

of quizzing. Who uses that term? A quizzing was a particular "sell-out" during the German occupation of Scandinavia.

The programme here is a manifesto of minimum demands which are very bland in a sense. It talks of socialist, anti-racist system and democratic State, worker control. That is the basis of this manifesto. And I may say, no previous programme has been as explicit as this one is about worker control.

This is something that we believe can bring organisations together, for instance black consciousness will be very foolish if it found any fault with the Manifesto of the Azanian People, although the manifesto places no emphasis whatsoever on BC.

In the same way, Unity Movement people will be foolhardy if they were to condemn it out of hand just because it was not their initiative.

SOWETAN: Are there specifics that you find outdated in the Charter or would you say the entire Charter is not relevant?

Mr Cooper: Look, no upholder of the Charter would be in a position to say that every single one of those demands is absolutely as relevant as it is in the Charter per se.

For instance, the entrenchment of minority rights. Now, I am speaking not for National Forum but I'm giving the Azapo point of view. We don't believe in the entrenchment of mi-

Motlana's son flees

11A Mercury Correspondent

Mercury
20/7/83

JOHANNESBURG—Mr Karabo Motlana, son of the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, has fled South Africa.

Mrs Sally Motlana said yesterday her law student son had disappeared from their Soweto home a few days before he was due to appear in court at Ermelo on May 26.

He had been charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation and possessing banned literature. He was on R500 bail when he fled, apparently to a neighbouring country.

A warrant for his arrest has been issued.

• We continue our interview with Azapo vice president SATHS COOPER by reporter SAM MABE.

Sowetan
Azania 20/1/83
for (1A)
Azanians

SOWETAN: Another controversial part of the Freedom Charter is the preamble which makes mention of this country belonging to all who live in it, black and white. But in the Azanian Manifesto it is said that the land and all that belong to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people. What is the difference?

Mr Cooper: Yes, the Charter talks in the present tense, whereas the Azanian People's Manifesto talks about a futuristic situation.

There are problems of interpretation when you come to that opening sentence of the Charter, which I will not go into. But we must say right now that the land does not belong to all people of this country. It belongs to a particular ruling class.

We believe that in a future country, no regard should be given to whether a person is white or black. He must be an Azanian, he must be a citizen of the country, identify with the soil, identify with the future constitution of the country.

AIMS

He must identify with the aims, interests and aspirations of the sovereign, unitary, independent future working Republic.

SOWETAN: People who claim that there is a strong emphasis of black consciousness in the National Forum say there will still be a strong emphasis on the race analysis...

Mr Cooper: No, no, black consciousness has

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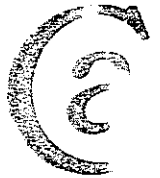
SOWETIAN: People who claim that there is a strong emphasis of black consciousness in the National Forum say there will still be a strong emphasis on the race analysis.

Mr Cooper: No, no black consciousness has developed from its inception. As one of the founding members of BC in this country, I know that BC as propounded in the early 70s is not the BC that you refer to.

From its inception at the time of its formation it has moved to that of race-class analysis and it will be simplistic in this country to say that it is purely a class struggle or that it is purely a race struggle.

The two have a symbiotic relationship. Class feeds on race and race feeds on class. I think a difference of interpretations may create a like which is more important of the two. But that is largely an academic exercise, which certain leaderships tend to do.

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Stat 207/83
Freedom Charter
sentiments
'legitimate'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The sentiments of the Freedom Charter are well within the bounds of legitimate aspirations and have never been the exclusive preserve of the African National Congress, the Publications Control Board has ruled.

In a judgment released this week, the board gave its reasons for overturning a decision by the Committee of Publications that an edition of "Anti-SAIC News", a publication of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasc), was undesirable.

Its toleration of the Freedom Charter has been welcomed in legal circles.

Professor John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand regards the ruling as "a significant one in the field of publications ... it advances the cause of freedom of expression".

UNDERScoreD

The pertinence of the finding is underscored by the emergence — or re-emergence — in recent years of organisations which firmly subscribe to the views of the Freedom Charter. Among these are the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Azanian Students' Organisation.

Representing Tasc in its appeal against the banning of the February "Anti-SAIC News", Johannesburg advocate Mr Gilbert Marcus argued the Freedom Charter was a moderate document, the sentiments of which were embraced in the constitutions of many lands and in widely accepted declarations of human rights.

The committee had banned the newsletter on the grounds of its coverage of TIC, which the committee declared to be a "terroristic organisation subscribing to the revolutionary objects of the ANC". The committee had based its conclusion solely on the grounds that TIC was present at the adoption of the Freedom Charter, which is the ANC's blueprint for a future South Africa.

MODERATE

The appeal board accepted Mr Marcus's contention that the charter's principles were moderate and were not the exclusive preserve of the ANC. "It is the use to which the ANC has put the Freedom Charter that has made this charter undesirable in certain contexts. There is no evidence in the publication to suggest the publication associates itself with violence," the judgment reads.

Although it confines itself to judgment of the publication and has no jurisdiction over the conduct of the publishers, the board took cognisance that the publishers had stated in the newsletter their commitment to "the use of every available and legal means to continue the struggle for freedom".

Mr Marcus had suggested that the publication served an important political purpose, promoting democratic debate on the (then) President's Council's proposals for a new constitution. This the board accepted, noting: "There should be an open discussion on the matter and it would be contrary to the tenets of democracy to limit this discussion to Parliament."

DANGER TEST

In addressing the question of the likelihood of the publication endangering State security, general welfare, or peace and good order, Mr Marcus referred to a similar principle in United States law — "the clear and present danger test".

He cited a ruling by noted US Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Brandeis: "No danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present unless the incidence of evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the process of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

The board accepted this as a guide and ruled that the decision of the Publications Committee — that the newsletter was undesirable — be set aside and that a ban on possession not be confirmed.

US media focus on SA poet

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The attention of the American media has swung back to South Africa this week as a result of the battle by exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus to fight deportation from the United States.

The case, in which the anti-apartheid campaigner is trying to prove he would face persecution and possible death if he was sent back to South Africa or Zimbabwe, has been widely reported in the Press and on television.

Today the New York Times carries an editorial urging the Department of Justice to allow Dr Brutus, who lectures in English at Northwestern University in Chicago, to remain.

The Times notes that the Administration is enforcing the letter of the law by deporting Dr Brutus, who filed his visa renewal application six months late.

But the newspaper argues that the United States Attorney General could decline to enforce the deportation, or could grant him political asylum. "There seems no good reason not to let Dennis Brutus remain."

CAPE TIMES 20/7/83
11A

Report can't be published

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has refused a request by the Cape Times to publish a report from London which contains information about the African National Congress's future plans in its insurgency against the Republic's established order.

The report, originating from the Cape Times London correspondent, quotes excerpts from an interview featuring Mr Joe Slovo, who has played a leading role in the armed activities of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In the interview, first published in the Umkhonto journal Dawn, and then reprinted in the official ANC organ Sechaba, Mr Slovo gives strong indications about future changes in the organization's urban terrorism policy.

Till fairly recently, the ANC concentrated on "official" rather than "soft" targets such as crowded public places. In the light of the Church Street bomb ex-

plosion there has been much speculation on whether the organization intends to change to a new tack.

Mr Le Grange's permission to publish was required because the core of the report consisted of remarks by Mr Slovo and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC — neither of whom can be quoted.

Banned

Mr Tambo is a banned person, while the new Internal Security Act prohibits publication of anything Mr Slovo says, even though his banning order has expired. The ANC itself has been a proscribed organization for two decades.

A copy of the report was sent to Mr Le Grange yesterday with a request for his permission to use the Tambo and Slovo quotations as the Cape Times felt the information was of great public interest, but after reading the material, he said through a spokesman that he was not willing to assent to publication or make any comment on the report.

Police deny detention of students

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Pretoria police today denied that five members of the Azanian Students' Movement were being detained.

But an attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, said police at Protea had told her that her clients were being held under section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

The students are Kenny Mosime, Jackie Hlopholosa, Gopal Naidoo, Pule Monama and Monhla Hlahla.

The first report of the students' alleged arrest was made on Monday night by the Rev Cecil Begbie, vice-president of

the Witwatersrand Council of Churches

He said police at Protea had indicated that Mr Mosime, Mr Hlopholosa and Mr Naidoo were being held but had denied that Mr Monama, national organiser of Azasm, and Miss Hlahla were in custody.

The publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said yesterday that Mr Monama was brought by police to the Moletsane house at which they both live after midnight on Monday.

He was subsequently taken away by police after a brief search of the house and confiscation of some documents.

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Handwritten mark resembling the letter 'G'.

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New civic party to contest council elections

SOWETO

'COUP'



THE MAYOR: Mr David Thebehali.

BID

By SAM MABE

IN A move seen as an attempt to unseat the present community council leadership in Soweto, a new civic party is to be launched in Johannesburg tonight, to start campaigning for the forthcoming council elections.

The formation of the new body, African League Party, is likely to send shock-waves throughout the country as some of the personalities involved are known to have been bitter opponents of participation in Government-created civic and political bodies.

Details of the founding of the party and the names of personalities involved have been kept a closely guarded secret.

But The SOWETAN established the structure of the new party and also obtained a list of eight people involved. They include among others, prominent business personalities, social and community leaders and some well-known journalists.

Details of the new body and its functions will be announced to selected guests who have been invited to the inaugural meeting to be held at the Johannesburg City Hall (Duncan Hall) from 5.15 tonight.

The SOWETAN has in its possession a document which sets out the structure and the functions of the league. This will include the civic wing of the organisation, whose major aim shall be to gain greater control of civic institutions so that "blacks can have a co-ordinated and substantive direction of local administration."

The thrust of the civic wing works from the premise that local administration provides a power base for social, cultural and economic development in black areas.

Blacks will be able to "gain experience in administration" and the African League Party shall "press for the implementation of the De Lange Commission's recommendation and for education to be a local issue".

21/7/83

Bid for coloured political unity gains some impetus

New moves aimed at a re-alignment in coloured politics will result in talks between the Freedom Party and the People's Congress Party next month. A merger between these two parties seems a distinct possibility — but their dream of coloured political unity is likely to be thwarted by the Labour Party, which is still determined to follow its own path.

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — Leaders of two coloured political parties now engaged in moves towards joining forces envisage a possible re-alignment in coloured politics.

The Freedom Party (FP) and the People's Congress Party (PCP) have agreed to have talks in Uitenhage on August 6 and 7 about a possible merger. The leaders of both parties believe that, if a merger is achieved, there might be further moves towards seeking agreement with the Labour Party.

The aim would be to enable

the coloured people "to speak with one voice" and seek a political re-alignment in the new Parliament under the Government's proposed constitutional plan.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has shown an interest in the Freedom Party and the People's Congress Party. Last week he invited leaders of the two parties to talks in Cape Town — but this week they were told the talks had been called off, at least for the time being.

The FP leader, Mr Charles

the impression from the Minister's office that the talks had only been called off temporarily. The reason given was that the hearing of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Affairs had not yet been completed.

In the meanwhile his party would go ahead with its plans to meet the PCP in Uitenhage next month.

Should the Uitenhage talks prove successful, a final meeting might be held between the two parties in Cape Town on the question of amalgamation.

Such a move would help to unite the coloured people.

There were no serious differences between the two parties, he said.

It was unlikely, however, that agreement could be reached with the Labour Party under that party's present leadership.

Mr. Julies said his party would welcome a move to join all the coloured political parties.

This could even lead to the coloured people joining forces with white political parties — either on the Opposition side or on the Government side.

He believed a common voters' role for whites, co-

loureds and Indians would be come a reality in South Africa before the year 2000.

"The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is doing everything in his power to bring harmony and peace to Southern Africa. We welcome the idea of evolutionary change instead of revolutionary change," Mr Julies said.

The leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais, said Minister Heunis had invited his party's full nine-member executive committee to Cape Town for talks.

When the talks were called

off this week, he understood from the Minister's office that a later meeting would be arranged.

He said the Uitenhage talks about a possible merger with the Freedom Party would be aimed at unity.

"Once a merger is achieved we would like to extend a hand of friendship to Mr Alan Henricks of the Labour Party," he said.

The national chairman of the Labour Party, Mr David Curry, said he did not regard the FP and the PCP as having any significant political strength.

Launching of new party falls flat in wake of exposé

INDABA FLOPS!

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THE MEETING scheduled for last night to launch a new civic party which was to topple the Soweto council leadership was yesterday postponed because of The SOWETAN's exposé of the party's motives.

The indefinite postponement was announced by Mr Meshack Mabogoane, secretary general of African League (AL), the mother body of numerous organisations which were to start operating in various spheres of life among blacks after the launching.

Mr Mabogoane said the Johannesburg City Hall was booked on the understanding that the meeting to be held was a private one and only a few selected people would attend.

"But after The SOWETAN's story, the authorities decided that the meeting was no longer private because the public knew about it and many uninvited people might also attend.

"This therefore meant that our contract was automatically nullified and we have to make a fresh application which will follow the normal procedures for approval," he said.

He emphasised that the postponement was due to technical reasons which the AL could not have done anything about. A handwritten notice was pasted on the door of the hall saying: "African

By SAM MABE

League meeting postponed, further notice in the Press tomorrow."

But only hours before its official launching was due yesterday the AL had already come under heavy fire from Soweto's "mayor" Mr David Thebehali, who condemned its formation as the work of white liberals.

Dismissing the idea of launching the party in Johannesburg as "a big joke," Mr Thebehali said he would not be threatened by "parties launched in white suburbs to deal with problems of the ghettos."

He also said he found it strange that he should not have been invited to the meeting "to give them the nitty-gritty of running a council."

Greeting the news of the postponement with excitement, Mr Thebehali said he suspected that many of the prominent personalities whom The SOWETAN had said were involved in the AL, had got cold feet and may have decided to withdraw from the AL.

"The organisers made a big blunder. They should not have done their organising clandestinely because it is the secrecy of this whole business which interested the Press and turned the whole thing into a scandal.

"Anyway, I did not feel threatened at all. There will never be a coup against me. We were ready for them and their white liberals and we were going to meet them head-on," said Mr Thebehali.

Back to school for pupils

THE situation at the two strife-torn schools in Soweto was quiet yesterday, and it will be back to school for the students of Ibhongo High School and Progress Senior Secondary School today.

The situation at Ibhongo in Dlamini was almost back to normal yesterday with about three quarters of the students attending classes.

By MONO BADELA

students would attend classes today.

Mr Mokone said this decision was taken after a two hour meeting between ten prefects, the principal, Mr Piet le Roux, and four senior officials of the Department of Education and Training.

accord on Tuesday. Because there was no immediate replacement for the mathematics teacher, it was decided that the present white teacher should keep her job.

The principal also promised that the students would be supplied

In the meantime, five members of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) detained on Monday, were released on Wednesday, a spokesman for their lawyers told Sapa.

The five — Mr Pule Monama (28) national organiser of Azasm, Mr Kenny Mesimo (21) the treasurer, Mr Jackie

Jet is Mo



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LADIESWEAR

Mini Dresses	up to 3
Pinafores	3
Cardigans	3
Cord Jeans	2
Flannel Pleated Skirts	3
Great Suits	up to 2

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MENSWEAR

Windbreakers	2
Blanket Shirts	9

BOYSWEAR

Check Shirts	up to 8
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~~Star 22/7/83~~ Star 22/7/83 (11/83)

Newest black student movement snubs Nusas

With the founding of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) early this month Black Consciousness (BC) again has a channel through which to flow undiluted into institutions of learning.

Azasm was launched by BC organisers as it became clear that the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) had shrugged off the BC heritage of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso), and was looking to the fruits of the Congress Alliance struggle of the 1950s — to the tradition of the Freedom Charter.

This week the founder president of Azasm, Mr Kabelo Lengane, declared Azaso's gradual switch to Charterist principles as a betrayal which had left the BC "faithfuls" without a home. "Azasm is not the breakaway faction — Azaso is," he argued.

Unlike Azaso president Mr Tiego Moseneke, he felt there was little common ground between ideas of members of the organisations. He saw fundamental differences over the question of race and the vision of a future society.

Azasm's approach to these matters is based on the manifesto of the National Forum Committee (NFC) which it fully endorses.

Mr Lengane, a law student in his second year at the University of the North, regards the NFC manifesto as unique in its categorical statement that estab-

Students of the Black Consciousness persuasion launched the Azanian Students' Movement early this month.

Founder president Kabelo Lengane spoke to JO-ANNE COLLINGE this week about the direction taken by his organisation.

lishing a socialist society is its aim.

He argues that the Freedom Charter has no clear stamp of socialism, although it is commonly held to be a social democratic document.

It has marked welfare state echoes in its housing and education clauses, and references to radical land redistribution and nationalisation of mineral wealth.

The question of race is more complicated. A unique definition of blackness is at the heart of the BC philosophy.

Mr Lengane explains that to be black is to be one of an economically and socially oppressed group and — most important — to identify oneself as part of the struggle for a free and democratic Azania.

It is this idea of blackness that enables Azasm to assert that its members are part of a mainly working class community before they are students.

"Azasm members aim at transcending their elitist nature, at committing class sui-



Mr Lengane ... fundamental differences between groups.

cide and working side by side with the working class," Mr Lengane declares.

Mr Lengane is outspokenly critical of Nusas. He sees it as not much more radical than the Progressive Federal Party, and declares there is no common ground between white and black students and no room for joint campaigns — even on limited issues.

He believes that white students inevitably seek to impose paternalistic leadership on black students.

The BC groupings have declared the Freedom Charter wanting because it acknowledges minority groups.

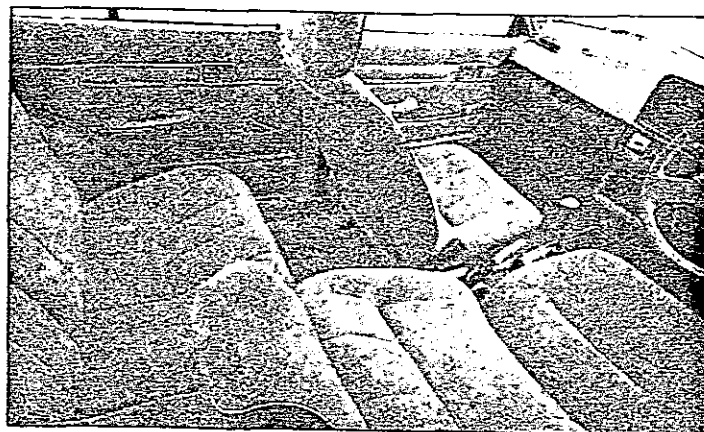
Mr Lengane adds that the non-racialism of the Charterist is a pale, neutral approach which does not imply an active opposition to racism.

Azasm expects it will face organisational problems on certain campuses where activism is discouraged.

It is an organisation which embraces both school pupils and post-matric students.

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TECHNOLOGY YOU CAN FEEL

Displaying the same kind of advanced thinking that inspired the futuristic Mazda MX-R1 showcar today's new

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neath the bonnet.

Let's close our ranks, say three of the unbanned

By ANTON HARBER and HELENE ZAMPETAKIS

THE first group of recently unbanned people to address a public meeting have called on black opposition organisations to put aside their differences and form "the broadest possible alliance".

Mr Feroz Cachalia, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko and Mr David Johnson, who were all unbanned early this month, received standing ovations when they addressed 400 students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

Mr Cachalia, a former member of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee and president of the Black Students' Society (BSS) at Wits, said the State had adopted a new policy of trying to co-opt Indians and coloureds.

"We must close ranks. There is an urgent need for unity. We must find common ground and form the broadest possible alliances.

"For only in this way can we prevent the fragmentation of our nation. Only in this way can we prevent the isolation of the proletariat. . ."

He called on people op-

posed to the political order to "harness a new morality, a self-denying devotion to the cause and be conscious of ourselves as builders of a new social order".

Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, former leader of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee who led the mass resignation of teachers in 1976, said it was necessary to do away with "minor contentions about who is to be included and not included in the struggle".

There were many political forces at work in South Africa and it was necessary to separate those in conflict from those not in conflict.

Those not in conflict had to be identified, marshalled and made to work together, he said.

Mr Johnson, former president of the BSS, said the aim of education was to teach youth to "love their people", but in South Africa it was used to divide people and facilitate the domination of one class by another.

There was no need for splits in the student ranks.

Cahac executive to serve another term

c. Herald 23/7/83 (11A)

MR Wilfred Rhodes was unanimously elected chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) at their second annual meeting in Ravensmead on Sunday.

Cahac's general secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, was also unanimously re-elected on the 12-member steering committee. Mrs Hester Benjamin of Lavender Hill was elected vice-chairman.

About 200 delegates and observers from Cahac's 19 affiliates attended the meeting.

Mr Manuel said Cahac has re-affirmed their commitment to building strong organisations with bigger membership and working class leadership in the community.

LEADERS

Both he and Mr Rhodes received standing ovations when they presented their annual reports. All the members of the steering committee were elected unopposed.

Mr Rhodes, who has been chairman of Cahac since 1981, said he would have preferred someone else to take his position.

"We don't want to develop into a situation where individuals in a people's organisation are seen as the leaders,

but I cannot disrespect the people's decision.

"I know that the steering committee will be able to serve them well, because the community has committed themselves to fight for houses, security and comfort and for a free and democratic South Africa."

Mr Rhodes saw Cahac's major task as making people aware that they must not sit back and accept their plight.

"The people must oppose in an organised way and set demands wherever they live. By educating ourselves on issues affecting us and bringing people together, we will be able to make our demands a reality."

MISTAKES

Mr Rhodes said Cahac had made mistakes in the past.

"But we have learnt and will not make the same mistakes again.

"We still believe we are the voice of the people and will champion the cause of the oppressed and exploited.

"In terms of our guiding principles, we will oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills.

"This new deal will entrench apartheid and prolong our oppression," he said.

and in comes . . .



Picture Philip Littleton

A boykie from Brits

Mr Meyer Kahn (43), who describes himself as "the boykie from Brits", was bubbling over yesterday following his appointment as chief executive of South African Breweries.

Recently moved from heading OK Bazaars to become deputy managing director at SAB, he said: "This is the best day of my life. I thought I might get there in a year or two, but hey, what about this — not bad for a boy from Brits!"

Mr Kahn, who has established a reputation as a strong hard-nosed marketer, now heads a huge conglomerate from the panelled walls of the SAB head office at 2 Jan Smuts Avenue.

He joined the OK as a management trainee in 1966. In 1974 he was appointed managing director of Amrel.

Before becoming managing director of OK Bazaars in 1977, he was chief executive of the group and a director of Afcol.

In 1978 he said he wanted to make OK Bazaars "the biggest and profitable retailing operation in SA" and he predicted R50 million pre-tax profit within five years. He did it in three.

Mr Kahn is married and has two daughters. His recreations are sport and reading.

stus 23/7/83

SA should pardon ANC men in return, says Rene

By Brendan Nicholson, Argus Foreign News Service

VICTORIA — The Seychelles' President, Mr Albert Rene, confirmed that six pardoned mercenaries would fly home today — and attacked South Africa for not showing similar mercy to condemned African National Congress men.

In a statement released by State House, he warned it was the "last time" such pardons would be granted.

The mercy shown to the six — four were condemned to death — "is in sharp contrast to the practice in some countries where more often than not international calls for clemency are simply ignored", it said.

Mr Rene recalled that in March he asked the South African Government, on humanitarian grounds, not to execute three ANC members.

"The South African Prime Minister (Mr P W Botha) replied that justice must take its course and the three men were subsequently executed," it said.

The six, all South African residents, are former National Intelligence Service agent Martin Dolinchek, one-time Natal Provincial Council election candidate Jerry Puren, British adventurer Bernard Carey — who told journalists yesterday he had served in six mercenary campaigns — Zimbabwean Aubrey Brooks, former British paratrooper Roger England and Robert Sims, brother-in-law of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, who led the November 25, 1981 coup bid.

"The Seychelles Government is of the opinion that they ... were falsely made to believe that the Seychellois people were unhappy and wanted to be saved — that we were a cruel and bloodthirsty regime. The world should know that this is not true, and who can say it better than those who were falsely induced to attack us," it said.

● Dolinchek faces NIS questioning — See Page 2

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ion was asked worth sudden- ging director's ys Bank and Bellamy opted ally suddenly. ent his entire B. ediate plans," st night. to invest in

Southern Sun is mere speculation at present.

"I am now a free agent and there are so many areas of business that I know well and that I could consider getting into.

"I will be severing all ties with SAB. There is room for only one chief executive."

Mr Goss was 37 when he took over from the ebullient Ted Sceales as SAB chief and had none of the easy Sceales style. Only those close to him gave him any chance of success.

Seventeen years later he still has a low profile, perhaps lacking in style, but is rated one of the finest business leaders South Africa has produced.

And close associates refer glowingly to his sincerity and to

his insistence on standing by his principles.

"They may have cost him his position but that would never have influenced the man," one colleague said.

Mr Sol Kerzner has also made no bones about wanting to acquire a bigger slice of the company synonymous with his name.

"I would obviously be foolish to negotiate with SAB to increase my 10 percent in Southern Sun if I had not arranged the finance," he said last night.

"It will not affect my previous view that there is still scope for growth in this country but that the real thrust will come from overseas developments."

● To Page 2, column 1.

in court



50 W Cape groups unite against constitutional plans

40/k ARGUS 23/7/83

11/1

SAT

By HUGH ROBERTON

Weekend Argus Reporter

AFTER weeks of negotiation, about 50 organisations in the Western Cape have agreed on a common strategy to oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and are to meet tomorrow to launch their campaign officially.

Earlier meetings were marked by disagreement over objectives, strategy and the composition of the body which is to lead the campaign. Most of these problems have been resolved and tomorrow's meeting is expected to elect a full executive and to finalise details of the campaign.

According to members of organisations involved in planning the meeting, the body which is to be formed will represent the largest cross-section of organisations ever assembled in the coloured and black communities. It will also include such predominantly white organisations as Nusas, making it representative of all race groups.

No official role

Some trade unions which participated in earlier meetings have decided not to play an official role in the campaign, although individual members would be free to do so.

Prominent leaders from virtually all churches, including the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, and many mosques, will attend in their individual capacities.

Leaders such as the Rev Allan Boesak, chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, have given their strong approval to the campaign.

Grassroots organisations

More than 20 grassroots organisations affiliated to the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee are also backing the campaign.

The Western Cape body will liaise with similar bodies already formed in the Transvaal, Natal and the Eastern Cape to oppose the constitutional proposals.

It is believed that there has been wide agreement on a boycott of any elections held under the constitution, after some organisations had toyed with the idea of contesting such elections with the intention of refusing to take up what seats they might win in the three-chamber Parliament.

SACOS has called a conference in Cape Town on August 20 and 21 in direct opposition to the media congress of Dr Danie Craven's South African Rugby Board on Monday August 22.

The special Sacos conference will be held in the Hanover Park Civic Centre in Cape Town and will be attended by national affiliates as well as civic, worker and youth movements throughout the country.

In addition all provincial codes and provincial councils of sport will also attend and clubs, particularly those in the Western Cape, have been requested to send one observer each to the two-day conference, which will dwell on the theme Sport and the Liberatory Struggle.

Sacos will not discuss its normal biannual business at this conference, but will instead concentrate on special papers to be delivered. A manifesto aimed at incorporating all isolated sportsmen, and especially those in the townships, under the non-racial banner, will be compiled.

Joe Ebrahim, vice president of Sacos and president of Wepcos, clearly spelt out the dangers facing non-racial sport in his opening address at their Wepcos meeting on Sunday.

He pointed out that the activities of Sacos were important enough for the South African Rugby Board to organise a large scale — and extremely expensive — media congress: that it could give false information in its brochure on the congress, claiming that Sacos officials will be in attendance; and that Sacos members must face the reality that their ideals are being threatened by officialdom.

SUPPORT

Colin Clarke, internal secretary of Sacos addressed the annual meeting of the South African Soccer Federation in Ocean View on Monday.

The meeting offered full support for the move

to have a special meeting and Federation president Rama Reddy commented on the unscrupulous manner in which the South African Rugby Board behaved by quoting Sacos officials as being party to their media congress.

This was especially so, according to Reddy, as Sacos and the rugby Board were not even affiliated to each other.

'The Doc' calls us an enemy of SA

By Russell Michaels
CAPE Herald is an enemy of South Africa.

This astonishing claim was made this week by Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board.

Said Dr Craven: "You people (Cape Herald), Frank van der Horst, Sacos and Sanroc have already done so much harm to this country. You are the enemies of South Africa."

Asked whether this newspaper would be invited to the Rugby Board's media congress, scheduled for August, Dr Craven said: "What do you want at the congress? You only want to stir up a hornet's nest. I hope you are not invited because I know what your objectives are. You people have warped minds when it comes to South Africa."

The SA Rugby Board president also launched a strong attack on Sacos president Frank van der Horst, who earlier this month turned down an invitation to address the congress.

SCARED

"He is scared to put his case to the world. And he's scared because he has no case — that's the only conclusion I can come to," said Dr Craven.

"Sacos should work with me in putting South Africa's case over to the world. But they're not playing the game for, if they did, they would have been with us a long time ago."

"We should be fighting together for South Africa instead of against each other," he said.

Dr Craven added that he hoped the SA Rugby Union would attend his congress.

"They no longer belong to Sacos, so I can't see why they should not be there," he said.

Sacos congress to counter rugby summit
Anything
Craven
can do

By Barry Hopwood

Cape Herald 23/9/83

11A

een for ma out-reliance best ical her

● SHIREEN Weldeman (centre) received the Ackerman's Trophy for showing outstanding qualities of reliability, zeal and diligence. With her are Katie Bruinfies (left), who received the Principal's Prize for obtaining the highest marks for the course and Charmaine Malgas who was awarded the Matron's Prize for being the best practical nurse.

Students honour

Oscar Mpetha ^{23/7/83}

VETERAN trade unionist Oscar Mpetha was honoured at the third annual congress of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) held in Rylands Estate last week.

Mpetha, 75, who is on bail awaiting appeal against his five year sentence under the Terrorism Act, was supposed to deliver the closing address at the five-day congress, but had to withdraw because of ill-health.

He sent a message to the congress, calling on students to play their part in building a democratic education system.

His message, which was received with a standing ovation, was followed by a unanimous resolution which honoured Oscar Mpetha as "one of the leaders of the community and of the people" and called on the State to withdraw his sentence.

FREEDOM CHARTER

In other resolutions, Azaso members committed themselves to the aims of the Freedom Charter and to working with other organisations towards a democratic society.

They said they would give their full support to the United Democratic Front — a body formed out of community organisations, student bodies and trade unions to oppose the constitutional proposals and Government measures on urban Africans.

The congress said they would popularize their campaign to draw up an education charter which could lay the basis for a democratic educational system.

A B Comm student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Tiego Moseneke, was elected national president.

The vice-president is Mr Y Abba Omar, an honours student at the University of Durban-Westville.

Mr Confidence Moloko, a fourth year student at the Medical University of South Africa, was elected national secretary.

Teachers, SAIC looms

ing Teachers' Association of South Africa threatened to take the South African Indian Council for alleged "political interference" in its affairs.

has had been sent to Mr de Klerk condemning the breakdown in communication.

"We have requested ministerial intervention to prevent the SAIC from making a mockery of Indian education.

"We are already discussing the possibility of legal action against the SAIC because that organisation is not qualified to deal with education," the official said.

Mr Samuels told Tasa's annual conference in Durban last week that

the SAIC was trying to interfere with Indian education so that it could show people that it was an effective representative body.

CREDIBILITY

"Tasa will not give credibility to an organisation which is not recognised by the people.

"Tasa has a meaningful role to play in the liberation struggle and we will not allow the SAIC to use education for its own narrow political ends," Mr Samuels said.

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RODS 288

RINGS 398

Lotus River mass meeting rejects new proposals, Bills

(11A)

23/7/83

MORE than 150 people attended an open meeting of the Lotus River and Grassy Park Residents' Association (Logra) at which residents expressed their total rejection of the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

The meeting also pledged to continue their fight with the Divisional Council until electricity and ceilings had been installed in those houses which needed them. They resolved to fight for relief for those families who were affected by the recent storms. They will also be asking council to look into their drainage problems.

The meeting was ad-

ressed by various speakers who all spoke about the need for residents to get involved in organisations which fought for their rights.

● Mrs R Williams, an executive member of the Lotus River and Grassy Park Residents' Association (Logra), told the meeting that the residents of Lotus River and Grassy Park should be united as this would make the fight to solve their problems easier.

ACCOMPLISHED

She referred to Logra and the work the organisation had accomplished during the past four years. Mrs Williams produced newspaper cuttings on some of Logra's victories.

● Mr Wilfred Rhodes, chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), explained the importance of uniting under umbrella bodies to fight issues.

Residents present at the meeting unanimously decided to support moves to approach the Divisional Council. Logra will be meeting council officials on Thursday morning.

A MEETING of the Asinamali Party, held to drum up support for a "black city council", was disrupted by youths singing freedom songs and chanting slogans in the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, on Sunday

Mr Norris Mvelo Singaphi, former chairman of the community council, was shouted down

After the meeting, cops used a loud hailer to order the youths not to sing or march in the

Youths disrupt election meeting

streets

"The disruption was intended to unmask political chameleons," said the president of the PE Youth Congress, Mr Mkhusele Jack

The meeting was organised to launch

candidates for the September council elections

In terms of the new Black Authorities Act, a community council will become a city council or village

council on October 1

Mr Jack said he and Cosas president Mr Zola Mtatse were later taken by cops in camouflage uniform to Algoa Park Police Station where they were questioned before being released

11A *City Press* *24/7/83*

Inkatha has everything to win — and a lot to lose

11A
City Press
24/7/83

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha must fight the local elections later this year.

If his bold bid for a third force is to have any real chance of success, he has to do this.

The Buthelezi-inspired front is aimed at forestalling government policies of making every black person live in an "independent" homeland or in an urban area under sufferance.

A key ally in the third front is Lebowa's Chief Minister, Dr Cedric Phatudi.

Other key figures are the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntswanisi, and the Chief Minister of Kangwane, Mr Enos Mabuza.

Another possible participant is Mr Kenneth Mopeli's Dikwa-kwentla Party in Owaqwa.

To make this alliance really powerful, however, it needs to capture the urban areas.

This will show that the third front has roots and support not only in non-independent homelands, but also in the urban areas.

And it will show that Inkatha is not merely based in Natal — and that is not just a Zulu ethnic movement.

The development of this strategy will be a serious challenge to both the United Democratic Front and the Black Consciousness inspired National Forum.

If Chief Buthelezi and his allies can mus-

A CP Correspondent argues that Inkatha must participate in the community council elections.



● Chief Gatsha Buthelezi... the temptation may be too great.

ter solid support in the urban areas of the Transvaal, particularly Soweto and the East Rand, they will become very powerful.

With a claimed membership of 750 000, Inkatha would be the biggest-ever black political organisation in South African history — and victory later this year in the urban areas would bolster its position and its strategies.

But this strategy has big dangers.

Low polls and apathy, like those which brought Mr David Thebahi to power, would be disastrous.

Not only would it show lack of support,

but it would reinforce UDF and NF criticisms that Inkatha is legitimising apartheid and making the system work.

It may also provoke huge antagonism from Pretoria which already has a love-hate relationship with Chief Buthelezi.

But the Alliance believes the linking of black people opposed to the independence of the homelands in this way could show that the system can be used to destroy apartheid.

It would mean that the Government will not be able to ensure that even the majority of black people live in "independent" states.

Recently, Chief Buthelezi and a number of his senior Ministers visited Lebowa, and the Chief Minister made a hard-hitting speech for the first time of the development of the third force alliance.

Chief Buthelezi has said that Inkatha would stay out of the local authority elections later this year on the grounds that they were part of the Government's overall constitutional plan.

He may stick to this course, but the temptation of Inkatha and its allies becoming the dominant party in the Soweto City Council as well as in other areas of the Rand may be too great.

It would certainly give substance to the Buthelezi/Phatudi strategy with the majority of black people openly rejecting "independence" — and living outside "independent" homelands.

But it is certain to raise the anger of the Government, whose new "crown prince", Mr F. W. de Klerk, said at the end of the Parliamentary session that it was still Government policy to lead all the homelands to independence, and it could result in the recalcitrant homeland governments being punished, with reduced grants from Pretoria and even less co-operation.

The prize, however for the third force is the possibility of becoming of the dominant black political movement in South Africa today.

In the circumstances participation in the local elections later this year may be unavoidable

ASSIN ON THE LOOSE

(Handwritten: 24/7/83) City Press



By TEBELLO RADEBE
CONFUSION reigns over the identity of the hired assassin believed to be behind the deaths of two community leaders who were on an alleged "sellout" hit list.

The assassin's latest victim was Mr Jacob "JR" Ratale, an ex-mayor and former Lebowa Member of Parliament.

Police have appealed to the public to come forward with any information they may have which could help to solve the mystery of the assassin.

Balaclava

Eyewitnesses who saw the balaclava-disguised gunman pump seven bullets into the body of Mr Ratale in his shop last week have given conflicting descriptions of what he was wearing.

According to one witness, the man was wearing a blue dust-coat, while another says he was wearing a khaki overcoat.

The hit list naming four targets of the assassin was found at the Daveyton Civic



● Mr J R Ratale - victim number three.



● Mr Andrew Nxumalo - the first victim.

Hall shortly before the funeral procession of community councillor Mr Andrew Nxumalo arrived at the hall last year.

Mr Ratale was one of four councillors on the alleged hit list, together with Mr Nxumalo. A third man, Mr M K Manzini, has since died of natural causes.

The only survivor on the list is Mr Tom Boya, the current "mayor" of Daveyton. Asked whether he had seen the death list, Mr Boya said he had only heard people talking about it at the funeral of Mr Nxumalo.

"However", said Mr Boya, "I have received a number of

phone calls threatening me with death since then."

Abusive

Police have confirmed that Mr Boya has received abusive phone calls at his home. But, said Captain Simon Tshabalala, head of the Daveyton Police, "we do not have any knowledge about the hit-list, we do not even know whether the motive behind the list is political".

He added that police are investigating the possibility that three other men, not connected to the Community Council, have been killed by the assassin since 1980.

al for help."

TOP PEOPLE

SNUB NEW PARTY

SOWETO'S mysterious new political party which says it aims to oust "mayor" David Thebehali in the community council elections was experiencing severe birthpangs — even before being born yesterday.

Key figures approached to form the new party, the African League, have refused.

Journalist Meshack Mabogoane, who describes himself as secretary general of the party, last night invited top Soweto personalities to help launch the African League. The party says it wants to oust Mr Thebehali from the Soweto seat to replace him with someone "more relevant".

Mabogoane is former editor of the defunct magazine, African Impact, who presently writes on showbiz for The Star.

Percy Qoboza, former editor of the banned World and Post newspapers, Mrs Debra Mabiletsa, an executive with the Urban Foundation, Mrs Hope Ramaphosa, Mr Douglas Lolwane, and business people like Mr Roel Khoza and Mr David Poee, are among these approached.

The list of those approached was kept

By LEN KALANE

secret until late yesterday.

Mr Qoboza, Mrs Mabiletsa and Mrs Ramaphosa said their names were being used and did not wish to serve in the new party.

"I was approached and I turned it down. I don't want to add to the existing division among blacks. I'm not a politician," he said.

"I'm being used. People who are behind this thing are being mischievous," said Mrs Mabiletsa.

Mrs Ramaphosa also said she was out of it.

Political observers have meanwhile written off the African League arguing that it would not be able to make the Soweto Council viable if it grabbed control of it. They see it as an attempt to take advantage of the Black Local Authorities Act and to mobilise blacks "within the system".

11/19
S Times 24/7/82

League shuns boycotts

By EZRA MANTINI

AN influential group of urban blacks has decided to abandon the politics of boycott and to contest the local council elections later this year.

Mr Meshack Mabogoane, secretary-general of African League told the Sunday Times the party was planning a new launch after its inaugural meeting was aborted because of Press leaks.

"We are working on the manifesto, campaign, strate-

gies and organisation of the new party," he said.

It is believed that former supporters of the Committee of Ten may be involved in the African League.

Yesterday Dr Nthato Motlana said his Committee of Ten would meet on August 7 to discuss the ideals of the new party.

"We will only issue our statement after that meeting," he said.

The League hopes to introduce an about-face in black politics, steering away from

boycott tactics to participation.

Its plan is to work "within the system" to gain control of all councils in the September elections and run them along party and national lines.

A public proclamation of the League's aims and policies is now expected in about three weeks.

"Part of our manifesto will be that we would promote cultural, social and economic welfare among blacks throughout the country," said Mr Mabogoane.

Row over secret report on Brutus

By IAN BRODIE
Los Angeles

PROFESSOR Dennis Brutus, the black South African poet fighting deportation from the US, has been linked to subversive groups in a secret and controversial State Department report.

The report was handed to a judge in Chicago last week to support the Government's claim that Professor Brutus,

59. should not be granted political asylum.

The deportation order was based on violations of immigration laws by Professor Brutus, said an Immigration Service spokesman.

The refusal to let the poet or his lawyers see the report has touched off a blazing legal row.

They are planning to fight through every possible chan-

nel of appeal to see the report and answer its charges.

Confirmation that it tied him to leftists came from government sources who refused to identify the groups.

Secret reports are not unprecedented in deportation cases although they usually cause a furore.

A frequent reason for secrecy is that the Government does not want undercover

sources exposed.

Professor Brutus has been battling deportation since 1981 when his bid for permanent residency was denied.

For the past 10 years he has lived in the US on temporary visas.

Fear

During that time he became Professor of African and English Literature at Northwestern University in Evanston, near Chicago.

Professor Brutus is said to fear persecution or death if forced to return to South Africa or his native Zimbabwe, where he was born to South African parents.

The State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs agreed in an advisory opinion submitted to immigration authorities that Professor Brutus has "a well-founded fear of persecution in South Africa".

However, they rejected his



DENNIS BRUTUS
Fears persecution

fears of persecution in Zimbabwe.

Professor Brutus was arrested and imprisoned in South Africa in the early Sixties when he defied a Government ban by attending a meeting to argue for the exclusion of South African athletes from the Olympics.

He is regarded as having been instrumental in getting South Africa expelled from the Olympic movement.

Mercury
25/7/83
11A

Meeting calls for Mandela's release

Mercury Reporter

MORE than 1 200 singing and shouting people yesterday urged the Government to release the former leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and his other colleagues from life imprisonment.

The call was made at a ceremony to celebrate Mandela's 65th birthday at St Anthony's Hall, Centenary Road, Durban.

The meeting, which was convened by the Release Mandela Committee, was

addressed by Mrs Gladys Manzi of Umlazi, Mr Patrick Lekota, a former SASO official who was recently released from Robben Island, Mr Russel Mpanga, Mr Archie Gumede, president of the RNC, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, a member of the RNC, and Mr Mewa Rangobin, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.

Also present at the meeting were recently unbanned black leaders

Mr David Gaza of Umlazi, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr Praven Gordhan of the NIC, and Prof Fatima Meer of the University of Natal.

The meeting was characterised by the continuous singing of freedom songs and slogans.

The platform was adorned with flags of the ANC and the 'Freedom Charter'.

Speaking in Zulu, Mr Mpanga, who addressed his last public meeting in 1962 because of restrictions, told the enthusiastic meeting the problems of the country could only be solved at a national convention.

He said: 'Leaders in prison, in exile and those under restriction must be allowed to participate in such a convention.'

Mr Rangobin, who was banned for 17 years, said that the Government should show the same compassion that President Albert Rene of the Seychelles had shown when he freed six mercenaries, four of whom had been sentenced to death.

'The dogs of war are pardoned. Now I challenge Mr P W Botha to release Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others from life imprisonment,' he said.

CAPL T.M.H. 25/7/83 (11A)

Mandela celebration

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — More than 1 200 singing and shouting people yesterday urged the government to release the former leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, and his colleagues from life imprisonment.

The call was made at a ceremony held at St Anthony's Hall, Centenary Road, Durban, to celebrate Mr Mandela's 65th birthday.

The meeting, convened by the Release Mandela Committee

(RMC), was addressed by Mrs Gladys Manzi of Umlazi, Mr Patrick Lekota, a former Saso official who was recently released from Robben Island, Mr Russel Mpanga, Mr Archie Gumede, president of the RMC, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, a member of the RMC, and Mr Mewa Ramgobin, a member of the Natal Indian Congress (Nic) executive.

Also present at the meeting were recently unbanned black leaders Mr David Gaza of Umlazi, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr Praven Gordhan

of Nic, and Professor Fatima Meer of the University of Natal.

The meeting was enlivened by continuous singing of "freedom songs" and shouts of 'Viva Mandela' and 'Viva Luthuli'.

The platform was adorned with flags of the ANC and with the "Freedom Charter".

Speaking in Zulu, Mr Mpanga, who had not addressed a public meeting since 1962 because of restrictions, told the crowd that the problems of the country could be solved only at a national convention.

Oscar Mpetha to head Front

By MONO BADELA

Sowetan 25/7/83
(11A)
AILING Oscar Mpetha (74), the former Cape president of the now outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and who earlier this month was released on a R1 bail, was unanimously elected president of the newly constituted United Democratic Front (Western Cape)

in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Mpetha, who was convicted of terrorism in a court sequel to the 1980 Cape Town unrest, received a warm welcome from the more than 300 delegates representing some 14 organisations from worker, church, civic, students and religious bodies in the Western Cape.

CONFERENCE

He is also the chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association and the national organiser of

the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU).

Delivering the main address of the two-day conference, Mr Mpetha said among other things: "We are all aiming at achieving a new South Africa. We cannot achieve that goal unless we are united. Unity is strength. . . The more we realise unity, the nearer we are to our goal. . . The National Party is in pieces because they are threatened by the unity of the oppressed people."

Mr Mpetha was also appointed, with nine others, as the patrons of the UDF. The others are the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress Mr Nelson Mandela, a black top theologian, Dr Alan Boesak, president of the South African Cricket Board of Control (Sabc) Hassan Howa, banned Johnny Issel, Christmas Tinto, lawyer Dhalla Omar, United Women Organisation (UWC) Amy Thorton and recently unbanned Andrew Borrairie.



PATRON: Boesak.

~~SECRET~~

Press taken to task

11A
~~SECRET~~
Soweto
25/7/83

By SAM MABE

THE PRESS was yesterday described as silly and accused of playing the newly formed National Forum (NF) against the Freedom Charter and of deliberately trying to dispute the "positive results" achieved by the NF.

At a Soweto branch meeting of Azapo held at the Orlando DOCC hall yesterday, Mr George Wauchope, who is in the sports secretariat of the organisation, said the Press tried to give the impression that the NF was formed to oppose the United Democratic Front.

Speaking in defence of the Manifesto of the Azanian People, adopted at the NF's conference held in Hammanskraal recently, speakers charged that the Freedom Charter entrenched ethnicity and that it was a document of a particular political persuasion.

CHARTER

Mr Sedupe Ramokgopa said the Charter stood for liberal democracy whereas the Manifesto stood for socialist democracy. He said the Manifesto, like the Charter, will have to be modified in future in response to the dictates of that society.

With regard to the recent school unrests in Soweto, the meeting accused the Department of Education and Training of having caused the unrests through its dishonesty in failing to keep its promises.

Commuters say they will walk to work

IA E. Post
25/7/83

By JIMMY MATYU

COMMUTERS who attended a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation Action Committee meeting yesterday decided to walk to work from July 31 as a protest against increased busfares.

The decision was taken at a meeting in the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, which was attended by a large crowd, despite a heavy downpour.

Mr Graham Shields, manager of the Port Elizabeth Tramways, today said he had no comment to make at this stage on the issue.

He said the fare increases came into effect on June 5. The overall increase was 3c a trip.

A spokesman for the action committee said the "long-walk" decision had been unanimous.

A statement after the meeting said commuters would continue walking to work, or to the city, until the bus company dropped the increases.

The meeting also asked young people to act in a disciplined manner during the walks.

It was also decided at the meeting that an anti-Community Council action committee be established at a meeting to be held in the new Daku Hall on Thursday, aiming to intensify opposition to Port Elizabeth Community Council election meetings.

Speakers also condemned an attack on members of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) outside the new Daku Hall last Thursday.

A spokesman for the Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation (Ubco) told the meeting, a decision on when to launch their own "long walk" in opposition to the busfare increases in Uitenhage would be taken at a meeting to be held in McNaughton township on Thursday evening.

for Dewan

(11A)

Nkondo speaks out on Charter

DRAWN UP BY the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955, it forms the basis of the political programme of action of the progressive democratic movement in the country and of those organisations who adopted it.

These organisations constituted the Congress Alliance and comprised of the banned African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The gathering, attended by 3 000 delegates, was probably the most representative in South Africa's history.

Although some of the organisations who adopted the Charter have been banned or dissolved, the Charter remains the standard bearer of the progressive movement, both inside and outside South Africa.

Various organisations such as the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and a motley of other groups still adhere vigorously to its tenets.

There are, however, those organisations who are fervently opposed to the Charter and this opposition has created a historical demarcation of those who are for and those who are against the document.



THE Freedom Charter has, and still is the rallying point for many in the black struggle for liberation. This political document which has been used as a barometer for political action, has come under sharp focus with the recent Azanian People's Manifesto. Mr Curtis Nkondo, a former president of Azapo gives his candid views on the document he says is irrevocable. Zwelakhe Sisulu, political bureau chief reports . . .



NKONDO: "We should tell no lies."

The charter sought to address itself to the broad national struggle and the introduction of a new, democratic society that would be free of racial prejudice and exploitation.

The Azanian People's Manifesto, which was recently drawn up by the National Forum Conference in Hammanskraal, is, to some observers, an attempt to replace the Charter.

Recently unbanned, Mr Curtis Nkondo, the founding president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) who aligns himself with the objectives of the Charter responds to some of the urgent questions that have arisen in the wake of crystallising differences between the progressives and adherents of the Black Consciousness philosophy.

Q: How would you describe the Freedom Charter in terms of the struggle in South Africa?

A: To me the Freedom Charter is a package deal and should be taken as a whole. Any attempt to select and isolate one clause for criticism is to take it out of context.

Q: Would you describe it as an agenda for liberation?

A: Certainly, because the preamble is quite clear on that and the first clause is quite categoric on that when it states that 'The People Shall Govern'. In fact, this is a clarion call for unity of the South African nation.

Q: Who constitutes the South African nation?

A: The South African nation comprises of everybody who belongs to South Africa and everybody who will owe his allegiance to the government of the people when it is established. The Charter states that the land belongs to all those who live and work in it. In other words this is a demand for a non-racial democratic society.

• To be continued

Mpetha to head new body

AR6u^s
25/7/83 (11A)

Staff Reporter

VETERAN trade unionist and community leader Mr Oscar Mpetha, whose appeal is pending against a five-year sentence for conviction on a charge under the Terrorism Act, has been elected first president of the United Democratic Front.

More than 400 delegates and observers from over 20 civic, religious and cultural organisations yesterday attended the launching of the UDF at St George's Cathedral.

Formed in broad opposition against the government's constitutional proposals, the organisation was launched after months of negotiations over objectives, strategy and the composition of the body leading the campaign.

Some trade unions, which participated in earlier meetings, have decided not to play an official role.

According to those involved, the UDF represents the largest cross-section of organisations ever assembled in the coloured and black communities.

Among the organisations represented in the UDF are the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, the umbrella body of 20 civic organisations; the non-racial Cape Youth Congress representing 37 youth bodies; the Western Province Council of Churches; The Islamic Council of South Africa; and the Muslim Judicial Council, representing 70 mosques.

Also represented were the United Women's Organisation which has 19 branches; The Western Cape Civic Association; The Western Cape Traders Organisation; The

Congress of South African Students; The National Union of South African Students; The Azanian Students Organisation; Young Christian Students; The Students' Movement for Christian Action; The Muslim Students Association; The Inter-Church Youth; The Ecumenical Action Movement; The Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Thornhill Residents' Association.

According to a media release, people "considered to be symbols of unity" were accorded patronage of the UDF.

These are Mr Nelson Mandela, Dr Allan Boesak, Sheik Nazeem Muhammed, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Hassan Howa, Mr Christmas Tintó, Ms Amy Thornton, Mr Andrew Boraine and Mr A M Omar.

Mr Tinto and Mr Joe Marks were elected as vice-presidents while Mr Trevor Manuel and Ms Cheryl Carolus were elected secretaries. Mr Boraine and Mr Rashid Seria are the treasurers.

'Our unity'

The organisations adopted a declaration rejecting the new Constitution, and the "Köornhof" Bills affecting Africans, and committing themselves to resist these in all forms.

The declaration states that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it", "that the government must be based on the will of the people", and advocates "a belief in a single South Africa free from racial, ethnic and sexual divisions and economic exploitation".

After his election as president, Mr Mpetha said the National Party was "in pieces" because it was being threatened by "our unity".

The People Shall Govern



CURTIS NKONDO: "The Charter contains the historical drive for unity."

Q: There are those who say that the Charter never moved beyond 1955, that it is a static document.

A: In answer to that I would like to refer to a recently published article which said that 'society has changed so that some of the things raised in the Charter are outdated'.

I respect this critical approach and in fact I believe that this approach is the critical evaluation of a historical document. But I become worried when people refer to certain 'things' in the charter which are outdated. Which 'things' are those? It would have been an advantage to those who do not have the full knowledge of the Charter to have been told exactly what

these 'things' are.

It is almost 30 years that the Charter has been in existence but up to this moment not one of these demands have been met, so that to say some things in the charter are outdated is not a fair or logical evaluation of the document.

The Charter contains the historical drive for unity, so when people talk of unity they should realise that this exercise already exists in the Charter.

The Charter therefore is not outdated. For so long as those demands are not met, the Charter cannot be outdated.

Q: Are you saying that the Charter is in fact a vehicle for unity?

A: Yes, because it

Former president of Azapo, Mr Curtis Nkondo, gives his candid views on the significance of the Freedom Charter — a document he feels is as important today as when it was first drafted in 1955. Zwelakhe Sisulu, chief of our political bureau, continues with his report...

accommodates all the oppressed and exploited masses as well as all progressive democratic forces. It offers a home to all those organisations which function outside Government created structures. It accommodates all those who have a part to play in our struggle, the small trader, the taxi driver, the peasant, the worker — all our people.

Q: Do you see the Charter as a timeless document?

A: In a sense it does transcend time in that what is true today, and everything in the Charter is true, will be true tomorrow.

Q: Is it your view that there will be no need to review or reassess it after liberation?

A: It is important for people to look closely at the Charter and see what it offers. If there is a need to have another look at the Charter after liberation then of course it is another Congress of the People that can take such a decision.

Q: Do you feel offended by the tag of Charterist?

A: No, no, no, I am happy. It's a compliment because it means that I am not a racist and that I am in the struggle for genuine change, the struggle for the creation of a new man and a new society.

Q: How do you then as a Charterist view the recently held National Forum Conference?

A: The importance of the National Forum Conference is that people are beginning to look critically into the process of liberation and I am very happy that they are becoming critical about a lot of things. But it should be remembered that a forum is defined as a place of public debate. This in itself is a healthy exercise but it does not in anyway replace the Charter.

Q: If indeed such debate is healthy why is it that the upholders of the Charter were conspicuous by their absence at the conferences?

A: Most of them did

not attend. Some did and possibly participated. It's possible that some did not attend because they were not invited. Some did not attend because they did not see a need, because the problems of our day can best be dealt with by making use of the Charter, which, in my view is an indispensable document.

As for me, I am prepared to take part in any forum as long as that forum leads to a programme of action. A forum is an important base for the sharing of ideas but it should never be regarded as a substitute for the struggle that strives at putting into action the blueprint for a democratic South Africa — the Freedom Charter.

Q: Following from the conference, the Azanian People's Manifesto was drawn up. How is the Manifesto viewed by you?

A: So far, not one of the demands of the Charter have been implemented by the ruling class, and any manifesto can at best be merely regarded as an appendix to the Charter.

Q: It has been said that actually the Manifesto is a development from the Freedom Charter, what do you say to that?

A: We cannot talk about a development from the Charter at this stage when the Charter itself is a development that has not been met. If all the demands of the Freedom Charter had been met, then perhaps a Manifesto would be relevant. This, however, does not stop people from thinking ahead, but at the same time they should realise that their duty at the moment lies in seeing that the demands of the Charter are accomplished entirely.

Q: Does this mean

the Manifesto should not have been drawn up in view of the existence of the Charter?

A: At the moment the Manifesto may result in causing confusion among the masses, because the masses would have the Charter in one hand and the Manifesto in another. It may suggest that the two documents are vying for ascendancy. And only the ruling class can benefit from such a situation.

Q: Is it possible to reconcile the Freedom Charter and the Azanian People's Manifesto?

A: I don't think so. I said earlier the Manifesto at this point in time should be regarded as an appendix. It can be considered only when the demands contained in the Charter have been implemented.

Q: One of the criticisms of the Charter is that it entrenches minority rights?

A: Where in the Charter is there reference to minority rights? The Charter says nothing about entrenching minority rights.

What it does say is that 'All people shall have equal right to use their own languages and to develop their own folk culture and custom'. This is not entrenching minority rights because everybody has equal rights. If all people have equal rights there can be no minority rights. The idea of entrenching of minority rights is merely a red herring.

Q: The other criticism is directed at the Charter's preamble which reads: "...South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

A: The main principle that runs through the Freedom Charter is non-racialism. This means that every South African, irrespective of colour, sex or creed has the right to live in the country.

Q: What are the major differences between the Charter and the Manifesto?

A: Some people say that there is a difference of ideology but it seems to me that there may be more than that.

Perhaps the main difference is that the one group does not accommodate whites in their programme while the progressives have a supportive role.

In some cases the differences assume a personal dimension. Fortunately, however, there are people in both groups who are seriously and honestly

trying to solve the problem.

Q: Would you say that the 1955 Congress of the People was fully representative of the people and their aspirations?

A: There is no doubt in my mind that it was. The Charter grew out of a three year period of canvassing and consultation throughout the length and breadth of South Africa involving all people, chiefs, peasants, workers, professional people — people from all walks of life so that the Congress of the People had the biggest mandate this country has every experienced.

Q: Does the Charter address itself to the present situation or, rather, to a future envisaged society?

A: The Charter sets the pace for the struggle, giving certain objectives to be worked towards in the creation of a new society.

That is quite clear. It would be naive to suggest that the Charter exclusively addresses itself to the present — otherwise there would be no struggle to talk about.

Q: Did you attend the National Forum Conference?

A: No, I did not go because I was not invited. And anyway, even if I was I would have gone with a great measure of scepticism simply because the National Forum Conference was a talking shop.

Q: In your view is there a lack of unity among the people?

A: Among the masses no, among the intellectuals, yes. For unity to exist it must be based on firm principles and not hollow sentiments.

Q: What is your reaction to the debate about the difference between non-racialism and anti-racism?

A: Those are semantics. Non racialism means a situation where racism does not exist while anti-racism means opposition to racism.

Q: Some people have described the Charter as a liberal, petit-bourgeois document, while others have referred to it as a revolutionary document.

Some people in both groups who are seriously and honestly

(To be continued tomorrow)

20865

Cosas launches new branch

Move to unite youth groups

A REGIONAL youth organisation, which is part of a drive for the establishment of a national youth organisation, will be launched in Soweto at the weekend.

The need for a national youth organisation was taken at an annual conference of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) last year.

To date, two youth organisations have been formed and these are the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Cape Youth Congress.

The regional organisation will be launched at the YWCA hall on Sunday and speakers will include Dr Nthato Motlana and Father

By **ZWELAKHE
SISULU**

Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, the secretary of the Catholic Bishop's Conference whose banning order expired recently.

STRUGGLE

"The organisation is aimed at co-ordinating and consolidating all youth activities into a cohesive, collective and objective action," Mr Oupa Monareng, a member of the steering committee said.

The organisation will embrace church, political, cultural, educational and sports groups.

"The struggle waged in the community should

be interlinked and the youth should serve as the people generating activity," Mr Monareng added.

His committee believed that the greater participation of youth in the struggle for a democratic society could be attained by consolidating at a local level before moving to a national level.

Mr Mkhathshwa will read a paper on "The role of the Christian youth in society" and Dr Motlana will speak on the history of the ANC youth league.

The former chairman of the Soweto SRC, Mr Sechaba Montsisi will address the congress on the role of the students.

Brutus faces deportation

Sowetan 27/7/83

11A

NEW YORK — Anti-apartheid campaigner Dennis Brutus is facing deportation from the United States because the US Government believes he has communist connections in South Africa, Mr Brutus' lawyer said this week.

Brutus is fighting a deportation order in a Chicago court in a case which has brought him widespread sympathy in the American newspaper and television media.

His lawyer, Miss Susan Gzesh, said from Chicago this week that it was now unlikely that there would be a verdict until late this year because the State had asked for more time to present its case.

Miss Gzesh complained that she had not been allowed to see "classified information" which had been presented to federal district judge Irving Schwartz by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service in support of its application for Mr Brutus' deportation.

The case started last week Monday and Miss Gzesh said that she had requested the judge to tell her what the information related to. "He merely said the information concerned Mr Brutus and organisations of a certain type in South Africa."

Asked what kind of organisations the judge was referring to, Miss

Gzesh said: "We're not talking about ping-pong or anything like that. I think this means communist organisations."

Miss Gzesh has called witnesses during the past week to testify to the dangers Mr Brutus would face if forced to return to southern Africa.

She said that her belief that the classified information branded Mr Brutus as having com-

munistic connections was strengthened by the judge's questions to one of the witnesses, Albie Sachs, a white South African lawyer who now lives in Mozambique.

She said Judge Schwartz has asked Mr Sacks if Mr Brutus was a communist.

The 59-year-old Mr Brutus, a professor of African and English literature at Northwestern University, has been

fighting deportation for a year and a half, arguing that he would become a target for assassination by the South African secret police if forced to return to southern Africa.

Mr Brutus was born in Zimbabwe but educated in South Africa, where he was imprisoned and shot.

Miss Gzesh said she was now waiting to see how the Immigration

Service would respond to witnesses she has put before the court.

"The Government has asked for a continuance (of the hearing) and I think they are buying time," she added.

The case has received widespread coverage in American newspapers, with such influential publications as the New York Times supporting Mr Brutus in his fight to stay in the US. — SFS.



DENNIS BRUTUS: Fighting deportation.



for the
Sowetan

**FORMER Azapo boss
Mr Curtis Nkondo ends
his thought-provoking
interview on the
Freedom Charter with
political bureau chief
Zwelakhe Sisulu.**

27/7/87

The Charter is a unifying force

A: Those are mere cliches, that are easily bandied around and often used by people who have not paid serious attention to the document. It is important that when one criticises one should do so from first hand knowledge and not hearsay. The Charter is a document that aims at transforming society — the definition I leave to you.

Q: Is the Charter a nationalistic document?

A: Yes, but not in a narrow sense. It is a unifying force, uniting all the people of the country.

Q: But what type of economic programme does it envisage?

SOCIALIST

A: A socialist one most certainly. Each clause in the Charter exudes socialism. What the Charter says is that we are fighting colonialism, imperialism, monopoly capitalism, in fact capitalism in its entirety and any form of dictatorship. 'The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people' this is what the Charter says.

Q: Is the Freedom Charter accommodative of Black Consciousness?

A: The Freedom Charter leaves the door open to all those who are struggling for genuine liberation. I have already said that the Charter is accommodative of all our people who are genuine in their quest of liberation.

STRUGGLE

Q: How do you see the struggle in South Africa developing?

A: All I can say is that I rely on Amilcar Cabral's dictum that we should tell no lies and claim no easy victories. He also said 'We are not fighting the Portuguese, but we are fighting colonialism'. In our struggle for a non-racial democratic society, Cabral is undoubtedly an influence.

NIC leaders to lead protest

11A
27/7/83
Mercury Reporter

THE recently unbanned leaders of the Natal Indian Congress will be the main speakers at a meeting in Durban tonight, called to protest against the South African Indian Council's take-over of Indian Education.

The meeting, which will be held in the St Augustine's Hall at 7 30 p.m. is being convened jointly by 15 organisations.

Many Indian doctors, mainly members of the Durban South Doctors' Guild of which Dr R M Bux is chairman, have already lodged their pro-

test by supporting a newspaper advertisement condemning the SAIC move. This resulted in Mr Amichand Rajbansi, executive chairman of the SAIC, lodging a complaint against the doctors with the Registrar of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

Mr Rajbansi told the Mercury yesterday that his invitation to Mr Pat Samuels, president of the Teachers Association of South Africa, and Dr Bux for a face-to-face meeting in the presence of the Press on the SAIC and Indian education was still open.

ht gold

New black youth forum

CAPE TIMES 27/7/83 11A

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A new organization intended to provide a political home for young people not at school or university will be launched in Soweto this weekend.

The Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) will be launched at an all-day meeting on Sunday and will be addressed by a number of people recently unbanned or released from prison.

These include Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, Mr Dan Montsitsi, a former Soweto student leader who was sent to prison after the 1976 uprising, and Father Simangaliso Mkatshwa, the recently unbanned general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Dr Nthatho Motlana will open the meeting at on Sunday morning with a talk on the history of the ANC Youth League, of which he was a member before its banning in the early 1960s.

Mrs Sisulu will close the meeting that evening with a talk on the importance on the recently formed United Democratic Front.

Mr Montsitsi will talk on the role of students in South Africa and Father Mkatshwa on the role of Christian Youths.

Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organization, and Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, former head of the Teach-

er's Action Committee, will also participate.

According to a spokesman for the steering committee, SOYCO was originally conceived at a meeting of the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) last year.

It was intended to cater for those young people who were not students or scholars and therefore could not belong to organizations like Cosas or the Azanian Students Organization (AZASO).

The group will incorporate local church, cultural, sports, education and political groups and will "co-ordinate and consolidate all youth activities into a cohesive, collective and objective action".

It will link up with the recently formed Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PAYCO) and Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) and the intention is to eventually link these and other youth bodies into a national youth organization.

The spokesman said SOYCO would work closely with AZASO and COSAS and would probably join the United Democratic Front. It was expected to endorse the Freedom Charter, he said.

SOYCO will be one of a number of organizations launched in the past few months who are now members of the UDF. These include the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee and the Transvaal Anti-Community Council Committee.



Mr Nthatho Motlana

(11A)



While SA
fasts to
recall
Mandela's
birthday...

London swings to Masekela

THE giant music festival of African jazz organised by Julian Bahula and other South Africans in London, to commemorate the birthday of Nelson Mandela attracted more than 3 000 people.

The 12 hour concert featured Bahula, trumpeter Hugh Masekela, Dudu Phukwana and his group, Zila and the famous West African chart-toppers Osibisa.

The Alexandra Palace

stage was dominated by an enormous bust of Nelson Mandela.

"The concert was such a resounding success that I will organise one every year until one day, Nelson Mandela himself will be able to attend," said Bahula.

The concert also marked the first time that Hugh Masekela performed in London although he had studied in the city some years ago.

He made a profound impression, and his horn blowing created a lump in the throats of many South African exiles in the audience.

The music may have been as sophisticated and elegant as his cream suit, but a lament about the train carrying migrant workers to the mines, or the rousing District Six and Soweto, for which he was joined by a cheerfully flashy

bunch of street dancers and singers, showed that his art is still firmly rooted in the life and problems of his home country.

In South Africa however, Mandela's birthday was observed with a day of silence and fasting.

"We will fast until my father comes back from jail," said Mandela's daughter, Zinzi.



Masekela played to a crowd of more than 3000 at the 12-hour festival of African jazz held at London's Alexandra Palace.

Hugh Masekela blowing it big at London's giant African Jazz Festival to celebrate Mandela's birthday on July 17.

LAST WEEK jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela turned 65, marking his 21st year in prison. South African exiles brought a bit of their homeland to Britain to commemorate the day.



Some spectacular dancing added to the music of Julian Bahula's "Jazz Afrika."



Julian Bahula in a thoughtful mood at the African Jazz festival in London on July 17 marking Nelson Mandela's birthday.

(11A) ROOM 28/7/83

ANC tape does not mean man is guilty — defence

Mail Reporter
DEFENCE counsel submitted in a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday that a cassette published by the African National Congress did belong to a Soweto man, who is charged with taking part in the activities of the ANC.

However, Mr D Kuny, SC, defending Mr Peter Thabo Moloi, 29, and Mr Jacob Mashego, 24, both of Soweto, said Mr Mashego was not guilty of taking part in the activities of the ANC or furthering its aims.

Both men are charged with taking part in the activities of the ANC, or alternatively, with furthering the aims of the ANC and possession of ANC publications.

They have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

In his argument, Mr Kuny submitted that a cassette was found in Mr Mashego's possession at a bar in the Diepkloof Hotel on September 1, last year.

However, Mr Kuny said there was not enough evidence to say that people were listening closely to the cassette, while it was

played in a noisy and crowded bar.

"By their merely playing the tape issued by the ANC cannot mean they were taking part in the activities of the ANC, especially if they were drunk," he said.

Mr Kuny asked for Mr Moloi to be acquitted on all charges.

Though the police said they found a cassette, alleged to have been published by the ANC, in Mr Moloi's room, this was denied by Mr Moloi, he said.

It was reasonably true that the cassette did not belong to Mr Moloi.

He said the police had given Mr Moloi's father a receipt for cassettes they took from him, but failed to give Mr Moloi a receipt when they later took cassettes from him.

The State asked for Mr Moloi to be convicted on the charge of possession of an ANC publication, and for Mr Mashego to be convicted of the same charge and for furthering the aims of the ANC.

The magistrate, Mr I J J Luther, reserved judgment until August 10.

more than 40% to nearly R70 000 a year.

MPs' pay would rise by about 23% to R38 000 a year, the source said.

Ministers' earnings include a tax free R16 000, and MPs get R10 000 tax free.

the trade union... them he add...
 "The C...
 triggered off a... wage and sa... from the pri... which could be... disruptive," he

Exhibition comm... waits on council

Mail Reporter
MIDRAND TOWN COUNCIL has delayed a decision on a planned R34-million industrial exhibition complex — Xibit Park — because it has been inundated with complaints from residents.

Yesterday Mr Francois Roux, co-ordinator of the private consortium undertaking the project, said: "The council were due to make a decision at this month's meeting, held on Tuesday, but they delayed considering the application because they have been inundated with complaints from residents."

Mr Roux said he was personally replying to 64 complaints, 59 of which seemed to be a petition.

He said the majority feared that soccer matches would be staged in the amphitheatre of the complex.

"These people... ly done us a fa... we have discar... an amphitheatre... this misconception... have decided to... in its place."
 Mr Roux... planned for t... ideal because... denied natural...
 "We have... from sectors o... the time and pl... slightly accor... suggestions... ments," he sai...
 Mr Roux sai... dent the applic... approved by th... hoped to have... by the end of...
 He added the... consortium —... cial backers h... identify thems... make an offic... by August 17.



'EVE'
NOTHING matters but devotion to the cause... and the cause is Rudolf Nureyev. Read about the groupies of the grand jeté in EVE today.

Also in EVE: looking great in new fashion for Spring, picking your way through the paving slabs, cooking with Napoleon's own tippie, choosing the washing machine that's right for you... and more.

Cat owner is fined R200 over injuries

Mail Reporter
A KENSINGTON man was fined R200 or four months' jail in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday for not providing veterinary treatment for his cat.

Basil Laurence Thompson, 16, pleaded not guilty to charges under the Animal Protection Act.

He said he was not aware his cat was injured, as he had not seen it for two days.

The black-and-white tomcat was found in his front garden by inspectors of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Its top and lower jaws were broken, it had lost its right eye, and there were several lacerations. Maggots were crawling around its head.

Dr L Lunn told the court that the cat could have had its jaws wired and the lacerations attended to.

I have contempt royalty, court

WELLINGTON. — A Maori protester who bared his bottom at the Prince and Princess of Wales, told a court yesterday the heir to the British throne had only his family to set him apart from "millions of other upper class twits".

Mr Dun te Ringa Mangu Mibaka was appearing before Mr Justice Haddon Gilbert on a charge of disorderly behaviour following an incident in Wellington on April 20, when he lifted his grass skirt and flashed his naked backside at the Prince and Princess as they drove by.

Conducting his own defence, Mr Mibaka, 42, said he had contempt for royalty and the "horrible history of the House of Windsor".

He added: "There seems to

be nothing spe... (Prince Charl... apart from m... upper class tw... his family."
 When he fir... court the day... dent, Mr Mih... guilty, saying... preted "roya... my back chai... sive behaviou... had been sbc... for royalty... pleaded guilt...
 Mr Mihaka... himself as a... tor, subsequ... enter a plea...
 Maori que... buttocks as a... sion, the cou... university le... continues. —

Western labels offend Soviets

Mail Correspondent
MOSCOW. — For the Russian guardians of good taste and communist morality, "Adidas" is an offensive word.

So are "Marlboro", "Levis", "Philip Morris" and any of the other foreign brand-names, labels or stickers which young Russians love to display on almost everything they wear or own.

After last week's Press attack on a Moscow bar for having the word "Martini" in lights, another Press commentator has denounced similar manifestations of alien ideology.

"Bourgeois ideology is trying every way it

can to implant in the Soviet consciousness a cult of consumerism," said a reporter for the newspaper Socialist Industry.

He pointed to foreign designs on T-shirts, long a favourite target for Soviet moralists, foreign advertising stickers in the windows of Soviet cars, foreign pop songs and foreign labels on shoes and clothing.

The writer acknowledged that, because of Russian industry's failure to produce alternative designs, people were buying smuggled clothes or black-market items with imitation Western brand-names.

Every speculator who provided these goods was a "potential traitor", the article said.



ARGUS 28/7/83 (11A)

City man declines patronage of UDF

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN advocate Mr A M Omar has declined to accept the patronage conferred on him at the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) at St George's Cathedral on Sunday.

Mr Omar said he had not been present at Sunday's meeting and did not know he had been nominated and elected. He said he had no wish to hold a position on the UDF.

The Students' Union for Christian Action (SUCA), named in a Press release by the UDF as being represented at the meeting, has pointed out in a statement that members were there only as observers.

SUCA will decide only on August 22 whether or not to join the UDF.

Youths form united front

By TOM GWEBU
Sowetan
THE LEAD for a united front to serve the aspirations of the youths in Atteridgeville/Saulsville has prompted various church, sporting, cultural and youth groups, including Cosas, to form a new organisation.

28/7/83
Known as the Saulsville Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo), it will strive to create a spirit of trust, responsibility and understanding among the youth of the townships.

Sayo will also involve itself in matters affecting the outlook of the youth

in relation to non-racial, democratic principles.

Another objective will be to articulate demands and aspirations and also to discuss cultural, economic and political problems affecting the community of the township. The office comprises: Deacon

Mathe (President), Sam Moradoba (vice), Cedrick Kekana (general secretary), Stola Mambolo (vice), Oupa Masuku (organiser) and Tshepo Motlana (treasurer). Three other members were also elected to serve in the community.

Report
of burnt
11A car in
Mercury
Mxenge
28/11/83
slaying

Mercury Reporter

AN Indian businessman yesterday told the Umlazi inquest Court, investigating the death of Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge, that he feared being friendly with the police at the border.

This was because terrorists had often crossed over from Swaziland into South Africa close to his store on the border near Piet Retief.

Mr Ahmed Munsoor, 38, said the security police had always visited him because of an unguarded pass into Swaziland outside his store.

He said he kept away from them because he felt his life would be danger.

In earlier evidence Mr Munsoor said he was told by a Swazi woman shopper on Monday November 23 of the burned-out car in a pine plantation not far from the shop.

She told him that about 10 a m that she touched the car and it was cold.

Under cross-examination by Mr Tembile Skweyiya, the advocate appearing for Mxenge's family, Mr Munsoor said two sets of policemen had visited him inquiring about the car. He did not know how many had come or what race they were.

Reply

He also did not remember making a statement or taking the oath when he did.

A document was given to him and he was asked to sign it. He did so after a policeman whom he knew had assured him that it was all right to do so, he said.

In reply to a question from Mr Skweyiya about his affidavit, Mr Munsoor admitted that he knew the woman who had told him about the car, and that it was untrue that she was unknown, according to his statement.

Mr Gert Potgieter, manager of the plantation, on which Mr Mxenge's burnt-out car was found, said he noticed a car burning on his farm about 11 a m on Monday, November 23 — three days after the attorney had been killed.

He said he telephoned the police but they did not come out to see the car. A second call was made that evening and a policeman accompanied him.

W/O George Mason, of the Piet Retief police, told the Court that he had gone out to see the car on November 24 and made an entry into the occurrence book the following day.

Mr Skweyiya told the Court that he would be calling recently unbanned Mr David Gaza to give evidence.

BLACK POLITICS

Forces realign

The line-up in the battle for the "soul" of black political activism inside SA will be affected by an interesting new development in Soweto this weekend. A conference has been called to set up a Transvaal regional youth organisation under the auspices of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas).

Cosas subscribes to the Freedom Charter, which is also the blueprint of the United Democratic Front (UDF) of opponents of government's constitutional plans. Indeed, the constitutional proposals (which exclude Africans) provided the catalyst for the formation of various umbrella organisations opposed to them. The most recent is that of various homeland leaders to unite blacks under a federalist scheme.

The UDF, which thinks the differences in black politics are overstated, will meet on August 20 to elect national office-bearers. Its Transvaal branch will meet similarly in a fortnight.

The "charterists" were effectively challenged for leadership of the "struggle" by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), whose National Forum Committee (NFC) produced an alternative, more socialistic "Manifesto of the Azanian People" at Hammanskraal last month.

The move signalled the realigning of ac-

tivists outside government-created institutions between the charterists and NFC supporters, who are associated with the Black Consciousness (BC) philosophy of the late Steve Biko.

However, a casualty in the debate would seem to be BC as a political (as opposed to a cultural) programme of action. Indeed, some charterist sources say that the basic tenets of BC have been sacrificed for the ideological stance of the Unity Movement, a Cape-based leftwing group whose leading light, Neville Alexander, provided the NFC's ideological underpinning at Hammanskraal.

Interestingly, a number of previously BC

figures, like Azapo's first president, Cur Nkondo, have switched from the new-look Azapo to support of the charterists. The allegiance of another hitherto BC group, the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwas) may be determined (and switched) at national congress later this year.

The Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), which had been in the BC-Azapo camp, recently came out in support of the Charter — the "document of the people" drawn up in the Fifties.

An Azapo replacement — the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) — was quickly formed in the NFC mould. Azasm would seem to have been involved in the recent bout of school protests in Soweto.

Regional branches of the charterist mooted national youth organisation have reportedly already been formed in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere in the Cape. At this weekend's Soweto launch of a Transvaal youth branch, speakers will include Zinzi Mandela, who last month criticised the NFC in all but name when she referred to "ideologically lost political handits who diverted the struggle with their manifestoes." Soweto Committee of Ten chairman, Ntatho Motlana, will speak on the history of the ANC youth league, and recently unbanned theologian of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Father Smangalisso Mkhathshwa, will talk on the role of Christian youth in society.

According to one charterist source, a period of "reactionary politics" can be expected on the black scene as some groups produce more "wildly radical documents" in a desperate attempt to appear more radical than the Freedom Charter.



Zinzi Mandela ... defending the charter

(TIA) 22 ROM 29/7/83
ANC man found guilty on arms charge

MBABANE. — A member of the African National Congress has been convicted by a Swaziland court for illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Raymond Kekoanyatsi, of Daggakral, South Africa — already serving a 30-day prison sentence imposed

upon him in the Mbabane Magistrate's Court for illegal entry into Swaziland — was yesterday found guilty in the same court of possessing a pistol loaded with five rounds of ammunition, plus another eight rounds hidden in his socks.

Police said when they ar-

rested and searched him in Mbabane about two months ago they found the loaded pistol hidden in his underpants.

Kekoanyatsi admitted he was a trained member of the ANC and that he had entered Swaziland illegally from South Africa, where he had been operating for the ANC.
— Sapa

Mines sign deal with another union

11A


Sowetan
 29/7/83

IN ANOTHER history making event, the Chamber of Mines has granted the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union access to recruit black-workers in South Africa's mining industry.

The most interesting feature about the newly-formed union is that its president, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, is a labour secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Azapo has for a long time taken great interest

in labour movements, but its involvement has mainly been limited to friendly, informal links with emerging unions.

Mr Mosala has said that the union was independent of the organisation. He should be seen as a worker who must also exercise his rights in the community.

The union, which has a membership of over 11 000, is growing from strength to strength, and is planning to negotiate

a recognition agreement on several issues.

"We have held talks over access to gold and coal mines, but the Chamber objected to some aspects of the union's constitution. We hope at the next meeting the objections will be clarified," he said.

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines confirmed that they had granted the union access to recruit workers on their mines.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

DATE:
 7455
 P.O. LANGA
 c/o 72 SIGAWU AVENUE



PRES: MR S.C. RABARALA
 CHAIRMAN MR S.S. XAMTASHE
 SECRETARY GEN: MR S.A. KHAZA
 ORGANISER SEC: MISS V.J. MAGWAGA
 TREASURER: MR S.A. KHAZA

EST. 1978

Western Cape Amateur Boxing Union

NA
E. Post
29/7/83

Police warning on bus boycott

Post Reporter

POLICE have issued a warning in connection with an attempted bus boycott planned to start on Sunday, saying any form of intimidation persuading people not to travel by bus will be seriously punished.

The Divisional Police Commissioner for the Eastern Cape, Brigadier J van Rensburg, said police would be prepared for action and anybody found guilty of intimidation was liable to a fine of R20 000 or imprisonment for 10 years or both.

The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and the Port Elizabeth Youth Organisation will hold a joint meeting at 2pm tomorrow at the Roman Catholic Church hall in Kwazakele to discuss the proposed bus boycott.

PE Tramways issued a statement today saying bus services will operate normally next week.

The company also intends soon to introduce 10-ride unsubsidised clipcards which will not bear an expiry date. Holders will not have to pay the extra 10c peak-hour surcharge.

'Police (114)
told me
~~2/11/87~~
Mercury
tsotsis
29/7/87
killed
Mxenge'

Mercury Reporter

RECENTLY unbanned Mr David Gaza yesterday told the Umlazi inquest Court on Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge that a policeman had told him that the attorney had been with a woman and was killed by tsotsis.

Mr Mxenge's body, with 45 stab wounds, was found at the Umlazi cycle track on November 20, 1981, and his burned-out car, which was a week old, was found in a pine plantation near the Swaziland border three days later.

Mr Gaza said he arrived at the cycle track with Mr Alex Maphalala, a Natal Mercury reporter, and noticed blood on the ground.

The police arrived a little later and while they were there black policemen had spoken ill about Mr Mxenge, he said.

An argument developed between him and a black policeman when he said that Mr Mxenge had been with a woman and had been killed by tsotsis.

Asked by Mr Tembile Skweyiya, the advocate appearing for Mxenge's family, if he had given the police any details of Mr Mxenge's car, he said he had not.

An attorney, Mr Dominick Shezi, told the Court that he had accompanied Mr Mbatha Mxenge, brother of the slain attorney, to the mortuary where they were given a plastic bag containing Mr Mxenge's belongings.

Mr Mxenge's shirt, which they had signed for, was not in the bag with his other clothes, he said.

A nightwatchman at the Umlazi Place of Safety, Mr Zibokwakhe Doncabe, told the Court that he had noticed the fully clothed body of Mr Mxenge at the cycle track.

He said it appeared as if the body had been dumped at the track.

Mr Skweyiya asked the Court to record that an entry had been made in a police docket at 10 a.m. on November 20 — a few hours after Mr Mxenge's body was found — about details of the attorney's missing car.

At the end of the hearing, the Magistrate, Mr Victor Patterton, said he would have to sift all the evidence before making a finding — which he would do later.

Launching of youth group (11A) expected to attract throngs *Soweto* 29/1/83

THOUSANDS of people from throughout the Reef are expected to attend the launching of a Soweto youth organisation at the Dube YWCA on Sunday at 10 am.

Various youth, sports, political and education organisations are expected to attend the launching which will be addressed by Dr Nthato

Motlana, Mr Sechaba Montsisi, Father Sman-galiso Mkhathswa and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

The establishment of the organisation is part of a drive to form a national youth organisation. Youth organisations already exist in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and the

Vaal.

Meanwhile the Moh-lakeng Civic Association will hold a general meeting at the local Anglican Church at 2 pm.

The meeting will discuss the anti-community council campaign and will be addressed by members of the Soweto Civic Association and Azapo.

11A
29/7/83
All-race Youth
organisation
aims at unity

EAST LONDON — An organisation which aims to unite young people of all races has been established in East London.

The East London Youth Movement, whose name was linked to efforts to promote the boycott of Ciskei Transport Corporation buses this week, was established recently and now has about 50 members.

A member of the interim executive of the movement, Mrs Zelda Holtman, yesterday described the organisation as an "effort to respond to the demands of all young people whether they be cultural, political or economic".

"People live past one another these days and we feel there should be more unity. We want to create a spirit of trust and understanding among our members," she said.

The movement was the brainchild of a number of local young people who also became dis-

tressed at the sight of youths "loitering in the streets and on shop corners".

"You feel so helpless about the whole situation, so we decided to start the group and to develop the young people's creative skills and latent leadership qualities."

Mrs Holtman said the group would seek to establish links with community youth organisations elsewhere and another priority was building good relations between parents and youths.

"We have a serious generation gap problem locally," she said.

The group would also encourage parents to establish civic organisations which could effectively tackle their problems, ranging from bread price increases to accommodation facilities.

The group meets every Saturday afternoon in Buffalo Flats and discusses "whatever issues arise and affect members".

A measure of success had already been achieved in resolving problems related to school studies, said Mrs Holtman. — DDR

Mandela fever grips Britain

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — Mandela-fever is sweeping Britain as local authorities clamour to rename streets, gardens and other public facilities after the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

The current Mandela boom was sparked off by the London Borough of Camden, which decided to change the name of Selous Street in Camden — home of the Anti-Apartheid Movement — to Mandela Street.

Now a park in the east coast port of Hull is to be renamed Nelson Mandela Gardens, the Engineering Union has named its executive committee room after Mandela, and the Labour Party has invited him to attend its annual conference in October.

The renaming of facilities after Nelson Mandela is considered a significant breakthrough for the anti-apartheid lobby, which held a conference in March attended by 66 local authorities throughout Britain.

As a result, about 16 local authorities have already adopted an anti-apartheid declaration and one — Newcastle-Upon-Tyne — has officially declared itself an "anti-apartheid authority".

It is contrary to English custom to rename streets after foreign — or even British — heroes.

This sudden Mandela boom has led a columnist in the British weekly news review — the Spectator — to suggest that the new unfashionable Carnaby Street should now be renamed Selous Street to compensate the displaced family name of Henry Selous, the Victorian painter displaced by Mandela in Camden.

And in a letter to the Spectator, a relative of the late Captain F C Selous, who was granted shooting rights in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1871 by Lobengula, said he believed that there were many people who would be sorry to see Selous Street renamed Mandela Street.

In the letter, Commander G M B Selous said the Selous family had given "seven of its sons" to Britain in four generations this century.

Commander Selous said he earned his living in the Borough of Camden, gave employment to about 30 people and paid about R14 000 a year in rates.

Last Sunday, Mandela received the coveted United Nations Simon Bolivar Award for his "outstanding contribution to freedom and democracy".

He received the award jointly with King Juan Carlos of Spain.

Mandela celebrated his 65th birthday — after 21 years in prison — on July 18.

To commemorate the occasion the Borough Council of Greenwich conferred on him the freedom of the borough.

ROOM
30/7/83
11A

11A

RWM 30/7/83

Plan to mobilise countrywide No

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

LEADERS of opposition groups throughout the country are meeting in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss the launching of a nationwide United Democratic Front (UDF).

This could mean that the Government's constitutional plans will face the opposition of a national organisation that combines certain unions and community, student, church and women's organisations.

The national body would bring together the regional UDFs that have sprung up in different parts of the country.

An announcement is expected on Monday.

The leaders meeting this

weekend include Mr Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Natal; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, prominent leader of the UDF in Transvaal; and Professor Jerry Coovadia of the Natal Indian Congress.

The UDF was originally suggested by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in January.

Since then UDFs have been formed in the Transvaal, led by Dr E Jassat; in Natal, led by Mr Gumede; in the Eastern and Western Cape, led by Mr Oscar Mpetha.

It is believed that these bodies will soon link up into a nation-wide organisation. A major launching will be held in Cape Town within a few weeks.

Anti-constitution campaign launch

Argus 30/7/83

11A

By HUGH ROBERTON
Weekend Argus
Reporter

SOME of South Africa's most influential black, coloured and Indian leaders will gather in Cape Town on August 21 for a mass meeting to launch a national campaign against the Government's constitutional proposals and envisaged new legislation on urban blacks.

The meeting will bring together co-ordinating committees of the United Democratic Front already formed in the Western and the Eastern Cape, the Transvaal and Natal and will have the backing of hundreds of organisations around the country.

Committee

The Western Cape committee was elected at a meeting last weekend attended by representatives of about 50 organisations.

The Cape Town "national launch" meeting will mark the start of what organisers say will be one of the largest and most highly organised political initiatives ever undertaken in the black, coloured and Indian communities.

Groundswell

"Not for decades have we seen such a groundswell of political activity outside the white community," an organiser said today.

Among those who are to be invited to the August 21 meeting are Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

They are among many prominent South Africans who have given their backing to the UDF campaign, though they have declined to serve as office-bearers.

Campaign

Cape Town has been chosen to launch the national campaign not only because of the large number of community organisations backing the Western Cape committee, but because much of the UDF campaign will be directed at the coloured community, about 80 percent of which lives within a radius of 150 km of the city.

There has also been some pressure for a symbolic act of solidarity with blacks in the Western Cape because, organisers point out, they face more discrimination and hardship than blacks anywhere else in the country.

3/17/83
S. 11m 00 11A

'Lefties' nominate Mandela

By SHAUN HARRIS

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been nominated for the post of chancellor at the University of Natal — a decision which is threatening to split student unity.

The university called for nominations because of the pending resignation of the present chancellor, Dr B A Armitage.

Various university bodies can submit nominations, and the Students Representative Council (SRC) decided on Mandela.

The SRC justified its choice by saying that Mandela was regarded with "immense popularity" in South Africa.

The SRC decision was slammed by one of the university's weekly newspapers which called it "strategically unpragmatic, futile, and verging on puerility".

The SRC was labelled as "pseudo-lefties" who had abused the "limited influence they had".

On one point blacks and Nats agree: they don't like white liberals



□ Bishop Desmond Tutu — whites should try to convert their fellow whites to an appreciation of the "wonderful goal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa."

S. Express
31/7/83
IIA

AFRIKAANS students attending the Afrikaanse Studentebond congress in Pretoria broke out in nervous titters when they heard the policies of the Progressive Federal Party described as conservative.

In a milieu in which the term conservatism had become synonymous with the right-wing politics of racism and the PFP was sometimes condemned as 'unpatriotic', a number of students were shocked to hear that the PFP was distinctly to the right of centre.

During an address on censorship, Stellenbosch University's Professor Andre du Toit, a political philosopher regarded by many right-wingers as 'oorbelig' (over-enlightened), said the PFP would be placed at roughly the same point as the British

The white left, on the other hand, leans away from capitalism towards the socialist/Marxist mould. "Yet there isn't necessarily a large gap between the two," says former university lecturer Mr Guy Berger.

Mr Berger, who recently completed a two-year prison sentence after being convicted of being a member of the banned African National Congress, felt the bulk of South Africa's white left held views which coincided with those of the French Socialist or British Labour parties.

While a strict liberal was someone who "at best believed in a welfare state", the white left might believe in heavy taxes for the very wealthy, said Mr Berger.

Preferring to use the all-embracing term 'progressive whites' to describe the group, Mr Berger said they

definitely still had a role to play in South Africa. "It is important that whites do have a commitment to South Africa, as the

country has given them a lot and every person with a skill is a help, he said."

Since his release from the maximum security prison in Pretoria, Mr Berger has worked with a group which aims at teaching communications and media skills to those who would not easily have access to them.

Nusas head Ms Kate Philips agreed with Mr Berger, saying that her organisation shied away from the word 'liberal' because it did not see issues in terms of 'institutionalised racism'.

"We don't define conflict in these terms, but see it as a struggle over the access to wealth, land, resources and political power," Ms Philips

Frontline magazine, was also adamant about the importance of progressive whites.

Describing himself as a

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said.

Condemning Inkatha's criticism of Nusas as racist, she added: "One of the features of apartheid is that it involves injustice and oppression in all spheres, such as low wages and prescribed living areas.

"Over the last few years organisations have developed to assert people's rights in these spheres, and Nusas associates with these groups in working for an open, democratic society."

Mr Dennis Beckett, award-winning editor of

real — as opposed to pseudo — liberal, Mr Beckett said his role was becoming increasingly important.

"Liberalism has acquired a bad name, and blacks feel that all some liberals want to do is take the pressure away without making any concrete change.

"Real liberals are those who explore real solutions in their search for accommodation," said Mr Beckett.

"Whites are fundamentally and crucially important and it is a sterile old cliché to say they aren't."

Mr Ernest Wentzel, former vice-president of the now defunct Liberal Party, said that while there was little formal place for white liberals in South Africa, their presence alone had an impact.

"There is no formal place for black political groupings either, but it is absurd to say that blacks don't have a role to play," said Mr Wentzel.

"The mere fact that people seldom make speeches in this country without taking a swipe at liberals is itself a tremendous tribute," he said.

Meanwhile, two black leaders said this week that the main function of progressive whites was to prepare other whites for change.

Azapo's Mr Saths Cooper, released in December after serving a six-year prison sentence, said it was the role

of the white left to obviate future culture shock by preparing whites for change.

"The emphasis on race is something from which we are trying to move away, and we stand for a future Azania that is socialist, democratic and anti-racist," Mr Cooper, a black consciousness exponent, said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, also felt that

whites should try to convert their fellow whites to an appreciation of the "wonderful goal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

"So far I don't think they've been spectacularly successful in helping to move away from the present self-destructive course, but this might be because they are not in sufficiently influential positions."

Pretoria broke out in nervous titters when they heard the policies of the Progressive Federal Party described as conservative.

In a milieu in which the term conservatism had become synonymous with the right-wing politics of racism and the PFP was sometimes condemned as 'unpatriotic', a number of students were shocked to hear that the PFP was distinctly to the right of centre.

During an address on censorship, Stellenbosch University's Professor Andre du Toit, a political philosopher regarded by many right-wingers as 'oorbelig' (over-enlightened), said the PFP would be placed at roughly the same point as the British Conservative Party on the international continuum of Left and Right.

Even by South African standards, the PFP was on the right of centre, he said.

Prof du Toit might have surprised the students, but many were frankly delighted when Inkatha Youth League member Mr Musa Zondi lashed out at the largely English-language National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

"We have no time for whites who try to be blacker than blacks," Mr Zondi said to widespread chuckles.

The reaction to his comment highlighted the curious network of student relationships in which the ASB is on speaking terms with the predominantly-Zulu Inkatha but has nothing to do with Nusas.

On a wider level, the student response was also indicative of the dislike of both black and white nationalists for the broad spectrum of white opinion that falls to the left of the PFP.

If questioned about this group, they would probably make derisive comments about the 'liberals' whose notions of civil rights and common franchise are suicidal for white minority existence.

Others, such as ASB president André Bartlett, would dismiss them as irrelevant, saying that the future of South Africa lies in the accommodation of its nationalist groups.

It is not a new argument, but it has become increasingly significant in the face of the shifting political alignments among black consciousness and Freedom Charter supporters.

While few liberals have any concrete plans for action, and despite widely divergent schools of thought, all those interviewed this week believe their presence was significant.

Roughly, the group can be divided into white liberals and the 'white left'.

Broadly speaking, liberals believe in the rule of law, civil liberties and a majority-ruled, capitalist democracy.

cialist/Marxist mould. "Yet there isn't necessarily a large gap between the two," says former university lecturer Mr Guy Berger.

Mr Berger, who recently completed a two-year prison sentence after being convicted of being a member of the banned African National Congress, felt the bulk of South Africa's white left held views which coincided with those of the French Socialist or British Labour parties.

While a strict liberal was someone who "at best believed in a welfare state", the white left might believe in heavy taxes for the very wealthy, said Mr Berger.

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ANC: Officials (11A) were suspicious

By Brendan ^{S. Tribune}
Nicholson ^{7/17/83} Napula

Foreign Service

MAPUTO. Mozambican officials are believed to have been suspicious about the South African-registered light aircraft which made an unauthorised landing at Nampula five weeks ago because a large group of ANC members had just been moved into the area.

Sources in Mozambique said the bulk of the ANC personnel in Mozambique had been moved from the Maputo suburb of Matola to Triumph, just north of the city, and then on to

This follows negotiations involving the Mozambican, South African and US and were designed to take the ANC out of range of South African attacks.

The pilot of the aircraft, Mr Clive Ciastula, has been fined R5 400 or six month's jail after he had apparently said that he was running low on fuel but an inspection revealed the tanks were nearly full.

No charges have been laid against the passengers, South Africans David Tooch and Lucas Nel, and Frenchmen Alain le Bahein, J. Harvard and J. Auger.

31/7/83 (Z) (IA) (S) (S) City Press

'ONLY BULLDOZERS WILL MOVE ME'



● Dr Asvat... staying.

"THEY will have to bring in bulldozers to remove me from my surgery, or else I will not move," said Dr Abubaker Asvat.

Dr Asvat has been ordered to move out of his surgery opposite Regina Mundi in Soweto by Sunday by West Rand Board chief director, C J

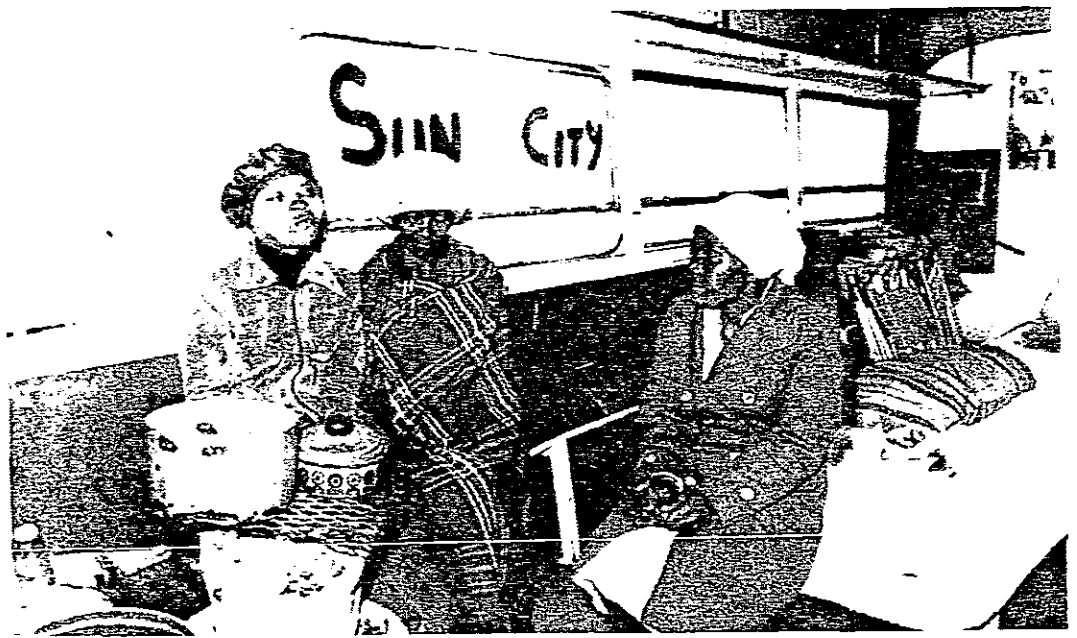
Bezuidenhout. Dr Asvat, Azapo's chief health spokesman, has been practising at the surgery for 13 years and has become a father figure to many squatters in the area.

This week, Dr Asvat had another quarrel - with Pimville township

manager T F Bronkhorst at the squatters' camp.

Bronkhorst ordered him out of the area while Dr Asvat was attending to some squatters he had rehoused in a disused bus.

Bronkhorst ordered two of his police to eject him and said that he was trespassing.



● Hardly Sun City, but a home for these squatters.

11A
Cely Rev
3/17/83

'RELEASE MANDELA'

PROMINENT black and white South Africans have made yet another strong call to the Government to release Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) serving life sentences.

The call was made at a large public meeting of about 2 000 singing and chanting people in Durban at the weekend and later by the leader of the official white opposition Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and PFP MP, Dr Alex Boraine.

The Durban meeting, convened by the Release Mandela Committee, was held to celebrate Mandela's 65th birthday and the 17th anniversary of the death of former Nobel Peace Prize winner and ANC president Sisulu Chief Albert Luthuli.

Mandela is being held at the Polsmoor Prison in Cape Town with other ANC leaders - Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mahlaba and Ahmed Kathrada.

Speakers included Release Mandela Committee chairman Archie Gumede, former Robben Island Prisoners Russel Mpanga and Patrick "Terror" Lekota and formerly banned ex-president of the Natal Indian Congress Mewa Ramgobin.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert said in a separate interview



● FREE MANDELA: Call from ex-Robben Island prisoner "Terror" Lekota (left) and PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

CP Correspondent:
DURBAN

that Prime Minister P W Botha should take a leaf out of the book of President Albert Rene of the Seychelles when he released six white mercenaries, three of them South Africans.

The release of Mandela and other political prisoners would precipitate a national convention, which would be necessary to stave off the escalating spiral of violence in the country, he added.

Dr Boraine said he supported all pleas for clemency for Mandela and his colleagues.

(SAD) (IA) City Press 3/7/83

YOUTH CONGRESS IS BORN

By KHULU SIBIYA

NINE months of hard work behind the scenes will finally bear fruit on Sunday at the launch of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco).

A six-person steering committee, formed last November, took up the task of forming a youth organisation in Soweto to "co-ordinate and consolidate all the youth activities in the townships".

The Soyco inaugural conference will be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday, from 10am.

Steering committee chairman Oupa Monareng said this week the idea of a local youth was mooted at last year's Congress of SA Students.

"It was not easy. We had to work harder than ever before," said stern-faced Monareng.



● Soyco steering committee members (from left): Siphitha Thusi, Luthando Matsolo, Mphah Mashinini, Tsoto Tsheliana and Clive Bokala.

Twenty-four Soweto youth organisations and prominent political, union and church leaders would attend the first conference.

Soyco will cater for non-scholars who do not qualify for Cosas (scholars) - or Azaso (students).

Youth Congresses have been formed in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, and Mr Monareng says other regions will follow.

"We cannot work under the Soweto

Civic Association, because of the limited role they play in the community. Our body will have a broader structure and will be autonomous," he said.

Soyco, he said, will work closely with all progressive organisations, like the Women's Federation, Committee of IG, the Allied Workers' Union, the General and Allied Worker's Union (Gawu), the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the Anti-PC Committee and the United Democratic Front (UDF).



● Soyco convenor Oupa Monareng.

"Young people will use this vehicle to voice all their aspirations, whether they are social, political, cultural and religious," he said.

The theme of the congress will be "Youth Involvement in Society" and speakers will include Dr Nkhato Motlana, Father Smangalisso Mkhathshwa, Dan Montisi, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Curtis Nkondo, David Johnson, Zinzi Mandela, Fanyana Mazibuko and Zwetakhe Sisulu.