

Black - POLITICS
1985

September Month

EEC Ministers snubbed as UDF cancels meeting

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, met the visiting EEC Foreign Ministers in Cape Town yesterday — as police patrolled townships in a quiet but tense Cape peninsula.

The three EEC Ministers — Mr Jacques Poos of Luxembourg, Mr Giulio Andreotti of Italy and Mr Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands — met Mr Botha at Groote Schuur, the historic former residence of South Africa's Prime Ministers.

Journalists, including a large contingent of foreign Pressmen, were given a brief opportunity to take photographs of the delegation before the talks began.

Lunch

Neither side issued a statement nor granted interviews after the meeting.

The South African delegation consisted of the State President; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; Dr Jannie Roux, Secretary-General of the State President's Office; Dr Niel Barnard, Director-General of National Intelligence; Mr Ray Killen, Director-General of Foreign Affairs and several other senior foreign affairs officials.

After the meeting, the group had lunch at the State President's official resi-

Sunday Times Reporters

dence, Westbrook.

Then the EEC delegation went to the Dutch Consulate for a scheduled meeting with the United Democratic Front.

But the proposed meeting failed to take place yesterday afternoon.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the UDF said it could not meet the EEC Ministers "as many UDF leaders were still in jail".

It said: "Discussions with the Ministers about South Africa's future would therefore not be fruitful and the visit of the EEC Ministers' delegation, coming at a time of heightened state repression of the UDF, does not provide us with an atmosphere conducive to any fruitful discussions about South Africa and its future," the statement said.

Media

The statement, issued by the UDF acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, continued:

"The fact that these Ministers backed down on the original demand to speak to Mr Nelson Mandela has been seen as a capitulation to the South African Government which has just recently, probably for its own devious schemes, granted Jerry Fal-

well — the United States television evangelist — an interview with our leader.

"What makes the meeting even more difficult is the fact that apart from Mr Mandela, many leaders of the UDF are also languishing in jail under the state of emergency and Section 29 of the Internal Security Act."

Last night the three Foreign Ministers and senior members of their party attended a working dinner with senior representatives of the South African media.

The dinner was hosted by the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh, and attended by the editor of Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, the director-general of the SABC, Dr Riaan Eksteen, the editor-in-chief of the Financial Mail and Business Day, Mr Stephen Mulholland, the editor of the Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf, the associate editor of City Press, Mr Percy Qoboza, and the editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson.

• Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, will extend his visit to South Africa so that he can have discussions with the South African Government about fugitive Klaas de Jonge.

This was confirmed yesterday by Baron Hendrik Benjinnck, counsellor at the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria.



The three EEC Foreign Ministers at the working dinner with South African editors in Pretoria last night. From left: Mr Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands, Mr Jacques Poos of Luxembourg, who heads the delegation, and Mr Giulio Andreotti of Italy

Boycott taking heavy toll

BB

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S. Zines
1/9/85

By Amrit Manga
THE consumer boycott in the Eastern Cape is entering its seventh week and showing no signs of easing its grip on white retailers.

An executive of a large retail organisation describes the boycott impact in the Eastern Cape as dramatic. He estimates the drop in sales in Port Elizabeth's North End shops at 40%. Uitenhage and East London have not been spared, sales falling by 30% to 40%.

"We have not yet felt the boycott in the Pretoria-Johannesburg area. But our Western Cape outlets are feeling the effects as boycott organisers spread their net to include all black communities."

East Rand

Trade-union surveys among its members indicate a drop in business of between 40% to 60% on the East Rand, a Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) stronghold.

Retailers refuse to quantify the impact of the boycott, but dispute the union's figures.

Areas with many bargain stores have been worst affected. The Eastern Cape Traders Association (ECTA), representing about 100 retailers in Korsten, Port Elizabeth, reports a 95% drop in turnover.

The ECTA says: "Customer profile in the discount shopping areas has traditionally been almost 100% black, making it the most vulnerable of all areas."

"Many of us are on the brink of insolvency."

"Wholesalers are sitting in the pound seats. Spending normally channelled into low-price supermarkets has been redirected to the wholesale trade supplying black retailers."

Price cuts

The ECTA says price cuts to lure consumers back mean disaster. "Furniture stores have offered huge discounts, but have failed to break the boycott."

Pick 'n Pay's Hugh Herman says there is no telling how long the boycott can be

sustained, but says it has maintained its momentum in the Eastern Cape.

He will not quantify the impact of the boycott on white retailers.

Tony Gilson, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, says the boycott continues, but there are signs of a return to city stores.

"Consumers are, however, not taking immediate delivery of goods. The return is not significant and is not an indication that the boycott is at its end."

Weapon

"There has to be a threshold beyond which consumers will not be able to continue their boycott."

Labour consultant Andrew Levy says boycotts have great potential as a shock weapon in the short term. But it is doubtful whether they can be employed with equal impact for a long time.

Some organisers agree, and say they have no plans to enforce an indefinite boycott. According to one source, boycott organisers are debating a proposal to extract a commitment from retailers supporting political demands. Chambers of commerce in several areas have indicated support for some of the demands.

One white retailer in North End is still being patronised by black customers "because he has made a stand", says the source.

Ruled out

Boycotters are demanding the release of black leaders, to which the Government is unlikely to agree. So the boycott could continue for longer than planned.

The ECTA says: "The new demand effectively rules out the possibility of an end to the boycott on September 15."

Union-inspired boycotts are seen as only the beginning of industrial action related to labour disputes.

Alec Erwin, national education secretary of the Federation of SA Trade Unions, says that if boycotts fail to achieve their objectives, workers will resort to stronger action.

Waterless
weekend
for 1 000s

FOR two days the more than 30 000 residents of Colesburg's Ebongweni township went without water at the weekend. A spokesman for the committee organising the consumer boycott of white businesses in the Karoo town accused the town council of closing the water in retaliation for the boycott which has crippled white shops for two months. Residents, he said, are now supporting two white shops whose owners were "sympathetic to their cause".



The coffins of the dead are carried shoulder high as the pallbearers march to the graveyard.

02/09/85

(005)

(11A)

DISPATCH

2 EL men killed by funeral crowd

DISPATCH
02/09/85
M/A

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Two Cambridge men were killed and two others stabbed when a crowd stopped a car and set it alight on the road between Duncan Village and Mdantsane on Saturday night.

A statement issued by the SA Police public relations directorate in Pretoria said the crowd was returning to Mdantsane after attending the mass funeral for victims of the recent unrest in Duncan Village.

The incident took place at 7 pm near the turn-off to the new municipal market.

Mr Piet Cordier of Dominion Street died in the burning car and his brother-in-law, Mr At Scholtz, who was also his next door neighbour, died of his wounds.

The two other men in the car, Mr J. Struwig

and Mr H. van Niekerk, were admitted to Frere Hospital with "serious" stab wounds.

The medical superintendent at the hospital, Dr P. Mitchell, said last night that Mr Struwig was in a fair condition and that Mr Van Niekerk was satisfactory.

The men were having a braaivleis at Mr Struwig's Amalinda home when they decided to take Mr Struwig's car for a "test" run, a friend of the dead men said yesterday.

No arrests have been made.

Meanwhile, in another

incident at the Duncan Village funeral, ministers saved the life of a man who had had a tyre placed around his neck and who was being threatened with death.

Mr Tololo Mtyabeli of Port Elizabeth was being pulled through the crowd inside the Ziphunzana Stadium when members of the clergy pleaded with the people who were holding him to let him go.

The ministers then managed to pull Mr Mtyabeli onto the stage and removed the tyre from around his neck.

Picture page 2.
Funeral page 3.

Buthlezi blames UDF for violence

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African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has accused the United Democratic Front of unleashing violence in the Durban area after the death of Mrs Victoria Mxenge and of destroying KwaZulu Government property valued at more than R2 million.

He was responding to an attack on him and Inkatha made in Sea Point by Prof Fatima Meer, professor of sociology at the University of Durban-Westville, when she addressed a UDF meeting there.

Prof Meer blamed Inkatha for an increase in violence in Durban townships, which, she said, had resulted only after Inkatha had intervened.

Chief Buthelezi said many Indian people had openly accused the UDF of unleashing violence against them during the unrest of the past month.

'This was so even at the Mahatma Gandhi settlement and they stated this, weeping, on SABC-TV'.

He said that Inkatha had restored peace and order in the townships in broad daylight and in front of the international media.

'Mrs Meer may imagine that she is a guru whose word must be lapped up as Gospel truth every time she opens her mouth', Chief Buthelezi said.

He said it was 'extremely presumptuous' of Prof Meer to prescribe to South Africa an 'only road' towards political accommodation.

Any imposition of any solution or leader on the rest of South Africa was the road to violence.

'There is no government-in-exile waiting in the wings to impose a socialist future on the rest of the population', the Inkatha president said.

'The only way to peaceful change is via a national convention'.

Chief Buthelezi said the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, was South Africa's martyr but that did not mean that he alone had the answers.

CATG Times 2/19/85 (228) 11A

Tutu preaches to rich

JOHANNESBURG. — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday paid his first visit as bishop to the richest white parish of his diocese and won over his congregation with a message of reconciliation.

He preached at three services, all packed, at St Martin's-in-the-Veld, Rosebank.

At the main family service he broke the ice with some well-timed humour.

The congregation was totally hushed as he ended his sermon almost in a whisper: "Please God give us the love of reconciliation before it is too late."

He said the contemporary world was broken and fragmented, not only in South Africa but in many countries, although in South Africa it was compounded because it was official policy.

The church had been given an opportunity to help redeem society, to help declare the need for "togetherness, friendship, peace, justice and reconciliation".

"The members of this congregation could have an impact on the life of the diocese, the life of the province and the life of the country."

People of South Africa could not have their children living with violence, hatred, suspicion and separation. The people should be one human family, brothers and sisters in God's family, Bishop Tutu said. — Sapa



Bishop Tutu

(11A) (11/18) B. Ouy 2/9/85
SA businessmen and ANC to meet

A LIST has been compiled of leading South African businessmen who are expected to meet with the ANC to discuss South Africa's future.

Barclays is reported to be behind the initiative, but a spokesman for the bank declined to confirm this, saying that a statement would probably be issued by MD Chris Bail later today.

The ANC has said it will meet the party of South African businessmen, probably in Lusaka, to exchange ideas. It is understood that the meeting was requested by the South Africans.

However, considerable mystery sur-

LESLEY LAMBERT

rounds the list. Most of those whose names appear on it, said when approached by *Business Day* that they were aware of its existence, but denied direct involvement with the proposed meeting.

A well-placed source said it was not yet clear whether they would meet the ANC as representatives of their organisations or in their individual capacity.

Private sector pleas for government to negotiate with accepted black leaders, including those in jail, have continued to

grow in intensity, especially since the money market and JSE were temporarily closed last week.

SAPA-Reuter reports that the ANC said over the weekend it had agreed to meet businessmen who asked for talks on the nation's future.

An ANC spokesman reached by telephone at the ANC's Lusaka office, said no time or date had been set for the meeting which would probably be held in Lusaka.

He said business and industry leaders

● To Page 3 →

B. Ouy ← ● From Page 1 2/9/85
Business, ANC talks

were among many white South Africans who had acknowledged in the last year of rioting there was urgent need for change and this change couldn't come about without the ANC.

Such a meeting would be the first formal overture to the ANC by influential non-government figures in South Africa. Polls show ANC leaders are regarded by many blacks as their true leaders, even 25 years after the organisation was banned and exiled.

If the businessmen returned from talks with the ANC with a positive reac-

tion, it is likely that pressure would grow for State President P W Botha to abandon his refusal to negotiate with the exiled group.

A few South African academics, journalists and businessmen who supported the South African government had made contact privately with the ANC in the past year or two, the spokesman said.

While President Botha has refused to talk to the ANC until it renounces violence, Minister of Constitution and Development Chris Heunis said over the weekend government accepted the private sector's plea that the agenda for future constitutional discussions should be open-ended.

Demos at Botha indaba

Sowetan
2/9/85

11A

ABOUT 1 000 chanting and placard-waving students of the University of Bophuthatswana demonstrated against the visit of State President, Mr P W Botha, to Bophuthatswana on Friday.

The students called on Mr Botha to lift the state of emergency and to speak to "the real leaders of South Africa".

The demonstrations were held outside the Mmabatho Civic Centre where Mr Botha and Bophuthatswana's President, Mr Lucas Mangope, discussed the transfer and consolidation of land.

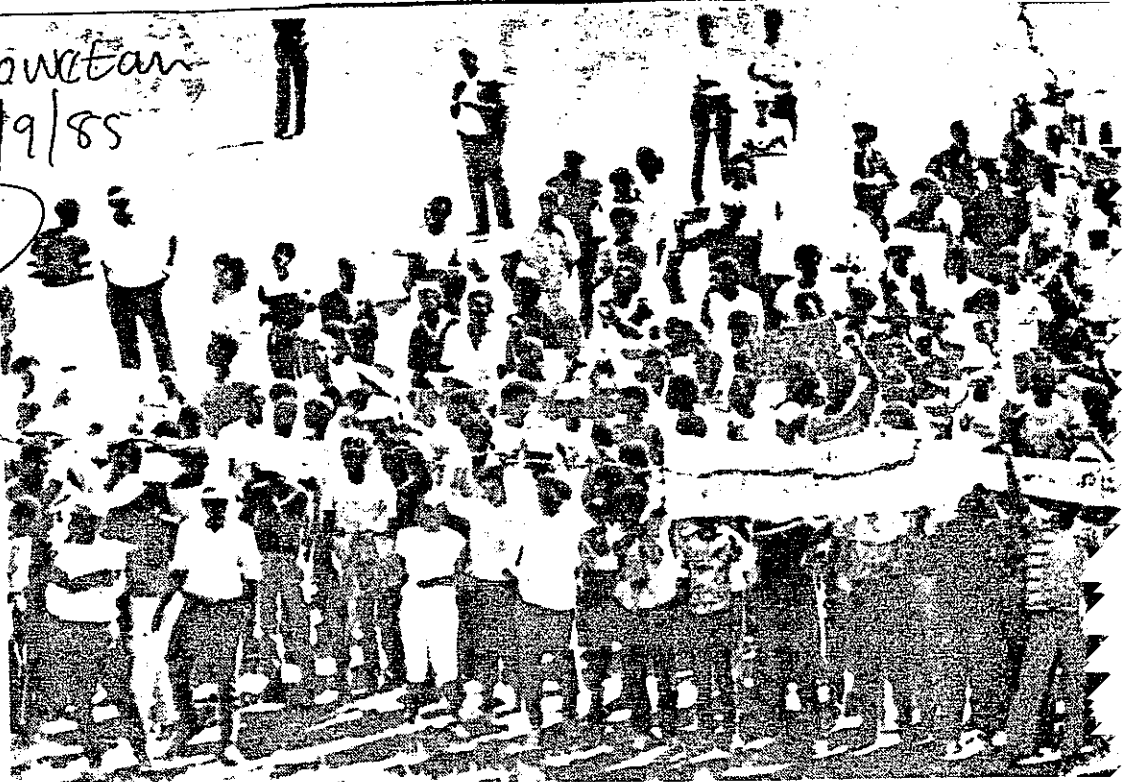
In a Press statement released after the talks, the two presidents said important matters concerning the transfer and consolidation of land as well as other subjects of common interest were discussed in "an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality".

No further details of the talks were given and the Press conference that was to have been held after the talks was cancelled and no reasons were given for the cancellation.

Freedom

The demonstrations were the first ever in the capital of Bophuthatswana, a homeland regarded as the pride of the South African Government.

The students had gathered outside the civic centre long before the arrival of Mr Botha, who was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr RF Botha, the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr B H Wilkens, and an entourage of about 30 journalists and photographers.



DEMO: Part of the 1 000 students who demonstrated against the visit of State President Mr

CAPE TOWN 21/9/80

Imam rejects convention

Political Reporter

IMAM Hassan Solomon, executive member of the Muslim Judicial Council and a senior United Democratic Front activist who claims to have been eluding the police since last week, yesterday urged about 2 000 people to continue the fight against apartheid.

Imam Solomon made a surprise appearance at a packed meeting of the Thornhill Residents' Association at the Cine 400 cinema in Rylands yesterday, and told the audience there was "no more time for peace-makers" or attempts to "cool it".

'Unity'

A total of 31 people in the Peninsula had died and "the oppressed cannot take it lying down", he said.

"National conventions and conciliation talks are things of the past.

"There is no way that those who believe in truth, justice and the ideals of freedom in this country can sit down with those who do not believe in them.

"If you kill one of the oppressed then it is as if

you have killed all of the oppressed."

He urged those at the meeting to rally in thousands at the funerals of those killed in a display of the "unity of the oppressed".

"I'm not telling you freedom is tomorrow. Freedom has a hard and tough way ahead. But as long as I have blood in my veins and breath in my lungs I will oppose this unjust system," he said to applause.

Imam Solomon left the meeting immediately after his address.

NUM

A spokesman for the National Union of Mineworkers also addressed the meeting.

He said police and troops had surrounded the miners in the Transvaal following their decision to strike today.

The NUM was prepared to fight "tooth and nail" in support of their demand for higher wages, the spokesman said.

Veteran extra-parliamentary activist Mrs Helen Joseph also addressed the meeting, but is a listed person and cannot be quoted.

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ANC TO MEET BUSINESSMEN

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2/9/85
Sowetan

THE AFRICAN National Congress said yesterday it had agreed to meet South African businessmen who asked for talks on the nation's future.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, reached by telephone at the ANC's Lusaka office, said no time or date had been set for the meeting, which would probably be held in Lusaka. He declined to identify the South Africans who would take part.

Mr Sebina said business and industry leaders were among many white South Africans who had acknowledged in the last year of rioting "that there is an urgent need for change in South Africa, and that this change cannot come about without the ANC."

Polls

The recent crash in the value of the rand and the resulting five-day freeze on currency dealings and stock trading were factors in persuading businessmen that "the ANC must be recognised as a force" in shaping a future South Africa, Mr Sebina added.

Such a meeting would

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

be the first formal overture to the ANC by influential non-government figures in South Africa. Polls show ANC leaders are regarded by many blacks as their true leaders, even 25 years after the organisation was banned and exiled.

If the businessmen returned from talks with the ANC with a positive reaction, it is likely that pressure would grow for the president, Mr P W Botha, to abandon his refusal to negotiate with the exiled group.

In Washington, the State Department said on Thursday that the ANC must be included in any negotiations, noting it is "obviously one of a number of important political parties in this situation."

The New York Times said yesterday the State Department had conveyed that view to South Africa.

Mr Botha's govern-

ment has refused calls to release Nelson Mandela, former head of the ANC who was jailed for life in 1964 on charges of plotting sabotage. Mr Botha has said he will not talk to the ANC until it renounces violence.

Contact

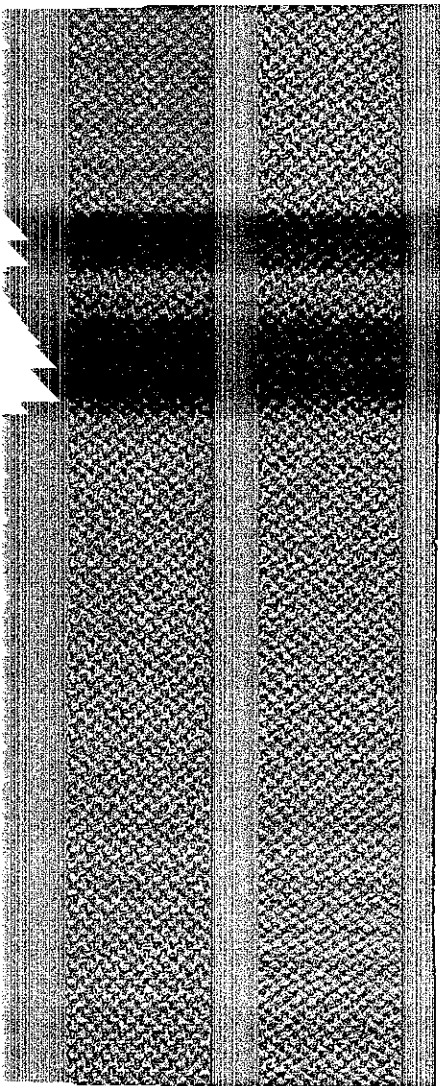
A few South African academics, journalists and businessmen who supported the South African government, had made contact with the ANC privately in the past year or two, Mr Sebina said.

"This springs from the fact that the ANC has always been prepared to meet people who feel they would be making a contribution toward finding solutions to the problems of South Africa.

"The ANC is prepared to continue such discussions with all people," said Mr Sebina, a senior member in the group's department of information who went into exile in the early 1960s.



ANC BOSS: Mr Oliver Tambo.



Freedom songs were sung and speakers condemned the South Africa Government.

Tshwete speaks at DV funeral

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A crowd estimated at 35 000 converged on the Ziphunzana Stadium in Duncan Village on Saturday for the funeral service of 18 unrest victims who died in the township three weeks ago.

Banners of organisations affiliated to the UDF were displayed, "freedom" songs were sung, and fists raised at intervals by people who chanted slogans.

The president of the Border region of the UDF, Mr Steve Tshwete, came out of hiding to speak at the funeral. He disappeared from his home at Peelton about 10 days ago, after a visit by the South African Security Police.

He disappeared again after the funeral and his whereabouts are unknown.

The Rev Ernest Baartman of Mdantsane, who delivered the sermon, said mourners had met primarily to bury people whose lives had been the "fodder of institutionalised violence."

He said the bereaved families should rejoice

in the knowledge that the whole of East London knew their grief and that their grief would be the price for the liberation of black and white people in this land. The people of East London would be "liberated into understanding, acceptance and brotherhood."

Mr Baartman said there was a big wall of separation which was apartheid. This wall needed to be broken down.

"Let the rest of the country keep apartheid, but in East London apartheid must go — now."

He said that with dialogue there would be no need for a strong military presence in East London. With talks there would be no need for a state of emergency in some parts of South Africa.

The Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Reverend Kenneth Oram, said he foresaw a "new" South Africa in which people could live with dignity.

Before that happened, apartheid would die and God would raise South Africa to a "new life."

He said the church shared the grief and sympathised with the bereaved. He assured them that God cared, but that He sometimes used tragedies and sadness to bring about His purposes. It was not God's wish to have people lying on the ground while other had their feet on their necks.

"Jesus did not bring the message of oppression, but freedom. The church is one of those who wants people to be free. The church sees apartheid as one of the causes of distress," Bishop Oram said.

"God made all men and women in His image. God does not believe in discrimination on grounds of colour. He wants men and women to be brothers and sisters in Christ," he added.

Bishop Oram said he had been impressed by the self-discipline of the people at this and other funerals. Outside forces and armies were not needed to come to keep order.

He said the people should not do deeds of which their children

might one day be ashamed.

Mr Tshwete then said the time for a national convention was past and it was time the present government handed power to the African nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, and other "genuine" leaders.

"The large number of mourners show that the forces of change command a great following. Nobody has been forced to attend, but have come of their own," he added.

Mr Tshwete said the "oppressors" should not bluff themselves and think the unrest would be confined to the townships.

"It will not be long before the fires are burning in Oxford Street in East London and other cities. The war is no lon-

ger on the borders but at the doorsteps," he added.

The president of Sacos, Mr Frank van der Horst, also rejected the idea of a national convention. He said it would not end apartheid but would entrench it instead.

He also called for the abolition of the pass laws, and demanded that all banned organisations be unbanned.

Later, the coffins, draped in the UDF colours, were lowered into the graves while the crowd sang Nkosi Sikelela i'Afrika.

02/09/85

11A DISPATCH

11A ~~2/9/85~~ B. Day
US advises SA to
talk to the ANC

WASHINGTON — The SA government should include the African National Congress in any talks on the future of the country, a US official has said.

The senior State Department official, speaking on condition he not be named, said President Ronald Reagan's administration believed the ANC must be a party to any such talks.

"The ANC we look at as obviously one of a number of important political parties in this situation," the official said at a news briefing on Thursday.

"We obviously would feel as well that the government should be reaching as broadly and widely as it can, and that includes the ANC," he said.

"I mean, for us to say the government shouldn't talk to the ANC would be madness."

The *New York Times* reported at the weekend that a State Department official said the United States had conveyed to South Africa, through diplomatic channels, its view on the inclusion of the ANC.

A Department spokesman declined to confirm or deny such a message had been sent to Pretoria.

The State Department official's remarks came several days after President Ronald Reagan had praised the South African government as a "reformist administration," and indicated a desire to cast the Pretoria authorities in a more negative light than Reagan did. — Sapa-AP.

Survey
of ^{CAPE} ^{towns} ^(11A)
unrest ^(11A)

From CLARE HARPER
JOHANNESBURG. —
Close to a half of urban
blacks believe that un-
rest is the right way to
express anger and dis-
satisfaction with condi-
tions in the townships, a
survey among 800 people
has revealed.

According to a Con-
sumer Pulse Survey car-
ried out in March by the
Markinor Research
Group in the Pretoria,
Witwatersrand, Ver-
eeniging area and Dur-
ban, Port Elizabeth and
East London, a large ma-
jority condemn police
handling of the unrest.

The survey revealed
that the level of frustra-
tion varied greatly from
area to area with blacks
in Durban (82 percent),
Pretoria (65 percent) and
Soweto (62 percent) feel-
ing most strongly that
unrest is unlikely to qui-
eten down.

In the strife-torn East-
ern Cape, only 22 per-
cent of blacks supported
unrest which could be
indicative of a change in
attitude.

UDF slams convention plan

THE United Democratic Front has condemned moves towards a "national convention alliance" by the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha and has warned that the manoeuvres will fail.

Ms Zou Kota, Western Cape UDF publicity secretary, who is in hiding, said in a statement that certain "basic preconditions" had to be

met before South Africa could resolve its problems.

11A
"These preconditions include the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, the return of exiles, the unbanning of political organisations and the scrapping of the apartheid constitution.

"To pretend under the present state of siege

and conflict that such conditions can be ignored, or can in themselves be negotiating points, is either extremely naive or opportunistic.

SOWETAN
3/9/85
"We reiterate these preconditions not because we are being stubborn.

"They are real objective preconditions, not

bargaining chips.

"Until they are met there can be no basis on which to build any meaningful resolution to our country's problems."

Earlier, Ms Kota Condemned the PFP, Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi and Assocom for "moving into the gap left by Le Grange's Casspirs and Inkatha's impis".

When peaceful action had been "viciously crushed" and when "mass-based leadership is in detention or hiding, we consider it grossly irresponsible of certain people to attempt to seize the political initiative". — SOWETAN Correspondent.

PW was 'told
of business
plans' to
meet ANC

B. Day PAUL BELL
Political Correspondent

11A
~~2/11/85~~
3/9/85

THE group of businessmen, believed to number at least six so far, which intends to hold talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka soon, are said to have kept President P W Botha informed of their plans.

Business Day was told yesterday that about two months ago the group's leaders met a prominent non-South African political figure outside the country. This person suggested they should meet the ANC directly and offered to act as a go-between.

It is said that when the group leaders returned to SA, they informed Botha of this opportunity and that he agreed. This could be neither confirmed nor denied by his office yesterday. It is also clear that whoever is behind the initiative is organising under conditions of the utmost secrecy.

Hints have been given to individual members of the group about who the other members may be, but all are being contacted through intermediaries within the business community.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday that both sides had agreed to make thorough preparations for the meeting, which was getting close.

ANC president Oliver Tambo will lead his delegation at the talks.

Sebina would not confirm the names, which have been given to *Business Day*, of members of the group, nor would he name the intermediary. He would say only that the businessmen represented commerce and the biggest mining and industrial groups.

Barclays yesterday issued a carefully-worded denial that it was behind the initiative.

The ANC said Botha's Rubicon speech would be high on any agenda for talks, as well as the present situation in South Africa and the organisation's views on the state of emergency.

Sebina said: "Up until the speech, we had recognised a slight chance of a national convention, which would entail talking to the South African Government. Botha closed that door."

"Now, it would take both sides to open that door and the first move would have to come from Botha," Sebina said.

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Tutu envisages a system of socialism in South Africa

By Estelle Trengove
Religion Reporter

3/9/85 STAR WA
A socialist system is the ideal that the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, envisages for South Africa.

The bishop remains an unshaken optimist, even in these times of unrest and violence, and believes the South Africa of his dreams will become a reality one day.

How will that South Africa look?

"The system? A democratic system in which everybody is a citizen — then let the citizens decide what they want," Bishop Tutu said.

"Maybe one condition I would put down is that there should be a bill of rights — individual rights, not group rights protecting a specific group.

"I would prefer a system closer to socialism than to capitalism. I don't like capitalism. I'd like a system in which you have caring, compassion, sharing. And the politicians then have to work out a system which embodies these attributes," he said.



Bishop Desmond Tutu . . . "caring, compassion, sharing".

The bishop does not see himself as a political leader. At the weekend he told foreign journalists: "I have no political ambition. I just want to be a pastor."

Communism is not an option for the Bishop's ideal future South Africa.

"I deprecate Communism as much as I deprecate apartheid. That is why it is a system I would reject completely."

His great love for South Africa drove him to give up a comfortable life in England and to return and make what contribution he could.

When we came back to our own

country, we could not even own a house," he said.

Referring to his threat that he would leave the country if the violence in the townships against those branded as collaborators with the system did not stop, Bishop Tutu said: "People must realise that was an unpremeditated remark which expressed the depth of my feeling and my abhorrence of all violence. I was trying to say to people that violence is something that discredits a worthy and noble cause."

Turning to reports that the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, had said the time for a national convention was over, Bishop Tutu said he and Mandela shared the same dream of a future South Africa but that did not mean he supported Mandela on every point.

Mandela's daughter had said all that remained to be discussed was the transfer of power to the people — but even that meant there had to be some kind of "indaba" at which people would get together and discuss the future of the country, he said.

Cape Times 3/9/85 (11A)

UDF trial on September 18

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The trial of 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders will start on September 18 following yesterday's ruling here that the State choose either to go ahead with the treason charge or one of three alternative counts.

If the State decides to pursue the treason charge it will have to drop three of the original five alternative charges.

In a 73-page written judgment handed down here yesterday, Mr Justice Milne, Judge Presi-

dent of Natal, also ordered that further particulars be supplied to the defence.

The further particulars include the basis for allegations that the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress were committed to overthrowing the government by violence.

Terrorism

Mr Justice Milne said the State had until September 9 to decide whether to charge the trialists with treason and alternative charges of terrorism and furthering the objects of an unlawful organization.

Or the State could proceed with charges dealing "only with participation in terroristic activities, or only with the furtherance of the objects of communism, or only with the furtherance of the objects of communism and/or the African National Congress", the judge said.

'Infiltration'

The accused, who were granted bail totalling R170 000, include UDF co-presidents Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 69, and Mr Archie Gumede, 70.

Mr Justice Milne ruled that the State give details concerning a "vital part of the charge" where the Revolutionary Alliance allegedly used the UDF's national executive to "infiltrate" the organization by "establishing underground structures in the UDF".

Further particulars were also called for, showing how the accuseds' membership or active support of the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Committee and the South African Allied Workers Union were relevant to overthrowing the government by violent means.

The court heard it was common cause that none of these organizations had unlawful objects in their respective constitutions.

3 found not guilty of resisting arrest

11A

DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Three
Mdantsane men, includ-
ing the secretary of the
South African Allied
Workers Union (Saawu),
were acquitted yester-
day on charges of ob-
structing the police and
resisting arrest.

The three men, Mr
Boyce Melitafe, 31, of
NU 1, Mdantsane, the
secretary of Saawu, Mr
Mzuzwana Mdyogolo, 33,
also of NU 1, and Mr
Bonile Tuluma, 28, of
NU 6, had previously

pleaded not guilty be-
fore Mr W. Opperman

Evidence was that on
May 22, teargas was fired
when a crowd gathered
in Milner Road after
people wanting to buy
meat were intimidated.

Some of the people ran
into the Saawu offices
while trying to escape
the teargas smoke, and it
was alleged the accused
then refused to open a
door in the building
when ordered to do so by
the police, and that they
later resisted arrest.

Counsel for the de-
fence, Mr J. Poswa, said
the men denied all the
facts before court.

In his judgment Mr
Opperman said accord-
ing to the evidence it
was clear the men had
not resisted arrest but
had gone quietly when
asked to. "As for failure

to open a door, I am not
satisfied that the state
has proved its case
beyond reasonable
doubt," he said.

Mr D. Theron appeared for the
state.

3 found not guilty of resisting arrest

VIA
3/29/85
DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Three Mdantsane men, including the secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), were acquitted yesterday on charges of obstructing the police and resisting arrest.

The three men, Mr Boyce Melitafe, 31, of NU 1, Mdantsane, the secretary of Saawu, Mr Mzuzwana Mdyogolo, 33, also of NU 1, and Mr Bonile Tuluma, 28, of NU 6, had previously

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Some of the people ran into the Saawu offices while trying to escape the teargas smoke, and it was alleged the accused then refused to open a door in the building when ordered to do so by the police, and that they later resisted arrest.

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to open a door, I am not satisfied that the state has proved its case beyond reasonable doubt," he said.

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The South Africa of my dreams — Tutu

THE ARGUS Correspondent in Johannesburg reports on how Bishop Desmond Tutu sees the future of this country

A SOCIALIST system is the ideal which Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Bishop of Johannesburg, envisages for a future South Africa.

The Bishop remains an unshaken optimist, even in these times of unrest and violence, believing that the South Africa of his dreams will one day become a reality.

And what will that South Africa look like?

"The system? A democratic system where everybody is a citizen and let the citizens then decide what they want," Bishop Tutu said.

"Maybe one condition that I would put down is that there ought to be a bill of rights — individual rights, not group rights, protecting a specific group.

"I myself would prefer a system closer to socialism than to capitalism. I don't like capitalism.

"I'd like a system where you have caring, where you've got compassion, where you've got sharing. And the politicians then have to work out a system which embodies these attributes," he said.

The Bishop does not see himself as a political leader at all.

At the weekend he told foreign journalists: "I have no political ambition. I just want to

be a pastor."

Communism is not an option for the Bishop's ideal future South Africa.

"I deprecate communism as much as I deprecate apartheid. I hate both with every fibre of my being. That is why it is a system I would reject completely."

His great love for South Africa drove him to give up a comfortable life in England and to return to make what contribution he could here.



Bishop Desmond Tutu

"When we lived in England, we had a house — freehold — and when we came back to our own country, we could not even own a house," he said.

Speaking of his threat that he would leave the country if the violence in the townships against those branded as collaborators with the system did not stop, Bishop Tutu said:

"People must realise that was an unpremeditated remark which expressed the depth of my feeling and my abhorrence of all violence. I was trying to

say to people that is something which discredits a worthy and noble cause."

On reports that the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, had said the time for a national convention was over, Bishop Tutu said:

"Nelson Mandela is still my leader. I mean, people still have P W as their leader even if he has disappointed them. He is a man who has been in jail for 23 years just because he said he wanted to be a human being."

He said he and Mr Mandela shared the same dream of a future South Africa. But that did not mean he supported Mr Mandela on every point.

"Didn't Botha himself say 'don't push us too far'?"

While the Church's position remains in favour of a national convention, there may come a time when the black community will say: 'When we asked you, you didn't want to.'

Although Mr Mandela's daughter said all that remained to be discussed was transferring the power to the people, he believed even that meant there would have to be some kind of "indaba" where people would get together and discuss the future of the country.

Buthelezi will not visit seminary to mediate in dispute

4/9/85 MORGANTY
African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will not visit the Federal Theological Seminary at Imbali near Pietermaritzburg today to mediate in a dispute between members of the Imbali community and staff and students.

Originally he had agreed to intercede after 100 armed men, led by the Mayor of Imbali, Mr P Pakkies, and the local member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr V B Ndlovu, marched on the seminary and demanded that it be closed by August 30. They alleged that the institution was responsible for unrest in the area.

A Supreme Court application was brought by the seminary president, Dr Khoza Mgojo, restraining

them from attacking the seminary.

The Chief Minister said last night that the granting of an interdict made the matter *sub judice*.

He had asked, through his legal advisers, for the interdict to be lifted, but the seminary authorities had refused to take this step.

A telex sent yesterday on behalf of the seminary council, nominating certain representatives to meet him at a 'mutually acceptable venue', had also caused problems.

Legal dispute

The Chief Minister's legal adviser explained that Chief Buthelezi was not going to be placed in a position where he represented the community.

He had been approached to visit Imbali as a mediator, in the first

place, between the community and the seminary authorities.

'It seems that the matter has been taken beyond conciliation and made into a legal dispute,' the adviser said.

Chief Buthelezi said the seminary authorities had 'painted themselves into a corner' because of the interdict and the telex.

He was prepared to reconsider the matter, however, provided the content of the telex was 'recouched'.

Mr R Bulman, registrar of the seminary, said last night that the staff of the institution were disappointed they would not be able to see him.

'These were his conditions, not ours,' he said, adding that the seminary was not ruling out a future meeting.

Township still tense after tribes clash

Peace mission prevents Zulu-Pondo 'bloodbath'

11A

4/9/85 Mercury



Mr T C Nyameni, the Pondo chief and branch chairman of Inkatha (third from left) in peace talks with (from left) Chief Calalakubo Khawula, Mr Steven Sithebe and Mr Cyprian Buthelezi, members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mercury Reporter

SEVERAL people were hurt, a bus was damaged and an attempt was made to burn down a school at Inanda Newtown during a clash between Zulus and Pondos yesterday.

Quick intervention by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, who met leaders of the groups, and Inkatha brought some calm to the area, but the situation was still tense late yesterday.

Mr Stephen Sithebe, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, who was accompanied by fellow members Chief

Calalakubo Khawula and Mr Cyprian Buthelezi, said there would have been a 'bloodbath' had they not intervened.

'The situation is still tense, but we are hoping to bring the two groups together before there is more trouble,' he said.

They held talks with Pondo leader Mr T C Nyameni and Newtown Mayor Mr B J Khuzwayo.

Mr Khuzwayo, who addressed 500 angry residents yesterday, said trouble had been brewing between the Pondos and the Zulus for some time.

He said the Pondos discriminated against some

of the Zulus living in the shack area and there was an unprovoked attack on Zulus living on the border of the Pondo settlement.

'Angry Zulus retaliated by stopping the Pondos from using their water which is piped along the roads separating the two groups and which they pay for,' he said, adding that the Zulus claimed the Pondos lived free on dispossessed Indian-owned land and did not pay for water.

The Mayor said that when water to the Pondos was cut off, they hit back by stopping all buses

from entering Newtown and hundreds of people were unable to get to work yesterday. At least two buses were stoned.

Following the intervention, the bus service was resumed late yesterday.

Newtown residents demanded that the Pondo be removed, but Mr Khuzwayo said it was not possible.

Mr Nyameni, who is branch chairman of Inkatha, said he was prepared to resolve the problem, but if his people were attacked they would naturally retaliate.

Police confirmed there had been a clash

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CAPE Times 14/9/68
**Meeting of
New Unity
Movement**

Staff Reporter

THE New Unity Movement will hold a meeting in Bellville South tomorrow opposing the current state of emergency and promoting public condemnation of recent police action in the Peninsula.

The meeting will be held at the Bellville Civic Centre at 8pm.

• The Federation of Cape Civic Associations in a statement also condemned police action in the Peninsula.

"We see that the state of emergency is not even needed as an excuse to harass, intimidate and bully defenceless people, even frail old women and people kneeling in prayer."

The association also called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

• The Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso) yesterday condemned the detention of students and "disruption of education by the police" as the "most arrogant and unreasonable act", saying it was not geared towards the maintenance of law and order.

In a statement to Sapa, the national correspondence secretary of Azaso, Mr Moeti Mpuru, said: "Azaso wants to reiterate that there shall be no order in this country until the seizure of power."

• The Cape Youth Congress condemned the detention of two of its members, Mr Trevor Oosterwyk and Mr Riedwaan Hendricks, and other student leaders "as a deliberate attempt to silence our legitimate protests".

5 000 at shot youth's funeral

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — About 5 000 people attended the funeral yesterday of an 18-year-old pupil — Clive Cupido, shot here last week.

Mourners consisted largely of school pupils who arrived in busloads from Peninsula schools to attend the funeral at the N. G. Sendingkerk — the church of the detained UDF patron, Dr Allan Boesak — in Bellville South.

Police maintained a low profile as an orderly procession of mourners, stretching over a kilometre, walked a distance of four kilometres along Modderdam Road to the cemetery and returned to the church.

The church service was led by Dr Beyers Naude, secretary of the South African Council of

Churches (SACC), while Dr J. C. Adonis, senior member of the Sendingkerk hierarchy performed the burial service.

DISPATCH

During the service, Dr Naude said "the system of apartheid is responsible for the tragic and needless death" of Clive Cupido. 04/09/85

He said police had demanded that a change be laid before it could be established who was responsible for the death of Clive and others.

"If there is one person fleeing and all the others (police) are on the other side, how do we establish the truth? Dr Naude said.

Dr Naude said recent events had proved that as more people died "as a result of violence to maintain this unholy system, this government digs its grave of reformist policies".

D

I'll die for SA, says daughter of Mandela

CAP TIME
5/9/85
11A

WASHINGTON. — The daughter of Nelson Mandela says growing up without a father was not easy, but she would be prepared to die for South Africa if she still lived there.

"He's a very lovely man, a lovely man," Zenani Mandela Dlamini said of her father, who has been imprisoned for 22 years. "He's very soft."

Mr Mandela's eldest daughter, a soft-spoken woman of 26, was in Washington to accept a cheque from a group of American senators to rebuild her mother's house, which was recently destroyed by a firebomb.

Lives in Swaziland

Her trip to Washington was sponsored by the Centre for Development Policy, a non-profit research organization concentrating on developing nations.

Zenny, as she is called, and her husband, Mr Thumbumuzi Dlamini, live in Swaziland but periodically return to South Africa to visit her mother and father.

Unlike her parents, she is not active politically, but nevertheless she is concerned with the recent events in her land.

"What's happening today in South Africa is quite terrible. I think the youth are very, very angry. . . . If I were still living in South Africa, I would be prepared to die for South Africa," she said.

Mother tried to fill gap

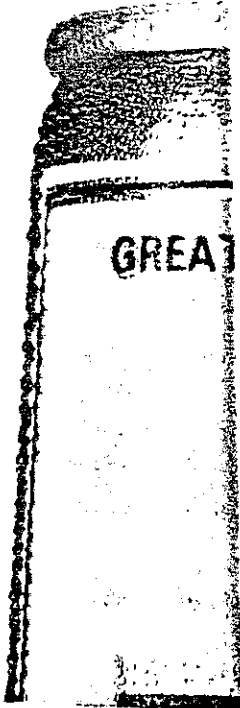
With her father in prison most of her life, "my mother always tried to fill that gap, and of course there were relatives all around us," she said.

She said she tried to see her father at least three times a year.

Asked whether she was concerned that her mother would be arrested, she said: "That doesn't bother me at all if she gets arrested. I'm very proud of her because she's fighting for a just cause."

Is she afraid she herself is in danger?

"No, I'm not," she replied. "I've lived through this all these years, and I can live through it again." — UPI



ANC talks are a pointer to reform

20/11

(11A)

B. Day

6/9/85



● P W Botha

THERE is a message for Pretoria in the business-ANC talks: government has lost the initiative for reform it had so clearly gained through the referendum, and it may have lost business leaders forever.

Only six weeks ago, business was prepared to accept the state of emergency: it was necessary to restore order, but it was equally necessary to talk to black leaders and produce a programme for wide-ranging reform.

Three weeks ago, as President P W Botha crossed the Rubicon, he finally drowned business confidence in government's ability to negotiate a peaceful political future. Carlton, Good Hope and the referendum vote may just as well have been in a past life.

Five years ago it would have been unthinkable for a major figure in Afrikaner business to go to Botha — as happened some months ago — and tell him: "We are going to talk political turkey with the ANC."

But business takes the long view because it understands the concept of a bottom line, unlike government.

The process did not, however, begin with the emergency or the Rubicon. It has been under way for nearly two years and has its antecedents in the economic penetration by SA industrial giants of the Frontline states.

It makes sense, therefore, that a business leader of the stature of Gavin Relly should now be at the forefront of the ANC initiative. And this, *Business Day* has been told, is simply a by-product of a broader initiative in making contacts with the Frontline states — sponsored by Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda's role conforms with his long-time commitment to dialogue between South Africa and its northern neighbours. He is said to feel a strong sense of mission in promoting extensive informal contacts between SA business and the Frontline states.

Relly, *Leadership SA* publisher Hugh Murray and other South African members of established SA-Frontline discussion groups had apparently been sounding Kaunda out on ANC attitudes. Kaunda suggested that SA's business leaders speak directly to the ANC and he offered to act as an intermediary.

PAUL BELL
Political Correspondent

Earlier this week, the ANC indicated that two months ago Kaunda had approached it about possible talks.

There is still no clear indication of when the talks are to take place, although Lusaka sources say it could be within the next fortnight. There are apparently considerable logistical problems in getting the group and the ANC leadership into one place at one time.

But the resolve to hold this first meeting is so great that if it does not take place within a fortnight, it will certainly be held later this year.

So far, nine business leaders — including Relly — have been named by various sources in connection with the group to meet the ANC. It is believed that this and future discussions with the ANC will be confined to smaller contingents.

Four of the businessmen, including Relly, have already been named elsewhere, the other three being Barlow's Mike Rosholt, Premier's Tony Bloom, and Barclays' Chris Ball.

Business Day is able to name more. These include Nedbank chief executive Rob Abrahamsen, who is believed to have played a prominent part in previous Lusaka missions.

Afrox chief executive Peter Joubert and IBM chairman Ken Geeling are two more. Another businessman mentioned in connection with the Lusaka talks is Sanlam chairman Fred du Plessis. A group of newspaper men, led by Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh, has also been briefed by Kaunda.

BUSINESS AND THE ANC

Building new bridges

Great secrecy surrounds the planned meeting between a group of top SA business representatives and the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) for discussions on SA's future.

Although both sides are obviously treating the matter very delicately, the *FM* understands that *Leadership SA* publisher Hugh Murray is the organiser of the historic encounter that is to take place in the next week or two in Lusaka. The names mentioned in the business party are Anglo's Gavin Relly and Zach de Beer, Barlow's Mike Rosholt, Premier's Tony Bloom, Barclays's Chris Ball, Remgro's Anton Rupert and Tongaat's Chris Saunders.

State President P W Botha is said to be fully aware of the planned indaba, at which ANC president Oliver Tambo will lead his delegation. The rendezvous could well lay the ground for a meeting between government and the ANC in the future.

Bloom denies he is directly involved in setting up the talks, but reiterates that he favours the idea and called for such talks months ago. Barclays tells the *FM* it "denies that (it) was the initiative behind the proposed talks with the ANC and we have no knowledge of the talks, but obviously the matter is highly sensitive and we would not be prepared to comment further."

Anglo's involvement brings with it the corporation's experience in maintaining its interests in a society in transition and working out a *modus vivendi* with any new regime — Zambia is a case in point.

Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda first suggested a meeting between SA businessmen and the ANC when they visited him about two months ago. Kaunda is said to have used his good offices to arrange the meeting.

A well-placed corporate observer suggests that businessmen are attempting to serve a mediating role between Pretoria and the ANC — which is recognised as a significant player on the stage. Also, the political question is far too serious to be left to the two parties now involved in a "stand-off." Businessmen believe they have to be more active — if not as direct participants, then as mediators, says the observer. "We have moved a long way away from the old division between business and politics," he observes.

From Lusaka, the ANC tells the *FM* that confidentiality about the details of the meeting must be respected at this stage. There is no agenda, maintains the ANC, but it says the question of SA and of its future will be discussed. "We are all concerned at what is happening in SA," said the ANC spokesman.

Although the ANC and white SA capitalists might at first sight seem to be the least likely parties to come together, SA's premier liberation organisation has always indicated its willingness to meet SA groups. Since its last major policy conference in Kabwe back in June, however, direct contact with SA government officials has been ruled out unless certain pre-conditions are met. It is still open to private contacts, though.

ARE THESE THE MEN?



Bloom

Ball



De Beer

Rosholt

Although there is no record of the ANC having met with SA businessmen before now, Tambo did meet — in New York in 1981 — representatives of American banking and industrial corporations with interests in SA. They included Bank of America, Citibank, Hanover, GM, Ford and General Electric. The meetings seem to have been part of an ANC campaign to make the organisation better known and understood in the US.

The ANC is quick to stress in its public pronouncements that it is not an ostensibly socialist organisation, although it indeed has elements of socialism in its programme, observes Wits University's Tom Lodge. It has in the past, when reviewing the Freedom Charter (the ANC "blueprint") talked of nationalisation of certain key economic sectors. In 1969 it considered the "monopoly" mining, wine, sugar and banking industries

to be fair game, but that was long ago.

Says Lodge: "My feeling is that the ANC is not particularly committed or coherent about which sectors it would like to nationalise. They think mainly about controlling the 'command heights' of the economy." In any case, the kinds of sectors which the ANC could well aim for are already semi-nationalised, like fuel, steel and transport. The ANC spokesman in Lusaka says much the same thing to the *FM*. He suggested his organisation would favour a type of mixed economy and added that he is "not sure the ANC has ever said it rejects free enterprise ... although a major worry is concentration of wealth among seven or so companies." ■

MINE LABOUR

Strike collapses

With confusing claims and counter-claims emanating from the warring parties, the strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) at Gencor, Gold Fields and Anglovaal mines was suspended late on Tuesday by the NUM executive.

The NUM leadership urged miners to return to work pending the results of an urgent application to the Industrial Court. "This step was taken to protect workers from the threatened dismissals and unlawful evictions from mine hostels which were about to be executed by managements."

At the time of going to press, the union had set in motion plans to ask the Industrial Court to declare the dismissals being carried out by Gencor and Gold Fields an unfair labour practice.

It was also preparing to apply for an urgent Supreme Court interdict against Anglovaal. There was no strike at Anglovaal's Hartebeestfontein mine and the union alleges that this is because workers were forced to work at gunpoint, a charge the company firmly denies.

The NUM says that workers at Gold Fields' Kloof and West Driefontein mines — where the union is recognised and strike action was called for — were also forced to work at gunpoint. It adds that strikes were "crushed" by mine security and the SA Police at Gencor's Stilfontein, Unisel and St Helena mines and at Gold Fields' East Driefontein.

A Gold Fields spokesman says that at Kloof and West Driefontein police were used to "disperse intimidators and picketers." But he denies that arms were used to force people to work. And a Gencor spokesman describes the union allegations against the group as

Union man taken from home and beaten to death

Mercury Reporter
A MAN who went into hiding for several days after receiving threats was taken from his Umlazi home on Wednesday by a gang of about 20 armed men and beaten to death, police said yesterday.

The body of Mr Thabo Mokoena, 34, National Federation of Workers' Union organiser and a UDF activist, was found on a hill near his home.

6/9/85
He is the second member of the union to be killed in the past two weeks. The other was Mr Toto Dweba, whose mutilated body was found in his car near Eshowe in Zululand.

Mercury
A police spokesman said Mr Mokoena had been abducted from his home in Section V and beaten to death with sticks.

A murder docket has been opened, but no ar-

rests have been made. Mrs Irene Mokoena, widow of the dead man, said they had been woken by loud knocks on the door early on Wednesday.

'When I opened the door I was confronted by a group of 20 armed men who were shouting that they wanted Thabo,' said Mrs Mokoena.

Her husband had returned from hiding earlier in the week.

No one knows what will happen next, says Buthelezi

Mercury

6/9/85

11A (11A) (11A)
JOHANNESBURG— South Africa was 'walking through one of the darkest valleys in its history' and only fools would dare predict what would happen next, the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a gathering of Jewish leaders here last night.

'The State President dares not tell us what he thinks will or should happen next because he himself does not know,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi, who

returned last week from a formal visit to Israel, was guest of honour at a South African Zionist Federation dinner.

He said that, in spite of the 'explosive certainty prevailing', blacks were convinced victory would be theirs and that, in the end, they would create 'a beautiful society' that would be respected in the international community.

His visit to Israel had strengthened his resolve to hold to his beliefs and to pursue his present tactics and strategies in defiance of 'the forces of oppression' which distorted minds and values and led people to opt voluntarily for killing as a political weapon.

Response

Chief Buthelezi said he had often been asked whether South Africa's 120 000 Jews were not a vulnerable minority who had to be careful about what they said and who had, in political matters, 'to avoid rocking the boat'.

His response was to recall that a former Israeli ambassador to South Africa, Mr Itzhak Unna, had often spoken forthrightly about the South African race problem.

For example, when Mr Unna reacted to the ejection of people from the Crossroads squatter camp many Jewish South Africans had contacted him to point out he was jeopardising the position of Jews in South Africa by

saying things which displeased the Government.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said his own response to such cautions was a sharp reminder that South African Jews had as much right to be in the country as any other South African citizen.

Sinners

Citing the National Party's wartime campaign against Jewish immigration, he said 'incipient white anti-Semitism' could not be used 'as a pretext for standing up and being counted when it comes to the big human battle for black human rights and human dignity being waged in South Africa'.

Chief Buthelezi said he had tried to make the people of Israel realise that the South African Jewish community had its saints and sinners like any other community.

Chief Buthelezi asked Jews and Zulus to draw together and strengthen each other in the common task they faced as citizens of South Africa.

'What I say of the Zulus applies equally to other African ethnic groups,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He had returned from Israel strengthened in his belief that the human spirit was unconquerable.

'I am filled with determination to continue doing what I am doing, for we will certainly overcome in South Africa as the people of Israel did.'

— (Sapa)

Boilers left

THE former president of the now-banned African National Congress, Chief Albert John Luthuli, would never have condoned the violence that existed in South Africa today, his aged widow said at her Groutville, North Coast, home yesterday.

Mrs Nokukhanya Luthuli (81), widow of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize winner said her husband would never have identified with the policies of the ANC of today.

"Like my husband, I am sick and tired of violence. Albert worked towards a better South Africa by negotiation, not by the barrel of the gun which the ANC of today is doing. It makes me very sad indeed. I am glad my husband has not lived to see what's happening to the present-day ANC," she said.

The ex-ANC chief was hit and killed by a train near his Groutville home in 1967. His funeral was attended by dignitaries from many parts of the world.

Now Mrs Luthuli, a once-dynamic woman who played an active role in her husband's affairs, has lost interest in politics. All she wants now is to die peacefully.

In a frank interview Mrs Luthuli said she was dying of old age and was unwell.

Last month Mrs Luthuli received the latest item of memorabilia of her famous husband — an honorary award issued in America soon after Bishop Desmond Tutu received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Politics

"I was invited by an organisation called 'Friends of Africa' to collect the honorary award on behalf of my husband, but I am too weak to undertake long journeys. However, I wrote back, saying the award should be handed to my daughter Hilda, who is a nurse in the United States."

"When Hilda attended the recent International Women's Conference in Nairobi as a delegate, she asked me to meet her half-way in Zimbabwe, where she gave me the award, a statuette. I deposited it in the bank last week with the rest of Albert's awards and memorabilia

"The sun is setting.



Mrs LUTHULI ... in younger days.

Violence appals Luthuli's widow

TIA

Sowetan

6/9/85

FOCUS

By Ismail Suder

which will go to a museum after my death," she said, speaking with difficulty.

July 21 was a memorable day for her: It was the 18th anniversary of the death of her husband. The family gathered at the modest home to pray, sing hymns and recall memories.

Mrs Luthuli, who was hosted with her husband by King Olav V of Norway and the governments of the United States and Sweden, is now frail.

Now I am waiting to die. No, I won't be committing suicide, it's just that I'm a bit tired of seeing the violence that exists in the world, particularly in South Africa. Anyway, the older you are, the lonelier you become," she added.

She has difficulty hearing and walks hunched.

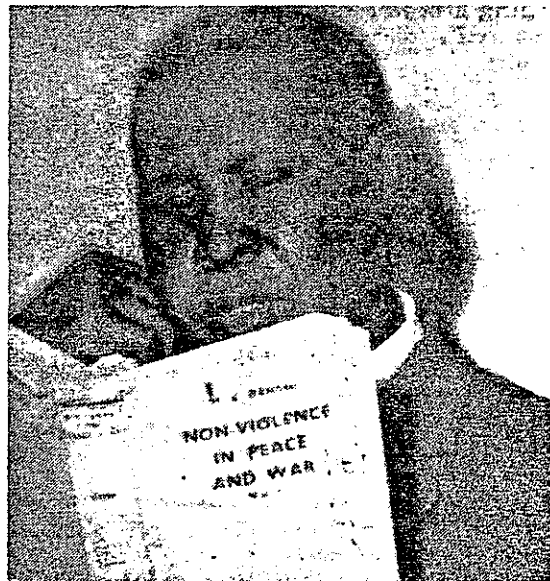
"My body is full of pain and aches. I have no will to live longer, but I suppose you kick the bucket only when God announces it," she said.

Although she does not take an interest in politics, Mrs Luthuli said she was saddened

by the Indian-African conflict at Inanda.

"PW Botha (the South African State President) should stop fighting to maintain

apartheid: It's silly, because the maintenance of apartheid is very costly. It involves the loss of lives of innocent people," she said.



THE LATE Chief Albert Luthuli.

SAP ANC
criticised
by US Govt

WASHINGTON 21 The State Department yesterday accused the South African Police of using excessive force to maintain order and also criticised the recent call by the African National Congress for greater violence.

Discussing charges of police brutality, a department spokesman, Mr Bernard Kalb, said the US had stated previously that the South African Government must act with the greatest restraint in protecting the rights of all South Africans.

"The use of excessive violence has contributed to the increased level of violence," he said.

"Violence in South Africa is at such a stage that use of force is unfortunately more and more common. These acts must stop." — Sapa-AP.

Unionists pledge support for ANC

The Star Bureau

LONDON — British trade unionists have backed the ANC and UDF, and approved boycotts and direct action against South Africa.

They have also renewed their call on the Thatcher Government to impose sanctions, placing more pressure on Mrs Thatcher as Britain faces a meeting of the EEC Council of Ministers on Tuesday and a meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government in the Bahamas in October.

The Trades Union Congress (TUC), meeting in Blackpool, was unanimous in condemning South Africa — and a composite resolution drew support from across the TUC political spectrum.

Anti-Apartheid Movement secretary Mike Terry said: "It was a very good day for us — and we look forwards to 12 months of close co-operation with the TUC leadership."

"They have backed our boycott of South African goods, which they had not done before. They have backed the ANC and the UDF, which they had not done before."

"And they have backed direct action ... which they had not done before."

The debate on South Africa was introduced by Mr Moss Evans, outgoing chairman of the TUC's international committee, in his address.

He said: "A determined boycott of South African goods would drive several nails into the coffin of the detestable South African regime."

Britain, he said, could be a real force for change. "Let it apply sanctions — at the very least until Nelson Mandela and all other trade unionists and political prisoners are released."

Sue has the lucky cards

A wild joker could win a new car for the price of a R1 ticket during Sandton City's 12th birthday celebrations. With the target being to better the R25 000 raised for charity last year, the centre and its tenants have donated prizes worth more than R32 000. They range from a toothpick to a tuxedo. Here 20-year-old Miss Sandton 1985, Susan Humphrey, holds the winning cards. The competition, in aid of the Sandton Senior Citizens' Society, starts today and the play-off for all major prizes will take place on Saturday September 14.



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Digger Dan is a p man — fine hea shoulders and leg props. Discover th mining industry de on this loveable ic in The Star's n toon strip Gold Re starting on Monda Gold Reef Ci come alive in Apr year at Crown south of Johann

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ard showrooms countrywide.



Biko memorial service today

EAST LONDON — The national organiser of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Thabo Sehume, will be the guest speaker at a commemoration service today for the black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

Mr Monde Mbekwa, organiser of the local

branch of Azapo, said a number of organisations, including the Azanian Youth Unity, United Democratic Front, Azanian Students Movement and trade unions had been invited.

He said the service in Duncan Village would be conducted by the Rev S. Nkopo of the ministers fraternal.

Mr Biko died on September 12, 1977, while in security police detention.

He is from Ginsberg, King William's Town, and was a founder member of the South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention, both banned organisations.

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DISPATCH

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Mandela's health has family worried

An urgent application to have Nelson Mandela examined by his family physician is to be made by his lawyers on Monday after prison authorities said yesterday the jailed African National Congress leader had undergone urological tests.

Mrs Winnie Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said last night the ANC leader's wife was "frantic with worry" and not reassured by the "bland" statement from prison authorities after three hours of inquiries on Mandela's condition.

Mr Ayob said Mrs Mandela's lawyers would submit an urgent application to prison authorities on Monday morning to have Mandela examined by the family physician and to arrange a special visit for Mrs Mandela.

She has used all the visits she is allowed by prison authorities until Christmas.

Mr Ayob said Mandela had been examined for a urological problem about three months ago and had been assured he did not have a kidney problem.

Doctors had assumed blood in Mandela's urine at the time could have been caused by a fall, Mr Ayob said.

"In the light of that history, Mrs Mandela is not reassured at all by this bland statement (from prison authorities). She is frantic with worry," he said.

Neither he nor the Mandela family had received official notification on the matter and he had made numerous calls to try to confirm the reports, Mr Ayob said.

But numerous telephone calls to Pollsmoor Prison as well as prison headquarters in Pretoria had brought no satisfaction.

STAR
7/9/85

Read our new Pet Vet column — See

Gerrie's chances: as seen by a punter!

WEEKEND!

END SPORT

SEPTEMBER 7 1985

1887



In another incident, a 16-year-old schoolgirl, dressed as a witch shot her mother, father and brother at full moon last Friday.

Police have told *The Star*, however, that they are in possession of a sworn affidavit saying that the girl was dressed in ordinary clothes.

They say that she had suffered from an epileptic fit, which produced temporary madness.

The girl, a Std 9 pupil at the Sentral High School, has a history of mental illness.

Zarte shootings

Sports fans are in for a bonus this weekend with coverage of the Mary Slaney-Zola Budd clash as well as the US Open tennis finals.

No details were available for "Sport 85" on TV1 this afternoon, nor were there details for TV2 or TV3. Transmission on TV4 opens at 9.27 pm for coverage of the Grand Prix women's 3000 m. race in Rome.

During "Sport TV4" tonight there will be highlights of the Currie Cup rugby match between Northern Transvaal and Transvaal played at Loftus Versfeld, as well as the US Open ladies tennis final from Flushing Meadow in New York.

Slaney-Zola Budd clash in TV sports bonanza

Buthelezi tells the West he is not a 'moderate'

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has denied media descriptions of him as a 'moderate' leader and says he in fact demands radical change in South Africa.

In a memorandum handed yesterday to former Liberal Party leader and former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, and the Australian Ambassador to South Africa, Mr R N Birch, Chief Buthelezi said in any country other than South Africa a leader with a mass following who rejected the country's Constitution and demanded that it was scrapped would, by definition, be radical in every sense of the word.

He made the point that he had often said he was quite prepared to lead his people into an armed defence of their South African citizenship.

Chief Buthelezi told the Australian delegation he had pleaded for many years with the West to increase its pressure on Pretoria.

'Western embassies in South Africa should be strengthened and specifically charged to advise their governments about how the process of non-violent opposition to apartheid can be strengthened,' he said.

'They should realise the extent to which a future race-free and democratic South Africa, with a thriving economy, is fundamentally necessary for the future development of the whole sub-continent.'

Is Reagan a racist? wonders Bishop Tutu

STAR
11A

7/9/85

NEW YORK — Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday asked whether President Ronald Reagan was a “crypto-racist” and said the American leader was engaging in “sophistry” in resisting sanctions against South Africa.

Bishop Tutu, interviewed from Johannesburg on ABC-TV’s “Good Morning America” programme, also called it “totally misleading to say that economic prosperity necessarily leads to undermining of apartheid”.

The bishop said some of the most repressive measures had been enacted during economic good times.

Bishop Tutu said that Mr Reagan expressed dislike for sanctions, but used “that kind of strategy in Poland or in Nicaragua”.

“Is he saying about South Africa that basically he believes that black people are expendable? Is he himself a crypto-racist (secret or hidden racist) in supporting a racist policy which is immoral and totally un-Christian?” — Associated Press.

Police say UDF won't be banned

Political Correspondent

Reports that the United Democratic Front was about to be banned were "mere speculation", police sources said last night.

Rumours that the organisation was to be banned gained credence yesterday when the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, was reported in a Johannesburg newspaper as saying that, following the banning of Cosas, the UDF was the next organisation to be banned.

Dr Slabbert said last night, however, that he had said only that he had heard "strong rumours" to this effect and that, if the UDF was banned, it would be disastrous for the country.

The police sources said that no decision of the sort had been contemplated. It was true that much of the UDF hierarchy had been detained, but there had been no move to outlaw the organisation itself, they said.

Mandela visits hospital: Wife 'frantic'

WILE-TIMES
7/9/88
411

JOHANNESBURG. — An urgent application to have Mr Nelson Mandela examined by his family doctor will be made by his lawyers on Monday after prison authorities announced that the jailed ANC leader had undergone urological tests in Cape Town yesterday.

Mrs Winnie Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said last night the ANC leader's wife was "frantic with worry" and not reassured by the statement from prison authorities.

Mr Ayob said they would submit an urgent application to prison authorities on Monday morning to have Mr Mandela examined by the family doctor and to arrange a special visit for Mrs Mandela.

She has used all the visits she is allowed by prison authorities until Christmas, when she will again be able to see her husband.

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela had been examined for a kidney problem about three months ago

and had been assured he did not have such a problem.

Doctors had assumed blood found in Mr Mandela's urine at the time could have been caused by a fall, Mr Ayob said.

"In the light of that history, Mrs Mandela is not reassured at all by this bland statement (from prison authorities). She is frantic with worry," he said.

He said that, when Mrs Mandela last saw her husband on August 9, he had been "in very good health".

● A spokesman for the Prisons Service liaison office confirmed in Pretoria last night that Mr Mandela had been examined on Thursday by a urologist.

"Should any further treatment be necessary as a result of the examination, this will be done in accordance with the instructions of the urologist who conducted the examination," he said.

After the examination, Mr Mandela had been returned to prison.

No further details were supplied. — Sapa

UDF unionist hacked to death

A PROMINENT UDF trade unionist was hacked to death and many properties damaged this week when armed impis swept through Umlazi.

Thabo Mokoena, 34, was killed early on Wednesday morning outside his Umlazi V-Section home.

Shocked residents speculated that a hit list has been drawn up of all activists and UDF sympathisers in Umlazi.

Mr Mokoena, known by the community as "Morena", was an organiser of the UDF-affiliated National Federation of Workers' Unions.

His wife, Irene, 33, told City Press they had been woken up by loud knocks and people shouting in Zulu: "Open up, we want Morena." About 20 armed men dragged Mr Mokoena from his house where another 70 men waited.

The incident follows last week's warning by Inkatha leader Tom Sabelo that all UDF supporters should leave Umlazi or face the consequences.

On Monday Joseph Ngobane was seriously injured when armed impis attacked several homes in Umlazi.

Police confirmed houses in Umlazi were attacked.

★ THE homes of UDF activist Fatima Meer and Umlazi mayor James Ndlovu, an Inkatha member, were petrol-bombed early yesterday.

In both incidents little damage was done and no one was injured. Professor Meer was in her study at the time of the bombing.

HOW TO BAN UDF IN 3 WEEKS?



**BAN AN
ACT OF
MADNESS**

- PFP leader Slabbert

(IA) City Press 8/9/85
THE GOVERNMENT is planning to outlaw the United Democratic Front in just three weeks, reliable sources have told City Press.

While there have been rumours of a ban on the UDF for some time - particularly since last week's banning of the Congress of SA Students, the country's biggest student organisation and the UDF's biggest affiliate - this is the first confirmation that the Government plans to crack down on the organisation.

And PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert dramatically confirmed City Press' information: "I was told the banning of the Cosas was the first of a number of measures the Government is

planning - and these include banning the UDF."

Dr Slabbert said banning the UDF "would be an act of madness".

He warned there would be fewer and fewer extra-parliamentary platforms from which to oppose the Government.

A ban on the UDF would, with the Cosas ban, be the second since ex-Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger outlawed 19 organisations in his massive October 17 "crackdown" in 1977. The 1977 clamp included widespread detentions and

BY MONO BADELA

the banning of two newspapers.

Exactly two years, two weeks and two days ago, the UDF was launched in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, with community organisations and trade unions together with sport, student, church and civic organisations, affiliating.

According to the acting national publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, the UDF can count well over 630 affiliates. He told City Press this week that the organisation had established a branch in Bo-

phuthatswana.

Since its inception, the UDF has faced unrelenting Government repression with more than 30 of its leaders, including presidents Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede being detained and charged.

And in recent months, much of the remaining leadership has been rounded up under emergency regulations or security laws - among these have been UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

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8/9/85

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THE father of slain UDF and Freedom Charter Committee activist Toto Dweba was told to "take your (dead) son and go away from here" by Transkei authorities when he tried to bury his son at the family's traditional home.

But, say sources, Mr Dweba Snr stood his ground - threatening to throw his son's corpse into the Umzimvubu River if the homeland's authorities refused to allow him permission to bury his son in Lusikisiki, "where he belonged".

Eventually, the authorities relented, and Mr Dweba, whose decapitated body was found two weeks ago in a sugarcane field, was buried on Wednesday - after the authorities slapped a ban on a weekend funeral.

An emissary from the Transkei Commissioner of Police handed the family a letter saying the funeral could only be held on a weekday.

And no political speeches should be made.

Mr Dweba's body was found by workers in a sugarcane field with his throat slit and multiple injuries on August 26 - a week after his home was petrol-bombed.

Mr Dweba Snr's lawyer said the activist had received death threats.

Rift over

ANC talks

CAPL Times

9/9/85



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Staff Reporter
OPEN conflict broke out yesterday between the government and top South African business leaders — including Anglo-American chairman Mr Gavin Relly — over plans to hold informal talks with the banned African National Congress.



Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo-American.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, declared his opposition to the plans and condemned them as "unwise and even disloyal to the young men who are sacrificing their lives in defending South Africa's safety".

In a later statement, Mr Relly acknowledged for the first time that he was the unofficial leader of a group of businessmen engaged in "low-key discussions" in Africa on "Southern African affairs". He also acknowledged plans for a meeting with the ANC.

He stressed, however, that the talks would be "informal" and that there was no question of the group being involved in negotiations with the banned organization.

Tambo
In another development, an ANC spokesman in London confirmed yesterday that the meeting was imminent and would be attended by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Botha's condemnation of the talks came in a statement issued in response to a report on the talks in the Sunday newspaper Rapport.

The report named Mr Relly and Mr Hugh Murray, editor of the business magazine Leadership, as the main organizers of the talks. Other possible participants were Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling, Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand and Mr Chris Ball of Barclays.

It added that the State President had been "informed of their plans".

exchanging views with people of very different opinions. There is nothing very remarkable about continuing low-key discussions on Southern African affairs.

"The opinion of the group is that only the free enterprise approach can create work and wealth in Southern Africa and this has been a constant theme of previous discussions."

Dr Fred du Plessis of Sanlam and Dr Anton Rupert of Rembrandt both denied their reported involvement in the proposed talks yesterday.

Cautious nod

At a press conference in London yesterday, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard De Kock, gave a cautious nod to the business initiative but stopped short of welcoming it.

"I fully understand what the businessmen are concerned about and what they are trying to do," he said.

An ANC spokesman said there was no agenda for the meeting and the ANC was not aware of the precise make-up of the business delegation.

It emerged yesterday that the planned Lusaka meeting follows several contacts between the South Africa Foundation (SAF) and ANC representatives in London over the past 12 months.

This was confirmed yesterday by the London director of the SAF, Mr David Willers, who said he had met ANC representatives informally.

Aims

It is understood that the aims of the business delegation include:

- Sounding out the ANC about its economic objectives and policies.
- Exploring ANC readiness to discuss a federal solution with a universal franchise.
- Sounding out the external mission of the ANC on its attitude to a national convention.
- Laying the foundation for an ongoing dialogue.

Mr Botha said uninformed people could conclude from this that he supported plans to negotiate with the ANC.

"The facts are that a few weeks ago a leading South African consulted me over such a plan and that I strongly advised against it. His name does not appear among the published names."

"As long as the ANC was under communist leadership and supported violence in South Africa, there could be no question of his approving discussions with them."

"I want to warn South Africans against communist tactics of this kind and I regard such attempts as unwise and even disloyal to the young men who are sacrificing their lives in defending South Africa's safety," Mr Botha said.

Mr Relly said later: "There is no question of any group of businessmen with which I am associated being involved in negotiations with the ANC, and I do not think this is a role businessmen would assume on their own."

"A number of discussions have been held with President Kaunda of Zambia in recent months and it was felt that an informal meeting with the ANC might be a useful addition to the programme."

"I, and those in the group, travel in other parts of Africa in the usual course of business,

Slabbert's hopes of talk with Mandela dashed

Political Staff

The Government is not willing to have Dr F van Zyl Slabbert talk to jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party said today this had emerged from informal talks with members of the Government. He wrote to President P W Botha on August 21 asking for such a meeting — provided Mr Mandela was willing to see him.

Prospects for broad peace talks appear to be fading after Mr Botha's condemnation of business efforts to hold discussions with the ANC and the rebuff of Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert said today he had been informally told it would be "inopportune" for him to see Mandela.

NO QUESTION

The man said to be behind the attempt to hold informal talks with the ANC, Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American, said in a statement yesterday: "There is no question of any group with which I am associated being involved in any form of negotiation with the ANC and I do not think it is a role the business community would assume on its own."

Dr Slabbert said today that to engage in talks with people did not mean that one condoned or supported their position.

ALTERNATIVE

Mrs Helen Suzman, law and order spokesman for the PFP, said the Government appeared to think that guns and quirts would bring peace to the country.

The obvious alternative to this was to talk and seek solutions, something any sensible government would do, she said.

Mr Botha said in a statement yesterday: "As long as the ANC is under communistic leadership and causes violence in South Africa there can be no question that I will approve of talks with them".

Family can see Mandela

PRETORIA — Permission has been granted for Nelson Mandela's wife and two of his daughters to pay a "special additional visit" to the elderly prisoner who is receiving "preventative urological treatment," a spokesman for the Prisons Service confirmed in Pretoria today.

A request for Mr Mandela to be examined by a doctor selected by the family would be considered after the visit had taken place and if Mr Mandela himself requested such an examination, he said in response to media enquiries. — Sapa.

ANC speaks on attacks on white homes

ST ^{AK} The Star Bureau 11A

WASHINGTON — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has commented on the attacks on white homes in Cape Town in an interview with the *Washington Post* published today. 9/9/85

As Mr Tambo is banned in South Africa his comments may not be reported.

During the Lusaka interview the possibility of talks between the ANC and America was discussed. The ANC opposes America's constructive engagement policy.



Report restricted

This report has been restricted in terms of the Internal Security Act because Mr Oliver Tambo may not be quoted in South Africa.

JOHANNESBURG—The chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, has said for the first time that he is the unofficial leader of groups of businessmen who have held low-key talks about the future of southern Africa.

He denied that any of the groups was involved in negotiations with the African National Congress.

Mr Relly's statement was made yesterday after President Botha denied he had approved of top businessmen meeting the ANC.

Mr Relly said: 'There is no question of any group of businessmen with which I am associated being involved in negotiations with the ANC, and I do not think this is a role businessmen would assume on their own.'

'A number of discussions have been held with President Kaunda of Zambia in recent months and it was felt that an informal meeting with the ANC might be a useful addition to the programme,' Mr Relly said.

Not true

'I, and those in the group, travel in other parts of Africa in the usual course of business, exchanging views with people of very different opinions. There is nothing very remarkable about continuing discussions on southern African affairs.'

'The opinion of the group is that only the free-enterprise approach can create work and wealth in southern Africa and this has been a constant theme of previous discussions,' he said.

Mr Botha's statement, released yesterday, said a report published in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport could be interpreted as saying he approved of the plan for businessmen to hold talks with the ANC. This was not true.

Mr Botha said he had definitely not given his blessing to any plans of talks with the ANC.

'The facts are that a few weeks ago a leading South African consulted me over such a plan and I strongly advised against it.'

'The report claims that I have already been notified about their plans. From this, uninformed

Mercury Correspondent

people could conclude that I support such a plan,' Mr Botha said.

'As long as the ANC is under communist leadership and supports violence in South Africa there can be no question of me approving discussions with them.'

The names mentioned in the newspaper report

include Mr Relly, Mr Chris Ball of Barclays; Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlows, Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling and Mr Hugh Murray, editor of Leadership SA magazine.

The ANC has said it is willing to hold talks with South African businessmen.



Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, a chief figure in arranging talks between businessmen and southern African leaders.

Businesses 'not talking' to ANC

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9/9/85
Mercury

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Hendrickse says leader killed by extreme Leftists

11A

9/9/85 Mercury

Mercury Correspondent

OUTDSHOORN—Labour Party Leader Allan Hendrickse said here on Saturday he believed Cradock civic leader Matthew Goniwe had been killed by extreme Left-wing elements.

Mr Goniwe's body and those of three other black leaders were found badly burned days after they had been reported missing on June 28.

Addressing the national executive committee of the Labour Party, the Rev Hendrickse said he believed Mr Goniwe had been killed because he had been negotiating with the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Sam de Beer.

The extreme Left was a 'necessary evil', Mr Hendrickse said, pointing out that Martin Luther King had been ignored until Malcolm X had come along.

There was a 'marxist onslaught' in South Africa, and the marxists knew that 'if we find each other their chances are nil'.

He said people who expected white capitulation in the present circumstances 'need their heads read'.

He was becoming impatient with the rate of progress, although, he pointed out, the end of forced removals was a very important step. The 'Mgwalli decision', which had been taken against the wishes of conservative elements within the National Party, was laudable, he added.

Mr Hendrickse said he was not prepared to believe the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning 'too easily' when he said group-areas legislation would remain and was non-negotiable.

'What is non-negotiable today is not necessarily so tomorrow.'

He said he wished to remind the Government that the Labour Party had decided, with conditions, to participate in Parliament for only five years.

In the latest edition of the Labour Party mouthpiece, Steadfast, Mr Hendrickse describes the President's address in Durban to the Natal National Party Congress as 'flawed' because it omitted any statement of intent to scrap racially discriminatory laws.

Yesterday afternoon, Azapo supporters had attended a meeting at the Edendale Law Centre commemorating the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko. At the meeting, speakers sharply criticised Inkatha.

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Vlok says ANC using End Conscription Campaign

11A 9/9/85

Mercury

Mercury Reporter



Kevin Stoloff, drum major of the Northlands Boys' High School cadet band, receives the coveted Administrator's Trophy from Mrs A Vlok, wife of the Deputy Minister of Defence. Northlands took the trophy from Glenwood, who had held it for seven consecutive years, at a Natal cadet band competition at Glenwood on Saturday.

THE Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) was being used by the ANC to achieve the banned organisation's 'evil' goals.

He was speaking as the guest of honour at the Natal Command and Administrator's cadet competition held at Glenwood Boys' High School in Durban on Saturday as part of the school's 75th birthday celebrations.

'Evil system'

But in a statement yesterday, the ECC rejected the allegation that 'it was doing the work of the ANC or any other organisation' as it represented only those organisations affiliated to the campaign.

'Our campaign against conscription and the presence of troops in the

townships is in no way an attack on South Africa,' the statement said.

'Rather, it is directed against the use of young white men to uphold the evil system of apartheid which is condemned the world-over. Our ideals are those of a just peace which cannot be through force on the part of the South African Defence Force.'

'Like clay'

Mr Vlok, speaking about how the youth of South Africa needed courage to face the future, said: 'We have but one fatherland and if we are not prepared to defend it with the weapon, when necessary, we are going to lose it.'

'That is why I, in the strongest terms possible, reject the efforts of certain people, specifically the End Conscription Campaign, to break down the will of our young men and women to defend our country.'

'I today call on you — let us the white, coloured and black youth unite and stand up against violence, bloodshed and chaos.'

● The coveted Administrator's Trophy, which has been won by Glenwood for seven consecutive years, was won by Northlands Boys' High School with Glenwood in second place and Pioneer, of Vryheid, third.



Mr Adriaan Vlok

Mr Vlok said South Africa's course was a just one and 'we are prepared to put right what is wrong', but nothing would be solved by giving South Africa to the 'enemy'.

'Those people who approve of the ECC's aims and are prepared to promote it are like clay being moulded by our enemies — at this very moment they are being used by the ANC to achieve the ANC's evil goals in South Africa.'

He also said a 'change of attitude' was necessary in South Africa because there were too many 'attitudes of confrontation loose in the country'.

Goniwe 'killed by evil left'

CHIEF TWP
9/19/86
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Political Staff
ODDISHOORN — Labour Party leader the Rev. Allan Hendrickse said here on Saturday that he believed Cradock civic leader Mr Matthew Goniwe had been killed by extreme left-wing elements.

Mr Goniwe's body and those of three other leaders were found badly burned days after they had been reported missing on June 28.

Addressing the national executive committee of the Labour Party, Mr Hendrickse said he believed Mr Goniwe was killed because he had been negotiating with the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Sam de Beer.

The extreme left are a "necessary evil", Mr Hendrickse said, adding that Martin Luther King had been ignored until Malcolm X came along.

Stating that there was now a "Marxist onslaught" in South Africa, Mr Hendrickse said the Marxists knew that "if we find each other their chances are nil".

'Heads read'

Mr Hendrickse said that people who expected white capitulation in the present circumstances "need their heads read".

He was becoming "impatient" with the rate of progress, although, he said, the end of forced removals was a very important step.

The decision not to hand over control of black spot Mgwali to Ciskei was taken against the wishes of conservatives within the National Party and was laudable.

He said he wished to remind the government that the party had decided, with conditions, to participate for only five years.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, also addressed the Labour Party meeting on the current security situation in South Africa.

Mr Le Grange, who was accompanied by several high-ranking officials of his department, spoke at the request of the party in the wake of several attacks on Labour MPs.

Botha slams
ANC talks

Business Day Reporters and Sapa

STATE President P W Botha has come out strongly against the planned talks between top South African businessmen and the African National Congress.

Botha yesterday issued a statement distancing himself from the proposed meeting, saying he had "strongly advised against it" when "a leading South African" informed him of the plan.

"As long as the ANC is under communist leadership and supports violence in South Africa, there can be no question of me approving discussions with them.

"I want to warn South Africans against communist tactics of this kind and I regard such attempts as unwise and even disloyal to the young men who are sacrificing their lives in defending South Africa's safety," Botha said.

Yesterday both ANC and Zambian sources were not prepared to say whether Botha's hard line had endangered the meeting.

Court grants interdict restraining police

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — An interim interdict to restrain police from assaulting and torturing an awaiting trial prisoner, Mr Tetani Jordan, was granted in the Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday.

The return date for the hearing is October 24.

According to an affidavit lodged in support of an urgent application heard by Mr Justice Eksteen yesterday, Mr Jordan, a volunteer worker at the East London Crisis Centre, said he was arrested on Monday, September 2 in Duncan Village.

On Wednesday, September 4, he appeared in the magistrate's court and was charged with public violence. The case was postponed to September 18 and bail refused.

Mr Jordan said he was assisted to court because he could not walk unaided after police had beaten and tortured him.

The co-respondents in the hearing are the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police.

According to a King William's Town lawyer,

Mr Dumisani Tabata, who is a partner in the firm of instructing attorneys, Mr Jordan was admitted to Frere Hospital last Saturday. He is under police guard while receiving treatment.

Mr Tabata said he did not know when Mr Jordan expected to be discharged.

The application heard yesterday called on the respondents to show cause why they should not be interdicted and restrained, for as long as the applicant was in custody, from directly or indirectly assaulting Mr Jordan unlawfully, interrogating him in any manner other than prescribed or permitted by law, employing undue or unlawful pressure on him, or subjecting him to any form of unlawful duress.

The respondents were also called on to show why they should not pay the costs of the application.

According to Mr Jordan's affidavit, he was subjected to "various assaults, torture and ill-treatment by persons whom I believe to be members of the South African Police" from the time of arrest until he was admitted to hospital.

The affidavit said a policeman had sat heavily on Mr Jordan's back a number of times while he was handcuffed to a bench.

"This caused me considerable pain."

Mr Jordan said a "dark rubber object" was then forced over his head. "It was very tight. I could not see through it or out of it. It was very difficult for me to breathe normally."

He "saw lights" in his eyes when he felt the sensation of being shocked electrically. "It made my muscles contract and go into a sort of spasm."

Shortly after this an interrogator had asked him the whereabouts of Mr Steve Tshwete, the Border president of the UDF who went into hiding last month.

After refusing to make a statement he was allegedly beaten on the soles of his feet with an object that felt like a stick and given more electric shocks until he lost consciousness.

He was assaulted on a number of occasions after this and went for long periods without food, according to the affidavit.

Mr R. C. Allaway SC, assisted by Mr T. Pillay, appeared for Mr Jordan. The instructing attorneys were Smith, Tabata and Van Heerden.

Don't hide behind Inkatha's skirts

11A
SOWETO

SOWETO 10/9/85

**BUTHELEZI
WARNS
WHITES**

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday the and Inkatha could not hold revolutionary forces at bay if whites continued to remain reluctant to work towards change.

He was addressing a meeting of the joint committee of the Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, the Natal Chamber of Industries, and the Durban Sugar Association.

Chief Buthelezi said he was disturbed by suggestions that it had been his leadership which had prevented the outbreak of serious violence in the Natal/KwaZulu area.

Such remarks showed a lack of awareness about the depth of black anger in the area, he said.

Anger

"If whites think they can hide behind the skirts of Inkatha and that Inkatha is capable of stemming black anger in the face of the state president's refusal to take real steps towards power-sharing, they will be proven wrong in the end. No matter how effective my leadership is, I cannot hold revolutionary forces at bay while whites remain politically recalcitrant."

Chief Buthelezi appealed to Natal business leaders to talk seriously with white leaders in the province about the need

for joint structures with the real meaning and real powers.

"I am asking big business to strengthen the resolve of white Natalians to make bold steps forward and show the

many millions who support the politics of reconciliation . . . that it is

not futile for blacks at this juncture in our history to hold out their hands in friendship and to take the first steps to-



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

wards compromise solutions."

In times of urgent decision-making, the resolve to work towards fundamental change had to be strengthened, Chief Buthelezi said.

Family ^{of} ~~to~~ visit ~~Mandela~~
Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela and her two daughters will tomorrow pay a special visit to imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The visit was authorized by the Prisons Service following an application by Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, to have Mr Mandela examined by his family doctor after prison authorities announced he had undergone urological tests on Thursday last week.

Prisons officials confirmed in Pretoria yesterday that Mr Mandela, 67, is receiving "preventative urological treatment" following a visit to Woodstock Hospital last week.

The application for an independent examination by a doctor selected by the family would be considered after this visit had taken place, and also only if Mr Mandela himself requested such an examination, the spokesman added.

Mr Ayob said Mrs Mandela had been "frantic with worry" and not reassured by the "bland" statements from prison authorities after hours of inquiries on Mr Mandela's condition. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

Pressure grows as UK rules out 'formal ANC contacts'

11A 116 B. Day 10/9/85



KIND

LONDON — The British government has ruled out "formal contacts" with the African National Congress in the face of mounting domestic opposition to its "no-contact" policy.

Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Office Minister responsible for SA, re-iterated Britain's stance at the weekend as leading SA businessmen pondered their much-publicised venture to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

President P W Botha's disapproval of the planned meeting was yesterday given front-page treatment by major British newspapers, which also reported growing doubts by some of

JOHN BATTERSBY

the delegates that the visit would go ahead.

However, a spokesman for the ANC in London indicated that he expected the proposed meeting to proceed.

In an interview, Rifkind described the ANC as "a significant and important political force" and Nelson Mandela as "the most important representative of black opinion in SA".

Britain has repeatedly declined to comment on the planned visit to Lusaka by Anglo Ameri-

can chief Gavin Relly and other leading businessmen, but welcomed last month's business call for Pretoria to meet with all black leaders.

A Foreign Office spokesman yesterday pointed to Rifkind's insistence that the British government continue to refuse contact unless the ANC renounced violence.

"We would very much be in favour of the ANC renouncing violence... if that were possible contact could then take place," Rifkind said.

"The UK has a consistent policy on formal contact with organisations committed to vio-

lence, whether it be the IRA, the PLO or the ANC."

The Times yesterday urged the government to talk to the ANC and pointed out that in terms of current policy it would be impossible to officially welcome Mandela if he was released.

Britain's dilemma is highlighted by its repeated calls for Mandela's "immediate and unconditional" release and Rifkind's description of the ANC chief.

ANC president Oliver Tambo is expected to visit Britain later this month to address the Labour Party's annual conference in Bournemouth.

Business meeting is on, says ANC

LESLEY LAMBERT

THE ANC confirmed yesterday that proposed talks with South African businessmen will go ahead "very soon".

ANC spokesman, Tom Sebina, told *Business Day* by telephone from Lusaka that the group of businessmen were expected to arrive at an arranged meeting place "somewhere in Africa" soon.

He would not commit the ANC to a date, but conceded: "The days are moving closer to our meeting."

Reacting to reports that the US also intended to talk to the ANC, Sebina said this would depend on the Reagan Admin-

istration's commitment to pressuring for radical policy change in South Africa.

"We would find it difficult to justify talks with the US Administration which has made its attitude towards the ANC very clear.

"We are not going to bribe the US Government into changing its negative attitude towards us.

"But if they want to initiate talks, then they must commit themselves to bringing pressure on the apartheid policies of

the South African government." Sebina refused to confirm the identity of the South Africans "until they have done so themselves. Nor will I tell you where in Africa we are meeting."

"We respect their need for confidentiality, just as we hope they respect ours."

Anglo American chairman Gavin Rely and Premier Milling chairman Tony Bloom are playing a major role in the proposed talks, while Hugh Murray, publisher of *Leadership SA*, is said to be arranging the meeting.

CAPT THS 10/9/85 11A

No purpose in talking to ANC — Le Grange

'Alliance to show another way out'

From COLIN HOWELL
JOHANNESBURG. — More than 660 people had died in unrest in the past year, about 2 400 others injured and damage to property amounted to at least R93-million, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said last night.

come a status symbol. "But they forget that the declared policy of the ANC is violence with no alternative, while it does not distinguish between hard and soft targets," said Mr Le Grange.

"Discussion with an organization involved in armed conflict with our country cannot serve any useful purpose and should be discouraged," he said.

Releasing statistics related to the 12-month period of unrest in South Africa, Mr Le Grange said about a third of the 660 people who had died were killed by "citizens" who, similarly, had been responsible for injuries received by about a

third of the 2 400 people wounded in the unrest.

"The security forces lost 11 members while 357 were hurt or wounded," he said.

Damage to property — chiefly in black areas — amounted to about R93-million, he added.

But, only 15 percent of all community councils and 7 percent of black local managements were "out of order" and no more than 8 percent of black pupils were boycotting schools, he said.

Discussing the security situation in South Africa, Mr Le Grange said there had been 83 incidents of "terror or sabotage" in the country so far this year.

"We arrested 11 terrorists and killed nine others," he said. "Since 1976, we have succeeded in arresting a total of 196 terrorists while 73 others were killed in clashes with police."

Caches

He said a number of arms caches had been discovered recently in South Africa.

"In one cache, we found a silencer and ammunition and in another we found remote-control mechanisms for controlling motor bombs similar to the one that exploded in Church Street, Pretoria, in 1983."

The government was also aware of "an alarming increase in terrorist arms and explosives in some Southern African countries".

Undercover bases of "the revolutionary alliance against South Africa" had been set up in Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

"Terrorists are being trained on a short-term basis in some of these countries and recently we arrested some men who operated from Lesotho into the Transkei and Eastern Cape," said Mr Le Grange.

By RIAAN SMIT

STELLENBOSCH. — Right-wing violence is as much a threat as left-wing violence, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, told a meeting of 300 students here last night.

Dr Slabbert spoke on the need for a convention alliance "to show the government that there is another way out of the cycle of repression and violence in which we are trapped".

He said it was simplistic to present South Africa to the outside world as a large black township surrounded by white security forces. The real danger emerged when violence in black townships spilled over into white suburbs because whites would then be radicalised.

"You will have to decide if you are going to grab stones and at whom you are going to direct it," Dr Slabbert added.

He said reform must stop this threat, but he did not see this kind of reform coming from the government.

A further result of the government's inability to enact basic reform — such as freedom of association — is increasing polarisation around a brutally enforced status quo and those seeking to destroy the status quo through violent means.

The formation of a



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

convention alliance can prevent such polarisation by crystallising a middle ground in the South African political spectrum.

Dr Slabbert stressed that "calling for a convention alliance to be formed is not calling for a national convention". He added that not only was the climate for a national convention wrong, but also the structure of society.

"The wrong climate and structure can be blamed for the situation where ordinary people do not have the opportunity to freely demonstrate who the leaders are that they respect to go to a convention to represent their interests," he said.

In response to a question, Dr Slabbert dismissed allegations that he was trying to fill the leadership void created by government repression.

Police explain funeral deaths

Staff Reporter

BOTH MEN whom security forces shot and killed after the burial of Guguletu unrest victims on Saturday had been involved in the petrol bombing of patrolling Casspirs, police said yesterday.

The two men, aged 19 and 28, were shot in separate incidents in Guguletu when violence erupted after thousands of mourners returned from the cemetery.

Their identities had

not been released by late yesterday.

On Saturday the township was sealed off to all except blacks before the funeral and police initially kept a low profile.

However, violence erupted shortly after 6pm when police investigated a pall of smoke in the Lansdowne Road area.

Several Casspirs were petrol-bombed and police had responded by firing shotguns, a spokesman said.

ANC presses the EEC to impose sanctions on SA

The Star's Foreign
News Service

LUXEMBOURG — An African National Congress delegation met senior European Economic Community officials yesterday for the first time to try to persuade them to impose sanctions on South Africa.

The EEC also met Organisation of African Unity and Caribbean and Pacific delegations, who were making the same plea.

Today the ANC delegation will meet Mr Jacques Poos, the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, which holds the EEC presidency, and Mr Willy de Clerq, the EEC commissioner for external affairs and trade.

Yesterday's meeting took place as the EEC Council of Ministers met to try to thrash out a policy on South Africa.

The EEC troika of Foreign Ministers, which visited South Africa on a fact-finding mission recently, ignored calls to travel to Lusaka to meet ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

The meeting today will fuel pressure for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to meet Mr Tambo

when he visits Britain for the Labour Party congress later this year.

Britain has consistently refused any such meeting — because the ANC is trying to overthrow, by violent means, a country with whom Britain has diplomatic relations.

But opponents point out Britain has talked to Swapo and Unita. They say if South African businessmen and the EEC are prepared to meet the ANC, there is little reason for Britain not to.

Weekend statements by Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Britain's South Africa expert, identifying Nelson Mandela as one of the most important leaders in South Africa and the ANC as one of the most important groups, will add to this pressure.

The EEC also met the Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday, after 12 AAM branches from eight EEC countries met in Brussels on Sunday. They called on the EEC to impose sanctions, implement United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibian independence, and consult the ANC as the "legitimate representative of the people of South Africa".

● See Page 17.

Azapo bus stoned

ABOUT 60 Azapo mem-
bers returning from a
meeting escaped death
when their bus was alle-
gedly intercepted by
armed Inkatha members
in Maritzburg at the
weekend. *af*

Four members es-
caped with stab wounds
while others fled to
safety unhurt, according
to an Azapo spokesman.

The Azapo members
were on their way to
Durban via Imbali town-
ship near Maritzburg,
where some delegates

were to alight. The
group was returning
from a Black Conscious-
ness Week meeting
which took place at
Maritzburg's Lay Ecu-
menical Centre

The Azapo spokes-
man said: "The bus car-
rying our members was
attacked next to Imbali
township's civic centre,
where the local Inkatha
branch was holding a
meeting. The bus was
stoned and 10 members
trapped in the skirmish
were ferried to safety."

Sovnetan

10/9/85

Mayor Fabel stirs up a rumpus

10/9/85

11A 266 235
Own Correspondent

MAYOR of Johannesburg Ernie Fabel caused a rumpus in Israel this week when he said imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela "should have been killed".



FABEL

Fabel's remark — which has sparked an international controversy — was made during a three-day visit to Israel on the invitation of the Mayor of Jerusalem.

Addressing a Press conference in Tel

Aviv, Fabel made the remark in reply to a question by an Israeli reporter on why the government would not release Mandela.

The question was put to him by a correspondent for the BophuthsaTwana independent radio station, Music Radio 702, which yesterday broadcast the controversial reply.

Fabel said: "Why does the world want him freed? He should have been killed in the first instance. He is a terrorist. But

we try to talk, we try to cope with a situation. In any other country, in most countries, Mandela would not have been alive."

Yesterday the Department of Foreign Affairs declined to comment on Fabel's statement, saying the matter was a Johannesburg City Council affair.

A senior lecturer at the department of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Phillip Frankel, said the remark was hysterical and commented: "I'm sure this will be regarded as a major faux pas for the city council."

British 'No'

to contact
with ANC

London Bureau

THE British Government has ruled out any 'formal contacts' with the banned African National Congress. Mr Malcolm Rifkin, the British Foreign Office Minister responsible for South Africa, reiterated Britain's stance at the weekend as leading South African businessmen pondered their much-publicised venture to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

President Botha's disapproval of the planned meeting was given front-page treatment by major British newspapers yesterday, which also reported growing doubts by members of the delegation that the visit would go ahead.

But an ANC spokesman in London indicated that he expected the proposed meeting would still go ahead.

Inkatha 'can't shield whites from anger'

11A

10/9/85 Mercury

African Affairs Correspondent

IF WHITES think that they can 'hide behind the skirts of Inkatha' and that Inkatha is capable of stemming black anger in the face of President Botha's refusal to take real steps toward power-sharing, they will be proved wrong in the end.

This was said in Ulundi yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when he addressed a joint committee of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of

Commerce, the Natal Chamber of Industries and the South African Sugar Association.

He asked that big business sit down with white political leaders in Natal to talk 'quietly and seriously' about the need for joint structures with 'real meaning' and 'real powers'.

Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu/Natal had been relatively quiet during the past year of turmoil in South Africa. People had often said to him that they appreciated his leadership which could keep the forces of violence at bay.

'Every time I heard these sentiments, I was filled with unease because the remarks showed a lack of awareness of the depth of black anger here in our midst.

'The remarks were made as though blacks in this part of South Africa were immune to the forces which were at work in other parts of South Africa.'

He said his forebodings about the extent to which violence could sweep into KwaZulu/Natal had been proved to have substance around the Greater Durban area recently.

Whatever was said and done, there was a wide perception that Inkatha was a force to be reckoned with.

'Whites, Indians and coloureds in this part of South Africa must realise that, no matter how effective my leadership is, I cannot hold the forces of revolution at bay while whites remain politically recalcitrant.'

Chief Buthelezi said that in making his request for big business to talk seriously with the Natal Provincial Administration and white political leaders in Natal, he was not saying anything pessimistic about talks already in progress between the Natal Provincial Executive Committee and the KwaZulu Cabinet.

'The talks we are having are constructive, and there is a greater prospect now than there ever has been of black and white agreeing to sharing power in this part of South Africa.'

'But it is not yet an accomplished fact, and all concerned are susceptible to national pressures.'

He said people outside of Natal were more 'timid' than those in the province.

Friendship

'I am asking big business to strengthen the resolve of white Natalians to take bold steps forward, and to show the many millions who pursue the politics of reconciliation I pursue in a wide range of different constituencies, that it is not futile for blacks at this juncture of history to hold out the hand in friendship and to take the first steps towards compromise solutions.'

After the meeting, the business delegates expressed support for an appeal by Chief Buthelezi to the Government for the dissolution of the Natal Provincial Council to be postponed until a suitable joint decision-making structure has been created.

In a joint statement, they said the meeting had been held as a result of an urgent need for some basis of joint decision-making to be achieved between KwaZulu and Natal as soon as possible.

Mandela family gets extra visit

NELSON Mandela's wife and two of his daughters have been given permission to pay a "special additional visit" to the elderly prisoner who was receiving "preventative urological treatment", a spokesman for the Prisons Service confirmed in Pretoria yesterday.

A request for Mandela to be examined by a doctor selected by the

family would be considered after the visit and if Mandela himself requested such an examination, he said in response to media inquiries.

10/9/85
The Prisons Service confirmed on Friday night that Mandela (67) had been examined by a urologist at the Woodstock Hospital in Cape Town on Thursday.

He had been returned to Pollsmoor Prison and

any further medical treatment would be carried out, if necessary, in accordance with the urologist's instructions, the Prisons Service said.

On Friday night, Mrs Winnie Mandela was reported to be "frantic with worry" over her husband's condition and Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismael Ayob, said an urgent application would be made for an independent medical examina-

tion by a doctor nominated by the family.

The Prisons Service spokesman yesterday emphasised that the number of visits Mandela was allowed had not been used up.

Treatment

Mr Ayob said an application would also be made for Mrs Mandela, who had used up all her allowed visits until Christmas, to visit her

husband. *SOWETAN*

Asked yesterday if Mandela was in fact ill, the Prisons Service spokesman said the prisoner was "receiving preventative urological treatment".

It was not regarded as ethical conduct to give details of treatment being received by individual prisoners, and it was also a personal matter, the spokesman added.

The spokesman confirmed that the commanding officer at Pollsmoor Prison had received an application on Saturday from Mr Ayob for permission for a visit by Mrs Mandela. He said Mr Ayob had a reply.

Mandela, leader of the banned African National Congress, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. — Sapa.



Mrs WINNIE MANDELA

Moloiase petition to President yesterday

Transvaal Bureau

JOHANNESBURG — Attorneys for Benjamin Moloiase, due to have been executed three weeks ago, submitted a petition to President P. W. Botha yesterday to save his life.

Moloiase, a poet and upholsterer, was to have been hanged in Pretoria on August 21, but was granted a three-week stay of execution hours before he was due to go to the gallows — on condition his legal advisers submitted the petition for consideration within that period.

The 21 days expire today.

Moloiase was convicted in 1983 of killing a security policeman in Mamelodi near Pretoria.

Yesterday his attorneys' office confirmed they were ready with the petition and planned to submit it to Mr Botha yesterday afternoon.

The attorneys handed the petition, based on a sociologist's report, as new evidence to the State President, hoping that the trial will be reopened.

Earlier, in an unprecedented move, the African National Congress headquarters in Zimbabwe offered to pro-

duce evidence showing that Moloiase, an ANC sympathiser, was not responsible for the 1982 killing. 11/09/85

Moloiase's attorneys also indicated there were a number of irregularities in the conviction and sentence and new evidence would be presented to the State President.

A previous plea for clemency was refused by Mr Botha and in a last-minute bid his mother, Pauline, made a plea to the international community to pressure the State President into granting clemency.

A wide range of international governments and organisations, including the United Nations Security Council, joined in the plea to have Moloiase's life saved.

CAPE Times 12/9/83

Perret to report on Boesak visit

Staff Reporter

THE general secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), Dr Edmond Perret, returns to Geneva today to report back on his interview in prison on Tuesday with the organization's detained president, Dr Allan Boesak.

A strong and renewed condemnation from the international church community on Dr Boesak's and other prominent leaders' detention is expected. Dr Perret indicated at a press conference yesterday.

There was also a possibility Dr Boesak could be released soon.

Dr Perret said his meeting with the United Democratic Front patron had lasted an hour and that a security police officer, a Major Nel, was present.

"One of the conditions of the visit was that we

would not discuss Allan's detention or the reasons for the detention," he said.

"Allan told me that he was well under the present circumstances — but I could not question him as to what he meant by 'present circumstances'. He is being held in solitary confinement and I was under the impression that he was tired although one gained the impression he still maintained a sense of humour.

"Allan said to me he saw no reason for his detention to continue for a long time.

"He reaffirmed to me his commitment to non-violence and said he was ready to give an account of his faith and action before any authority.

"On my return to Geneva, I will report on my visit to our 157 member churches throughout the world."

W. Mail • 12/9/85 Weekly Mail

The wild frontiers return to

Once it was a frontier town, the place where black and white first met and clashed. Today, there's the same feeling of tension and conflict. But, this time, the whites, both liberals and conservatives, are eager to talk. If only they can find someone to talk to ... ANTON HARBER reports

IF you had been driving through the East London city centre at peak hour on Saturday morning, one thing would have caught your attention: there were no black faces.

A city, previously blacker in complexion than most South African cities, had lost almost all its black shoppers — boycotting in support of a series of demands for local reform and national political change.

"You're not going to Duncan Village, are you?" a car-hire woman asked me.

"If you're going there, we can't possibly rent you a car. We lose too many that way. Our insurance people won't let us anymore."

In Duncan Village, the black township tucked into a corner of the city, you would have found the black faces missing from the city centre. Tens of thousands of people were packed into the local stadium for the funeral of 18 victims of recent unrest.

"This is the time for us to take a considered decision," a funeral speaker said.

"We must not stand still. Before, we stood still and we fell; then we retreated and we still fell. Now we must move forward. We must not die standing still.

"We must know this is a war zone. When we go home, we will meet the forces of oppression who will use their weapons against us.

"We are going to use our feet. We are going to kick them. We are going to fist them, if it comes to that. We are going to shoot them, if it comes to



Bishop Orsman of Grahamstown examines sneeze powder found on the graves before last week's unrest funeral

A mourner carries a child's coffin draped in UDF colours — red, black and green — at a funeral in Duncan Village.

"We are going to do everything we need for our liberation," the speaker said.

Anyone who doubted this needed only to see 30 000 people rising to their feet, pretending to hold guns pointed at the ground, running on the spot and chanting, "Soldier, soldier" in unison.

They needed to see the crowd jumping to their feet at the chants "Viva Tambo", "Viva ANC" and "Viva Communist Party of SA".

This was East London last week. It resembled the frontier city it was in the 19th century.

The region was then named Border because it was the meeting place of the white Cape Colony and the independent Xhosa state; it was the frontier of white settlement.

Now it has that same feeling of omnipresent tension and ongoing conflict that one associates with a frontier.

On any day this week, one could stand on the edge of Duncan Village and see at least two buildings burning. Most of them had been burnt before, but the arsonists had nothing left to burn.

So they returned to the charred

wrecks — of the nine schools, most of the houses of the local councillors, the community hall and the beer hall — and did their utmost to burn them again.

One could see Security Force Casspirs racing around the township, and occasionally one could hear bullet shots. One could see youths running in groups around the township, sometimes singing and clapping.

At the edge of the township, a group of volunteers run a crisis clinic in a church hall. Hearing gunshots, they prepare for an influx of wounded people.

They have dealt with over 200 injured township residents in the last three weeks. Most of the victims were shot with buckshot, some with bullets or rubber bullets.

Most were shot in the back and most told the crisis workers they had been shot from moving vehicles.

Duncan Village erupted after the funeral of Durban lawyer Victoria Mxenge in King Williamstown on August 11. But even before this, the consumer boycott had hit the town.

Called by a special committee in support of a combination of local and national political demands, the boycott

has had a devastating effect. Local commerce — particularly the small retailer — is reeling from the blow. Small shops are starting to close.

Not that all white commerce is suffering. Unlike boycotts elsewhere, this boycott is aimed at the city centre, rather than at white shops.

This means that white-owned shops in or on the edge of the townships are thriving. Indian and coloured-owned shops in town are suffering.

The effect has been to bring black discontent out of the townships and into the central streets of East London. On the day of the funeral,

The gulf between the oak desk and the graveside

PIET DEPONTES, the National Party MP for East London, sits in a large office behind an oak desk and in front of a South African flag and a portrait of PW Botha. He is a young lawyer and a verligte in his party.

Steve Tshwete, the regional president of the United Democratic Front, appeared briefly to address the funeral in Duncan Village last week ... and then disappeared again. He has been on the run from the Security Police since giving them the slip when they tried to detain him last week.

These two men, on opposite poles of the political spectrum, sum up the conflict and deadlock that grips East London. Further, their opinions encapsulate the vast gulf that exists between even verligte members of the government and hardline leaders of the United Democratic Front.

Depontes, who has been part of a campaign to break the consumer boycott, does not believe the boycott will last. "The boycott is only as successful as the community will allow it to be. And there are already signs of pressure building up to break the boycott."

He alleges that it is disrupting the lifestyles of ordinary people and they are being subjected to exploitation in the township shops.

The National Party MP blames the boycott on intimidation. The local UDF leader says it's proof of grassroots solidarity. The only point the two men agree on is that normal life has been utterly disrupted

Furthermore, it survives largely by intimidation. "The vast majority of people in the middle are participating because of fear. Youths, a volatile element in any society, are being used, specifically in relation to violence.

"Real leaders are being intimidated and physically prevented from coming to the fore," he said in an interview.

Tshwete, a key figure in the boycott call, sneered at this in a separate interview conducted when he appeared unexpectedly at the Duncan Village funeral.

"There is no chance at all of it ending soon. We are using it as a handy weapon to exert pressure, not only on local businessmen, but on the national government to make them accede to the demands of the people".

He is angered by suggestions that a minority is intimidating people into boycotting. "We take strong exception to this. We are democrats concerned about the situation. People don't need to be intimidated. They know they

have power and want to use it now.

"People are tired of the oppressive system. You can see the deplorable conditions our people live under here," he said.

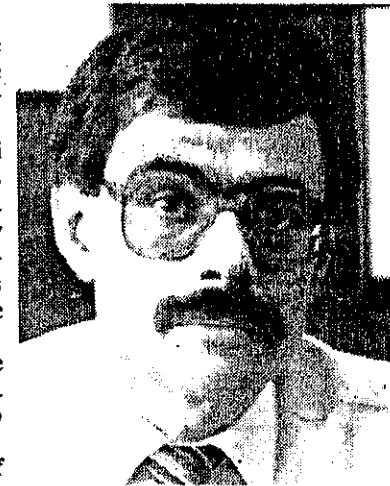
An anti-boycott pamphlet dropped by helicopter on the townships recently has angered him further. "We are even more angry now because the pamphlet called on so-called Xhosas to stop the boycott. This is an insult to the people. We have gone beyond tribalism," he said.

Depontes believes avidly that the UDF is a minority group of radicals. The "real" leaders are moderates who are still to emerge.

Tshwete points to the number of people who attended the Duncan Village funeral last week — approximately 30 000 — as proof of UDF support. "No-one forced them to be there," he said.

Certainly, anyone who attended the funeral had to be convinced of the extent and depth of UDF support, and the strength and militancy of the inhabitants of the village.

Depontes, however, would brook no suggestion that the majority of people were anything but moderates. Most of those at the funeral were from outside Duncan Village, or they were there out of fear, he said.



MP Piet Depontes

"By that I am not saying there are no grievances and all of this can be ascribed to fear. It is also fed by ignorance.

"It would be false to say all the people there subscribed to the cause of the ANC or the UDF. They don't even know what the ANC stands for."

"You are dealing with a community that is to a large extent ignorant. If you couple this with grievances, then it is easy to mobilise support, not necessarily based on identification with an ideology, but out of fear

coupled with ignorance and intimidation," he said.

These are the statements that infuriate Tshwete. "The huge crowd (at the funeral) is ample sign that the forces of change, of real change, command the majority of people," he said.

Depontes accuses the UDF of using violence and intimidation. The Security Forces acted only to protect the community.

Tshwete accuses the police of using violence against peaceful protesters and innocent people. The community used violence only in response to this.

But the greatest gap between the two men comes in their views on negotiations.

De Pontes, like many of the white leaders of East London, said he wanted to talk to the "real" leaders of the boycott. "We have invited anyone to talk to us if they want to settle matters... If you want to negotiate with leaders, you have to have real leaders; otherwise there is no point."

But for Tshwete, the time for talking is over: "PW Botha must know he is not the only one to cross a Rubicon. We can and have also crossed it. We have no arms, but we have a determination to fight with whatever we have."



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

BOTHA IS LOST - CHIEF

Sowetan
12/9/85

11A
17

IT WAS not surprising that the international community could no longer be optimistic about President P W Botha's ultimate good intentions as it was very likely that he himself did not know where he was going, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said this in an aide memoire presented at discussions in Durban with Mr Hans H Angermueller, vice-president of America's giant Citibank.

He said reforms already undertaken paled into insignificance compared with what still needed to be done.

They could not in any way satisfy black aspirations or diffuse the present crisis.

Violence

The only way to deter escalating violence was by addressing those central issues concerning the imperative need to move towards power sharing between blacks and whites at every level of government.

Black leaders were expected to participate

SOWETAN
Correspondent

in bodies like the Special Cabinet Committee in which they were expected to discuss political and constitutional developments within the framework of a constitution which blacks totally rejected.

Chief Buthelezi said that as president of Inkatha, which had more than a million card-carrying members, everything he did has to be done openly and his constituents needed to know what he was negotiating about.

"The State President makes this impossible. He is perhaps secretive about where he is leading our country, but it is far more likely that he himself does not know where he is going."

Boesak known as catalyst for peace

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Detained church leader Dr Allan Boesak's role as a catalyst for "peace and reconciliation" in South Africa is the main theme in a documentary on his life televised here yesterday. Prominently featured in the film, "Allan Boesak, Choosing a Path of Justice", Dr Beyers Naude says: "The time will come when he (Dr Boesak) will be desperately needed to perform his role of peace and reconciliation in our country."

Made last year by Hugo Caspers with his mother, novelist Nadine Gordimer, the documentary is a pastiche of images that draws distinctions between the white and the black way of life, underscoring Dr Boesak's appraisal of a divided community and his work towards reconciliation.

News pictures record the Government's steel-fisted response to resistance.

The title echoes Dr Boesak's choice to remain in the Dutch Reformed Church and to stand up and be counted in the fight against apartheid. 12/9/85

But it also reflects another choice: whether or not to continue supporting non-violent protest. A dilemma, he says, he has yet to resolve.

Dr Boesak asks: "What in the world am I supposed to do? The response of the Government to our non-violent protests will not be to change the law, but to send out the military so that people will be killed. I am in a terrible dilemma."

But, he says, there is "lots of willingness in the black community to say to whites: 'Let's work this out together'."

The documentary shows Dr Boesak telling a packed United Democratic Front meeting: "Let us lay the foundations of reconciliation with the whites, praying together and struggling together against apartheid."

His mother says in the film she fears — for his and her sake — what may happen to him as a consequence of his stand against apartheid.

But, ironically, Dr Boesak says: "I have simply decided it is a waste of time to think about what the Government may do."

11A B. Day
12/9/82

Tutu warning on week stayaway

BISHOP Desmond Tutu has warned that a national week-long stayaway could go ahead next month unless government lifts the state of emergency and withdraws troops from townships.

Tutu told the National Initiative for Reconciliation in Maritzburg: "I am going to tell our people: 'Stock up, do not go out on the streets, stay indoors, the children must not go to school.'

"This is a non-violent strategy. If you want to identify with us so that we can change this country into what God wants it to be, then you are going to have to take that kind of action."

Change must come from within, says Chief Buthelezi

African Affairs
Correspondent

that it could be replaced
with 'decent and whole-
some things'

THE Chief Minister of
KwaZulu, Chief Mangosu-
thu Buthelezi, says blacks
must abandon the 'give
me something for noth-
ing' attitude.

Chief Buthelezi said it
was not only apartheid
which destroyed human
relationships, and it was
not the only evil system of
government under which
people lived.

Addressing the annual
meeting of the Natal Afri-
can Blind Society in
Durban yesterday, Chief
Buthelezi said this was
not just a message to the
blind but to all blacks.

If South Africans made
a national endeavour to
conquer poverty, igno-
rance and disease, they
could do it.

'We must abandon all
hope that our society can
be salvaged from without.
It must be salvaged from
within.'

He said the struggle for
liberation in South Africa
would not be won or lost
when the apartheid re-
gime was ousted and
apartheid was eradicated
as the 'scourge' that it
was.

The real struggle in the
country was to vanquish
apartheid in such a way

From Page 4

Biko's death. BC organisations were banned.

But the '76 and '77 unrest slashed open the old cleavage. As youngsters fled across the border, the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress were waiting for them fighting for their support.

The youngsters breathed new life into these organisations. But the differences seeped back home.

The unity that BC had created was smashed.

Blacks are angry

We are back where we were in 1955, the year the Freedom Charter was adopted. But this time we have the United Democratic Front on the one hand and the National Forum on the other.

The divide is still white participation in the black liberation struggle and the Freedom Charter.

The organisations that believe in the Freedom Charter were quick to notice the people's

anger in 1984/85. The economic recession is biting deep and blacks are angry.

The public relations section of these organisations has been almost professional. They seem to have left the black consciousness organisations behind.

The BC organisations on the other hand are complacent. They argue that the people who seem to be supporting the UDF now are doing so because of

sneer anger and not because of any ideological commitment.

They argue that very few blacks care for white participation in their struggle: they will always choose to chart their own course. They will refuse to transfer white domination from society in general to their own organisations.

But the truth is that the unity that Biko built so carefully — with his life — has been shattered.

12/9/85

Stephen Bantu Biko: born December 18, 1946, and died in a police cell on September 12, 1977.

He was only 30 when he died, but eight years after his death his spirit is still abroad in our land.

It is kept alive by the outrage at his death in police detention and much more importantly by the ideas he planted into the black community.

Earlier this year, two doctors who treated him just before his death, Dr Benjamin Tucker and Dr Ivor Lang, were found guilty of unprofessional conduct by the disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

Dr Tucker (64) was suspended from the medical register for three months, and this sentence was suspended for two years. Dr Lang (60) was cautioned and reprimanded.

Charges

And it had taken all of eight years and a Supreme Court hearing to get the two doctors to answer charges against them.

So today the world remembers the 47th person to die in police detention since detention without trial was introduced in 1963. There have been many more deaths since then...

But as the world remembers another death in detention, millions will be thinking of a man who gave them political orientation: Steve Biko has been called the father of Black Consciousness in this country.

In July, 1969, he was elected the first president of the South African Students Organisa-

Biko paid dearly for unity

FOCUS

By JOE THOLOE

tions (Saso), an organisation that was to change the political shape of South Africa.

Saso was a breakaway from the largely white National Union of South Africa Students. Black students had decided to chart their own course, free from white interference.

Saso was to spawn innumerable organisations, all adherents of Black Consciousness.

In fact Black Consciousness was part of a tradition that started when whites first arrived in this country.

Among the dispossessed there have always

been the two traditions — one believing that among the white invaders there would be some who sympathised with them, and the other saying the dispossessed themselves have to fight for their own liberation.

Black history in this country — and probably around the world — is the story of these two strains.

By 1960 the national liberation movement was split into two: the African National Congress, which had a loose alliance with whites, Indians and coloureds, and the Pan Africanist Congress, radical and rejecting white participation.

The Pan Africanist Congress's anti-pass campaign of March 21, 1960, led to the banning



STEVE BIKO... unity he built — with his life — has been shattered.

of both organisations.

Except for an upsurge in 1963, the two organisations went into exile and decline in the '60s.

Saso with young Biko at the helm, pumped new life into black politics.

Liberals

The black university students had hobnobbed with their liberal white colleagues and were disillusioned. The Saso slogan became: Black man you are on your own.

This placed them in the tradition that had been rejecting white liberal participation in black politics. But they broadened the meaning of black to include all the victims of apartheid.

This has raised questions about Biko and Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the PAC leader, having said the same things, but using different terminology. Before his death, Sobukwe told friends that Biko was

saying the same things, but much more clearly.

Biko and his lieutenants were banned, detained, and some went into exile. But black organisations, espousing Black Consciousness mushroomed, political organisations, trade unions, church organisations, and so on.

And, miracle of miracles, there appeared to be some unanimity in black politics. Black Consciousness during Biko's time was able to unite all the strains in our political life by excluding white liberal participation.

There are whites interested in blacks — there always will be. But it was made clear to them that their role was merely supportive, nothing more.

The 1976 upheavals occurred.

Black Consciousness had come of age. And in 1977, a few days after

To Page 5 →

IIA
Sowetan
12/9/85

Violence-threat seminary gets court aid

12/9/85

11A

W. de Wit

A SUPREME Court injunction in Pietermaritzburg this week has given the Federal Theological Seminary (Fedsem) a temporary reprieve from threats of violence.

The safety of students, staff and workers at Fedsem and the future of the seminary itself had been put in jeopardy last week by threats of violence from residents of the nearby township of Imbali.

Fedsem trains ministers for the Anglican, Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian and the black Presbyterian churches.

Trouble started on Sunday August 25 when about 200 stick-carrying Imbali residents approached the seminary and informed senior staff members including the president, K Mgojo, that the seminary was the cause of unrest in Imbali.

The seminary was warned that unless the buildings and grounds were vacated by 6pm last Friday, August 30, "things could get worse".

In the crowd were the mayor of Imbali and a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Patrick Pakkies, as well as the chairman of the local branch of Inkatha.

By CARINA LE GRANGE

This gave rise to the first allegations of Inkatha involvement. The Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) has since issued a statement to that effect - denied by Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who attacked the seminary authorities for "spreading malicious lies against Inkatha" in reports sent abroad.

Buthelezi (a member of the Anglican church), had been asked by church leaders to intervene and attend a meeting on the matter scheduled for September 4.

He has said he was "only too happy in the past to play a reconciliatory role as a Christian" but now threatens not to play any such part unless the seminary authorities withdraw the allegations of Inkatha involvement.

This is not the first clash involving the church and Inkatha. In 1983, the annual meeting of the Alliance of Black Reformed Churches in Southern Africa (Abreca) fled KwaNzimela at midnight after a busload of what had been described as "armed impis" arrived.

By last Friday however, threats were viewed serious enough for the seminary council to evacuate everyone from the campus, although it was decided at the same meeting that the seminary would not close.

In the court injunction this week, the seminary sought to restrain Pakkies and Ndlovu from inciting people to attack the seminary. It has been set down for hearing on September 19.

As a result, this week's meeting between Imbali leaders, seminary officials and Buthelezi did not take place.

Buthelezi has since stated that he had in fact intervened and assured the safety of Fedsem and acknowledged that allegations of Inkatha involvement were not made by Fedsem authorities.

He has also stressed that his intervention should not be seen as an admission of Inkatha involvement (Imbali falls outside the jurisdiction of KwaZulu) and said it was absurd that he should be seen as "favouring violence".

Buthelezi has, however, since then launched a scathing attack on the UDF



Bishop Desmond Tutu answers questions from the Press after delivering his address in Pietermaritzburg yesterday. With the bishop is Prof David Bosch (centre) and Mr Michael Cassidy, of Africa Enterprise.

Tutu threatens to organise week-long stayaway

Mercury
12/9/85
11A

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

NOBEL peace prize winner Desmond Tutu yesterday threatened to organise a national one-week stayaway next month unless the Government agreed to four demands, which included the lifting of the state of emergency.

* Addressing 400 Christian leaders, representing 47 denominations, at the National Initiative for Reconciliation Conference here, Bishop Tutu asked delegates whether they were 'ready to disobey unjust laws'.

He said: 'We, this body, must go and tell the Government to lift the state of emergency, get the SADF out of our black townships, charge or release those who have been detained and then sit down and talk to our leaders, the authentic representatives.'

The Bishop said that during the state of emergency the police were indemnified and had a licence to kill.

'I have had enough of our people being killed as if you are swatting flies.'

If the Government did not agree to the demands, Bishop Tutu said, then he would organise a national stayaway for a week.

'I will tell our people to stock up; don't go out in the streets because they will kill you, stay indoors. The children must not go to school. I know they will provoke you, they will throw tear-gas in your house. They have done that before.'

'This is a non-violent strategy. If you want to identify with us so that we can change this country according to what God wants it to be, then we are going to have to take that kind of action. Are you ready?'

Bishop Tutu said: 'Maybe white people still want to think about it. I think black people will no longer want to think about it because we are on the verge of a catastrophe.'

In his address to representatives from English and Afrikaans churches, including two military chaplains in their private capacities, and some African independent churches, Bishop Tutu said he doubted if anything significant could happen in the Church un-

less the white Dutch Reformed Church was not part of it.

'If the Dutch Reformed Church could recover their history when they were true to the Church of God, when they were hospitable to the poor and hungry and spoke for the voiceless, then we would have a bloodless revolution.'

Turning to the conference theme of reconciliation, Bishop Tutu said Christian reconciliation involved confrontation because the Cross was a confrontation with evil.

'How do you forgive someone who has not asked to be forgiven? You can't be reconciled when the foot is on your brother's neck.'

Logistics

Speaking at a Press conference after his address, Bishop Tutu said the longer people waited, the more difficult it would be to 'find an equitable solution which will not be costly'.

Referring to the proposed stayaway, he said whether the boycott happened or not depended on the Government's response 'and we hope the stayaway will not be necessary'.

'We are looking in terms of weeks and not months. I will need to sit down with the private sector and trade unions to discuss the logistics and we are looking at the second half of October.'

The Bishop said that just as the British concentration camps during the South African War had left their legacy on Afrikaners, so people should think what was being left for the posterity of black people.

The three-day conference, convened by the Pietermaritzburg-based evangelistic organisation Africa Enterprise, enters its final day today when Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban will address the conference.

B. Day 12/9/85

(11A)

Doctors advise surgery for jailed ANC chief Mandela

NELSON Mandela, the imprisoned African National Congress leader, has an enlarged prostate gland and doctors have advised him to have it removed, his daughter Zenani Dlamini said yesterday.

Examinations by doctors appointed by prison authorities had also revealed Mandela had cysts on his liver and right kidney, she said.

Dlamini read a prepared statement at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport after she, her sister Zinzi and mother Winnie had spent 80 minutes at Pollsmoor Prison on a special visit granted by prison authorities.

It was the first time the family had been together since Mandela was jailed 24 years ago, Dlamini said.

A prison official had been present throughout the visit and they had been allowed to discuss family matters only.

"My father looks very well and was very happy to see us," she said.

She said Mandela had been seen several times by prison doctors since March 23 and was X-rayed.

Last Thursday a second cystoscopy had been per-

formed under general anaesthesia and he was advised by prison authorities it revealed an enlarged prostate.

He also has cysts on his liver and right kidney, she said.

Mandela had been advised to have his prostate gland removed and the family had applied for doctors to be allowed to examine him and perform any tests or surgery at a hospital with the necessary facilities, she said.

His illness had caused great concern not only to the family but to people throughout the world. The family

had received a number of message news of Mandela's illness emerged

"The entire world recognises his and moral principles," Dlamini said

Winnie Mandela, a banned person quoted in South Africa, gave a ten foreign journalists at the airport.

Security police, friends and curia among them former Miss World An was en route to Johannesburg — 10

B. Day 12/9/85

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His illness had caused great concern not only to the family but to people throughout the world. The family

had received a number of messages of support since news of Mandela's illness emerged last week.

"The entire world recognises his integrity, honesty and moral principles," Dlamini said.

Winnie Mandela, a banned person who may not be quoted in South Africa, gave a lengthy interview to foreign journalists at the airport.

Security police, friends and curious bystanders — among them former Miss World Anneline Kriel, who was en route to Johannesburg — looked on. — Sapa.

SACC to
talk to
banned
S A groups

Mercury Correspondent

HARARE—The executive of the South African Council of Churches plans to talk to the country's banned terrorist organisations in order to portray more truthfully what their goals are, the council's general secretary, Dr. Beyers Naude, has disclosed here.

Interviewed at a conference organised by the Zimbabwe Christian Council, the 70-year-old churchman predicted current unrest would continue until blacks achieved full political rights.

Dr Naude said the SACC and all member denominations continued to advocate non-violence.

But the SACC has recognised it can no longer condemn those who have decided to enter into the violent struggle because of their convictions, he said.

He believed movement toward military rule in South Africa was inevitable if the emergency spread to at present unaffected areas of the country.

Dr Naude said that at its last meeting the SACC executive had voted to request a meeting with the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

The executive also resolved to speak to the liberation movements outside South Africa in order for us to portray more truthfully what actually their goals and aims are.

1100 1977 2116

system only reluctantly. They have usually been forced to do so because employers have refused to bargain with them in any other forum.

But Pwawu has become a substantial force in the industry. Negotiations without it would be meaningless, as it now represents 60% of the 10 000 hourly-paid workers in the industry. Also, paper industry employers seem to be less rigid than, for example, those in the metal industry.

One of the central problems is the relationship between Pwawu and the three old established artisan unions on the council — the SA Boilermakers' Society, the SA Electrical Workers' Association and the Amalgamated Engineering Union. There is a fifth union party to the council which represents black workers at two factories in Natal.

Pwawu argues it is handicapped because, while it is the majority union, each of the five unions is allocated one seat. The artisan unions are less militant in their demands and Pwawu finds their presence an obstacle to achieving better wages and working conditions for its largely unskilled and semi-skilled membership. Pwawu has unsuccessfully argued for proportional representation in recognition of the fact that it is by far the biggest union.

Worker participation

It also says the industrial council system prevents "proper worker participation." The union would like representatives from each of the 18 plants to participate in bargaining so as to facilitate consultation with members during negotiations. And it is suspicious of what it describes as the "old boys' club" atmosphere in which employers and the older unions negotiate.

The union's withdrawal from the council was finally precipitated by the rejection by the other unions and the employers of its proposal to increase the minimum wage in the industry from R1,65 to R2/hour.

Next month the council is to discuss its future. Mondi's Alan Young says the union's resignation from the council is "disappointing, as it comes at a time when all parties to the council were in agreement regarding the need to revise its structure. Pwawu was given the opportunity to make written submissions in this regard. It chose not to do so."

Responds the union spokesman: "We have always been prepared to discuss the matter with employers, but not under the auspices of the council."

Mike Walmsley, chairman of the Association of Pulp, Paper and Board Manufacturers of SA, says his association has strong views on the subject, but does not wish to make them public before they are made known to the other unions.

The paper industry dispute over industry-wide collective bargaining structures is one which will be played out in many other industries in the future. If Pwawu and the employers can set the lead in finding solutions they will have done SA's industrial relations scene a service. ■

CONSUMER BOYCOTT

Backfiring in Natal

The organisers of the national boycott campaign are spreading their boycott of white-owned businesses to Natal. But it could backfire badly in Durban because most of the black and Indian-owned shops which the boycotters would be obliged to turn to were destroyed in the recent unrest.

Backers of the boycott, a loose association of trade unions and community organisations, headed by the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), say they are aware of the difficulties but it won't dissuade them from going ahead. Instead, the main focus of the boycott will merely be directed elsewhere.



Inyanda's Gumed and Corobrik's Andrews... a helping hand

According to some estimates, around 120 "non-white" businesses — about 60% of the total — were either razed or looted in the violence which flared in the black townships of Umlazi, KwaMashu and Inanda several weeks ago.

Ironically, white business is being requested to contribute funds to have them restored. The SA Sugar Association has donated R50 000, and brick supplier Corobrik has contributed 120 000 bricks towards rebuilding (*Business* August 30).

Black traders themselves — those that remain — appear to be caught in the middle. The Umlazi chapter of the black Inyanda Chamber of Commerce has been asked by Fosatu to assist in their campaign. But, while Inyanda members claimed they were sympathetic to the underlying causes, they stopped short of actively co-operating.

Even on that they appear to be out of line. Inyanda president, Patrick Gumedede, rapped members for even meeting with the boycotters. Says Gumedede: "At a time when I am

busy appealing to the white private sector to assist in the rehabilitation of black businesses, I cannot on the other hand be seen to be condoning the actions of Fosatu, and all those who join them, in advocating the consumer boycott."

Given the difficulties, Fosatu education officer Alec Erwin says it would probably be a while before the boycott is felt by Durban traders. In the short term he says efforts will be directed at places like Hammarsdale, Cato Ridge, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg where black spending is at its heaviest. Later, other areas like Ladysmith, Newcastle and Empangeni will be targeted.

Erwin makes the point that the boycott in Natal is not an extension of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Maawu)/Sarmcol dispute which has already led to black consumer boycotts of white businesses in Howick and Pietermaritzburg.

He says it is part of the national boycott campaign and merely happens to coincide with Maawu's boycott strategy. As such, its primary objectives are the same — the lifting of the State of Emergency, the withdrawal of police and army units from the townships, the freeing of detainees and the granting of full political rights to all. ■

THE FALWELL VISIT

The funding issue

The Rev Gerry Falwell's five-day visit to SA in August was paid for by South Africans, who also arranged his itinerary. The venture has proved controversial in the US because of his support for Pretoria's reforms, and Falwell's call for greater economic aid for SA.

Speculation has surrounded the trip, and the US media have lent substance to speculation that Falwell's Moral Majority movement is mounting a campaign to reverse the tide of opinion against SA, and to get business to pour money back into the country. Some have hinted that South African money is backing the entire effort. Baptist preacher, Dr Gerry Prevo, who accompanied Falwell's delegation to SA, admitted to the *FM* that the trip was made at the invitation of a group of South African citizens.

Falwell expressed a desire to go to SA — and "South African citizens" responded by saying he should come and bring others too, Prevo said. He added that the SA citizens represented business interests, but declined to disclose anything more about the funding of the trip.

Prevo said the delegation came back from SA in support of government-initiated reforms: "Our recommendation is that the US stands firmly behind the government and tries to make up for the money that has flowed out of SA."

Prevo has in fact attempted to mobilise support for his stand in his home city, Anchorage, in Alaska. But he said that since his return he had found more support for sanc-

It's time to break up

the ghettos

DISPATCH 13/09/85

11A

In Cape Town, coloured pupils at white private schools no longer dare to wear their uniforms when they leave home. They change on the way to school.

In the townships of the Eastern Cape, the word bourgeois is an epithet that can trigger the destruction of a black man's car or his home.

When the youth-led community organisations called for a stay-away in March, the trade unions refused out of fear of retrenchments to give their support. The youngsters resorted to terror by burnings and beatings. The workers stayed at home.

In Soweto it is hardly different. An old woman is reported to have died after youngsters forced her to drink a litre of washing liquid she had bought in defiance of the trade boycott. Hard-working people trudge weary miles because the

youngsters won't let the buses run.

Successful pupils are kept out of school by dropouts; successful corporate employees are branded sell-outs by the jobless; successful businessmen are burned out by the idle.

At UCT, a student body which until recently seemed to be healing its racial divisions, has split again on racial lines and black students now go about the campus deliberately disrupting lectures.

Everywhere, the slogan of the young is "liberation before education".

Even in Cradock a school boycott lasted a year before it was called off, in part because of the damage to the educational prospects of the children.

Increasingly, co-operation with white society is frowned upon, and sometimes it is

savagely punished. The definition of "collaboration" for which one may be killed has been widened from black councillors and policemen to any beneficiary of "the system" — anybody who owns a better house, or a car, or sends his children to a private school, or has too good a job.

And everywhere, it is claimed that the methods used by the police serve to exacerbate rather than ameliorate conditions.

These observations, picked up on a recent trip to the main centres of violence around the country, illuminate the motives and the perceptions of the young — people ranging in age from 11 to 30 — who have turned the major metropolitan townships into angry cauldrons.

They believe, first of all, that "liberation" is at hand. They think they can spare a year or two to free the country be-

fore they return to their studies.

Secondly, they are not simply fighting apartheid or injustice but "the system" which, they say makes whites in general rich and blacks in general poor. So they attack anything that helps the white-dominated society to function.

Blacks who succeed

"liberation". They want anger to be kept at white heat.

Fourthly, they believe — and in this they are encouraged by influential white organisations and individuals — that any attempt to restore order or to establish calm is intended to restore "the system". So any action by police or army is condemned.

By KEN OWEN

are part of "the system", so it is permissible to burn their cars, loot their shops, and destroy their homes. Black children who go to white private schools are not only captives of "the system" but are guilty of "fraternisation".

Thirdly, they truly believe that anybody who tries to ameliorate hardship or soften conflict is an enemy of "the revolution" — a bourgeois obstacle to

Fifthly, they believe the mythology that capitalists respond only to threats to their pockets, and therefore they expect that the economic crisis will soon persuade the government to release Nelson Mandela and negotiate the terms on which to surrender power.

When they hear that white society is in economic crisis, they think, that moment is at hand. Rarely does reality in-

trude.

Isolated, segregated, under-educated, they don't know that they are simply the cannon fodder. They don't understand that their "revolution" is penned into the ghettos because it has no chance of breaking out.

They don't begin to imagine the immense depth of resources held in reserve by the state. They can't make the leap of imagination from sjamboks to helicopter gunships and from rubber bullets to tanks. They understand nothing of the organisation of an industrial society, or the vulnerability of urban communities to any breakdown in "the system".

When coloured youngsters tried to invade a white suburb at Kraaifontein, they ran into deadly fire from white households. So they turned back on the only targets within their reach, the surrogates for

"the system" within their own communities.

The truth is that they can't even make contact with "the system". So they burn the bakery van and the bus. They consume their own future, and by their destructiveness drive their own people back into the very poverty against which they rebel.

They have never heard of Marx, and they can't spell dialectic materialism, but they are following a Marxist prescription: attack the bourgeois order.

Until I made this journey I thought that the government's best move to create a climate for sensible negotiation — given its own internal constraints — was to abolish influx control so that the black middle classes would at least feel something of a wind of change.

Now I doubt it will be enough. A more urgent need is a major change

in the Group Areas Act, to permit the black middle class to escape from the ghetto where their lives, unless they join in the drive towards anarchy, become unbearable. The happiest black people today may well be those who live illegally in "white" Johannesburg.

It is an urgent need to create new, smaller, middle-class suburbs; break up the huge mass of township life; to introduce variety in the place of conformity; to give black people a means of progress from one lifestyle to another.

Above all, at any cost, it is an urgent need to give protection to moderates against the anarchy that prevails.

As long as the present conditions persist, any black leader who expresses a willingness to negotiate anything less than the terms of white surrender takes his life into his hands.

September 13 1985

Meeting to be 'exploratory'

Third-time lucky talks for ANC and business

11A

13/9/85

B. Day

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The meeting of top SA businessmen and African National Congress leaders — due to take place today — is the third attempt at such talks.

The meeting was to have taken place in June but was scrapped after the SADF raid on Gaborone.

Then a business delegation went to Lusaka in July but, because of a communications breakdown with the ANC, met only Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Sources close to ANC leaders and to Zambian diplomats confirmed this week that the talks would take place today.

It will be the first time senior businessmen talk to ANC leaders about South Africa's future.

Neither has a mandate to negotiate and the exercise is mutually recognised as exploratory.

The proposed meeting has the backing of organised business, including Assocom, the Afrikaanse Handels Instituut (AHI) and the South Africa Foundation.

State President P W Botha's belat-

ed finger-wagging has presented the business community with a challenge: to show they can back up their reformist rhetoric.

The move is being seen by some political observers as an indication government has lost the initiative, along with the support of bankers and local and overseas businessmen.

Many businessmen, they say, believe Botha does not have what it takes to lead the country on the road of fundamental reform.

In talks with black leaders, they add, businessmen could act as honest brokers between the ANC and government, using their collective clout to drag government into talks.

There are also other reasons for the meeting.

Economic sanctions have become a reality.

Businessmen also want to know the ANC stance on "soft targets", the armed struggle, communist links and free enterprise.

At a major conference in Kabwe, Zambia, the ANC blurred its former distinction between "hard" and "soft" targets.

It singled out the premises of companies engaged in industrial disputes with black staff as fair game for bomb attacks.

Having succeeded in making the townships ungovernable, the ANC has in recent weeks called for the resistance to be taken into the homes of whites.

After 25 years in the wilderness, the observers say, the ANC has caught the scent of victory in recent months.

The prospect of a business-ANC summit comes after more than a year of riots in which about 700 people have died, they note.

And in spite of a two-month-old state of emergency there is no sign of the violence abating and a string of political concessions has only fuelled the liberation expectations of radical black youth.

AREA A: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, The Cape, Durban, Germiston, Goodwood, Inanda, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Kimberley, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Kull's River, Nigel, Oberholzer, Pietermaritzburg, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Simonstown, Springs, Westonaria, Wonderboom, Wynberg; Municipal Areas: Bloemfontein, Paarl, Sasolburg, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Welkom, and Witbank, AREA B East London, Municipal Areas: Bethlehem, Ermelo, George, Grahamstown, Kroonstad, Ladysmith, Middelburg (TVL), Nelspruit, Newcastle, Oudtshoorn, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand, Wellington, and Worcester; Tzaneen, Uppington, Vredendal, Vryheid, and Zeerust;

CAPE TOWN ES 13/9/85
11A

Boesak vision 'shared by all'

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak, UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was detained because he tried to fulfil his calling as a committed minister of the Gospel, his wife, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, said last night.

Addressing a mass meeting of the Western Cape Traders' Association in Athlone, Mrs Boesak said:

"Allan was taken from his family and whisked off to a prison cell because he wanted to create a better South Africa for his children.

'The struggle'

"We have to continue the struggle without him, to fulfil his dream which is also our dream, for a South Africa without apartheid and racism.

"What the government does not realize is that Allan's vision is shared by all of us.

"Let them take away our leaders and brutalize and murder our children. The dream will live on and for every leader taken, scores will rise up his place."

'Subtle'

Earlier, Moulana Faried Esack told the meeting the government would embark on "more subtle forms of co-optation" to try to ensure its survival.

More and more people would be invited to participate in the existing economic structures.

People involved in the "struggle" were grateful for the support of the WCTA but were sceptical, feeling the support merely meant traders wanted to "save their own skins".

"If you want to be part of the struggle you must make sure you put your wealth at the disposal of the people.

"If you want to be taken seriously by the people you have to put your money where your mouths are.

Support

"We cannot be cheque-book participants in the struggle," he said.

Over 100 traders present unanimously adopted a resolution pledging their support to community organizations and the consumer boycott and demanding the removal of the SADF from townships, the release of detainees and the reopening of schools.

The meeting also voted unanimously to stop stocking or selling The Argus and to appeal to clientele not to read it.

The decision came after The Argus was sharply criticised for its news coverage. Speakers also detailed problems experienced in placing WCTA advertisements.

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

LUSAKA — The top secret talks between South African businessmen and the leaders of the African National Congress were switched from Lusaka to a remote game reserve in eastern Zambia this morning.

International newsmen who gathered at Lusaka airport to meet the business delegation from Johannesburg learnt after several hours that the Anglo American plane had filed a flight plan for Mfuwe in the Luangwa Valley.

President Kaunda is known to have a holiday lodge there.

Zambian Government and ANC sources remained tight-lipped about the highly sensitive talks, but according to some reports the South African delegation was much smaller than originally expected.

It was said to comprise two Anglo American officials, Mr Gavin Relly and Dr Zac de Beer, and Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling.

Others in the party were to include Mr Harold Pakendorf,

Business leaders' talks with ANC switched to secret Zambian venue

Capitalism as opposed to socialism will almost certainly be discussed when South African businessmen meet leaders of the ANC in Lusaka today, says Mr Gavin Relly.

Mr Relly, chairman of Anglo American and leader of the delegation to Lusaka, told *The Guardian* in London: "I don't like the word 'capitalism'. I do like the phrase 'free enterprise'. I think there is a considerable distinction between the two. In the South African context, when you talk about free enterprise, it implies important freedoms of movement and freedoms of choice which have not applied under the apartheid system."

Mr Relly denied that the purpose of the talks was to persuade ANC leaders of the superiority of capitalism. But he conceded that, if the talks focused on the Freedom Charter, the issue of capitalism versus socialism would almost certainly be discussed.

editor of an Afrikaans newspaper and Mr Hugh Murray of the magazine, *Leadership SA*.

The ANC delegation will be led by its president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Staff reporters and Sapa-Reuter reported earlier that

sources in Lusaka and South Africa had said that Mr Relly would lead a group of five businessmen.

Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand and Mr Chris Ball of Barclays Bank were mentioned as being in the group.

According to a spokesman for Mr Rosholt's office, he "will be away until Monday".

Today's meeting is widely believed to have been arranged by Mr Murray.

Lusaka sources said Mr Murray had been in and out of the Zambian capital for consultations with the Zambian leadership and the ANC.

The meeting will take place in defiance of the South African Government, which has publicly said it opposes any contact with organisations committed to its violent overthrow.

ANC officials in Lusaka said that their participation reflected the organisation's policy of talking to all who favoured the abolition of apartheid.

Today's talks are intended to open the way for further contacts, which both sides hope could lead ultimately to negotiations between Pretoria, the ANC and other black leaders.

The meeting will be followed at the weekend by a gathering in Maputo of leaders of the six Frontline states — Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — to review events in South Africa.

Pressure caused reform, says Tutu

STAC The Star Bureau (11A)

LONDON — This week's reform announcements by the Government were the result of pressure and not "because that's how they feel", Bishop Desmond Tutu has told BBC listeners. 13/9/85

Cautiously welcoming the President's Council recommendations on scrapping influx control, he said could not say "this is the miracle the country needs".

Conservative Party spokesman Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said cities would be burdened with unemployable, unskilled people.

But Black Sash president Ms Sheena Duncan and Mr Tony Bloom, chairman of the Premier Group, welcomed the proposals.

An emotional Ms Duncan said: "This is the first time I have had cause for hope in more than 30 years."

Lusaka trip was bad news for newsmen

Mercury Correspondent

(11A) Mercury (28)
14/9/85
HARARE—Yesterday's talks in Zambia between the African National Congress and leading South African businessmen turned into a nightmare for the droves of international Pressmen who flocked to Lusaka to cover the event.

The final blow came when they learned the meeting was taking place at a remote safari camp 400 km east of the city.

But this was preceded by a whole series of disasters. The first for most journalists was learning on arrival that every hotel bed was taken by delegates attending a World Health Organisation conference.

They spent an uncomfortable night in chairs or sleeping on floors. Came

the dawn, they found there were no hire cars to be had.

One American correspondent avoided the scramble for tickets on incoming flights by arriving in an executive jet, only to find the customs office closed for the night. She had to spend the night in the aircraft.

More bad news is that all flights out of Lusaka are fully booked and hotel beds, when they become available, will cost R300 a night or more, without meals.

ANC officials played down the meeting, but they could hardly match the low-key tone set by Harare's daily Herald, which described some of South Africa's most distinguished business figures as Pretoria traders' in a placard headline.

Business leaders in talks with terrorists

Mercury 14/9/85

11A

LUANGWA GAME PARK—Top South African businessmen huddled in the remote Luangwa Game Park, Zambia, yesterday with exiled black terrorist leaders in an unprecedented meeting both sides said could mark the beginning of bringing peace to their violence-racked country.

Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of South Africa's giant Anglo American company, said he emerged from the talks under the eye of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda 'with a good sense that more talks might lead to some fruitful conclusion'.

The delegation of white men who control much of South Africa's vast wealth and the terrorist chiefs of the banned African National Congress

fighting for black power met for six hours at Dr Kaunda's private Mfuwe lodge in eastern Zambia.

There was speculation that the meeting could lead to talks between the South African State President and the ANC.

Mr Botha has said he would never talk to the ANC unless it and its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela, renounced violence.

Mr Relly, describing South African big busi-

ness as reformist, called for the unconditional release of Mandela, 67, who has been imprisoned for life since a 1964 conviction for planning sabotage.

Changes

Mr Relly noted the ANC still refused to lay down its guns or even accept a pause in the violence.

He added: 'I believe today in the context of the changes that have been taking place (in South Africa), particularly in relation to citizenship and a number of discriminatory laws, and the prospect of the rest of the trappings of apartheid disappearing, the positions are not as greatly antagonistic as some might think.'

Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, and Mr Relly spoke to reporters separately at the Mfuwe air strip about 50 km north of Dr Kaunda's lodge. Dr Kaunda sat in on all of the talks.

Legitimate

In addition to Mr Relly, the South Africans were Mr Harald Pakendorf, editor of the Afrikaans-language newspaper the Vaderland, Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, Anglo American chief executive Zac de Beer, Mr Tony Bloom, head of Premier Milling, Mr Hugh Murray, editor of the magazine Leadership South Africa and Mr Pieter de le Sorour, head of the South Africa Foundation.

The South Africans went to Zambia in spite of Mr Botha's statement last Sunday that talking to the ANC was 'disloyal'.

'I would have thought that for South Africans of whatever persuasion to come together and discuss the future of their country was a perfectly legitimate occupation,' Mr Relly said.

Mr Tambo once shared a Johannesburg law practice with Mandela. He was interviewed by reporters, but he is banned in South Africa and his remarks may not be quoted. — (Sapa-AP)

Meeting

ANC *Cape Times* 'useful' — Relly

14/9/85
11A

LUANGWA GAME PARK, Zambia. — Top South African businessmen held talks with exiled African National Congress leaders here yesterday in an unprecedented meeting described by the business delegation as "useful".

Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American which controls 70 percent of the companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, said he emerged from the talks "with a good sense that more talks might lead to some fruitful conclusion".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, last night refused to allow the Cape Times to print the views expressed by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who led the ANC delegation.

However, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka said before the meeting that the talks provided a new channel of communication between the ANC and whites in South Africa.

Release Mandela

The delegations met for six hours at the private Mfuwe lodge of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in the dry bush of eastern Zambia about 400km east of Lusaka.

Mr Relly, describing South African big business as reformist, called for the unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, 67, who has been imprisoned for life since a 1964 conviction for planning sabotage.

Mr Relly noted that the ANC still refused to lay down arms or even accept a pause in the violence, which is the condition laid down by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for freeing Mr Mandela.

However, he said: "I believe today in the context of the changes that have been taking place, particularly in relation to citizenship and a number of discriminatory laws, and the prospect of the rest of the trappings of apartheid disappearing, the positions are not as greatly antagonistic as some might think."

Mr Tambo and Mr Relly spoke to reporters separately at the Mfuwe airstrip about 50km north of Dr Kaunda's lodge.

Mr Relly and his delegation, including two South African newspaper editors, immediately flew back to Johannesburg in a white and royal blue Gulfstream private jet.

On their return to Johannesburg last night, the group released a statement describing the informal talks as "a useful conversation lasting some hours".

"The two parties exchanged views on a variety of questions affecting South Africa and a fuller understanding of each other's attitudes was achieved," the statement said.

"There was no question of any negotiations, agreement or decision but it was felt that ground existed for further valuable discussions."

Mr Tambo, accompanied by five members of the ANC national executive committee, including Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of the ANC's information department, and Mr Mac Maharaj, left for Lusaka in a Zambian Air Force Buffalo transport aircraft.

Those reported to be part of the business delegation were Vaderland editor Mr Harald Pakendorf, Sunday Times editor Mr Tertius Myburgh, Anglo American chief executive Mr Zac de Beer, Premier Milling chief Mr Tony Bloom, Leadership magazine editor Mr Hugh Murray, South Africa Foundation head Mr Peter Sorour, Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand and Mr Chris Ball of Barclays Bank.

● Meanwhile, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce and the Federated Chamber of Industries yesterday issued a joint statement saying they had not been approached or consulted about the meeting and denied any involvement in the talks.

"There has been conjecture in the media about the involvement of the above organizations in the current visit of certain leading South African businessmen to Lusaka to meet with the ANC," the statement said.

Intense interest

"We wish to make it clear that we were not approached or consulted about this particular venture, which stems entirely from the personal initiative of the business leaders involved."

● John Battersby reports that there was intense interest in the talks among diplomatic and business circles in London.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said the British Government had no comment to make on the meeting, but officials conceded privately that the talks were being watched with great interest and were clearly a "potentially exciting" development. — Sapa-AP and UPI

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Equality, rule of law and democracy make only worthwhile future, says chief

Mercury Reporter

THE only future worth having in South Africa was one based on equality, the rule of law and a democratic government, said the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He was addressing about 500 Natal pupils at Hilton College last night on 'The South Africa I would like to see'.

The speech, organised by the Hilton College Forum, which has been reinstated as a platform to expose pupils to political opinion, was attended by pupils from Hilton, Michaelhouse, St Anne's Diocesan College and Girls' Collegiate.

'The South Africa I would like to see will only come about if we in this country do determined battle against injustice and inequality which racism has made

inherent in our society,' said Chief Buthelezi.

He said the rule of law, which was vital in every civilisation, could be suspended in South Africa by ministerial acts and by police officers.

'The rule of law has two essential elements in it — one is a judicial process and the other is equality before the law.

'In our country I have the highest regard for our

judiciary process. However our courts are faced with the need to make rulings within the framework of unjust laws and this violates the second essential ingredient in the true rule of law.

'In our constitution and in our law there are some laws which apply to whites and some which apply to blacks. There is gross inequality before the law in South Africa.'

Chief Buthelezi said unjust laws also contributed to making blacks the people who lived in squalid conditions and whites the people who lived in decency and luxury.

'It is unjust laws which distinguishes the quality of education which a black child gets and a white child gets, and it is unjust laws which are ultimately responsible for

the fact that the matric pass rate in black schools is usually below 20 percent,' he said.

But Chief Buthelezi said change would not be achieved through violence and bloodshed.

He said that instead of achieving a civilised democracy by wars, revolutions and killings it was necessary to negotiate and compromise.

Buthelezi call to white S A for changes

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday appealed to every white South African to urge the President to implement the dramatic changes in influx control and the pass system recommended by a President's Council committee yesterday.

In a statement, Chief

Buthelezi welcomed the fact that Mr Botha was addressing himself to the question of bringing about badly needed reform in pass and influx laws.

'The State President has shown yet again that he is facing the right direction,' he said.

If Mr Botha approved the changes in influx con-

trol proposed by Dr A Oosthuizen's committee and an identity document for all South Africans was produced by the Government, there would be 'more hope than ever before' of the reform process being meaningful, he said.

'And if the State President goes further and actually introduces legis-

lation at the soonest opportunity to implement the recommendations of Dr Oosthuizen's committee, then considerable progress will be made in de-escalating the levels of conflict now so apparent in South Africa.'

He said the President now had a chance of showing what kind of leader he was. — (Sapa)

Kand Mayor's View on Mandela

C Times
14/9/85

Own Correspondent:

JOHANNESBURG — The full text of the Mayor of Johannesburg's controversial statement to an Israeli reporter was broadcast on Bophuthatswana's independent radio station, Music Radio 702, yesterday morning.

The mayor, Mr Ernie Fabel, caused a rumpus on an official visit to Israel this week when he said imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela "should have been killed".

A Radio 702 spokesman, Mr Chris Gibbons, yesterday rejected allegations by Mr Fabel that he was quoted out of context and ran the uncut interview at 7am and 8am yesterday.

Earlier this week, the chairman of the management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer, said he had contacted Mr Fabel in Jerusalem. Mr Fabel told him he had been "quoted out of context".

The interview runs as follows

Correspondent: "There have been several calls throughout the world to release Nelson Mandela. What is the reason behind the government's refusal to release him?"

The mayor: "Why does the world want him freed?"

Correspondent: "He is considered a leader of the black people."

The mayor: "He is a terrorist. He should have been killed in the first instance. He is a terrorist. But we try. We try to talk. We try to cope with a situation in any other country, in most other countries. Mandela would not have been alive. But we thought that we could ... and you know that Mr Botha made him an offer which he would not accept."

Mr Fabel is on a visit to Denmark and could not be reached for comment.

Businessmen hopeful after meeting ANC

11A

STAR

14/9/85

LUSAKA — Top South African businessmen yesterday spoke for six hours with exiled African National Congress (ANC) leaders at the remote Luangwa Game Park, in an unprecedented meeting both sides said could mark the start of peace being brought to their violence-wracked country.

Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, said he emerged from the talks, held under the eye of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, "with a good sense that more talks might lead to some fruitful conclusion".

Mr Relly, describing South African big business as reformist, called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

The delegation of white men who control much of South Africa's wealth and the ANC group met at Dr Kaunda's private

fruitful' (11A)

From Page 1

Sorour, head of the South African Foundation.

Mr Tambo and Mr Relly said they were likely to meet again, but no date was set.

The ANC leaders insisted Mandela and other political detainees be released, Mr Relly said, adding: "A good number of business people in South Africa are also of the opinion Nelson Mandela should be released."

The businessmen came to Zambia despite Mr Botha's statement last Sunday that talking to the ANC was "disloyal" and that he disapproved. Mr Tambo reportedly admired their resolution in nonetheless attending the meeting.

Mr Tambo, it is understood, thanked President Kaunda for initiating a process he believed might turn out to be important. Mr Relly said there had been considerable unanimity of views about the importance for South Africa of structuring a coherent and sensible society.

There had been some disagreement about the way this should be done but enough common ground to make the prospect of further talks valuable.

According to a report from London by Michael Woolridge of the BBC, who saw the delegates at the lodge, the businessmen were returning to South Africa with a "message of hope".

Woolridge reported both groups felt the talks had been "very useful" and could even begin the process of peace in South Africa.

He spoke by telephone on a BBC radio programme minutes after South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, had said the Government and the ANC "remained poles apart".

He reported the businessmen said they were going back to give the impression not only to President Botha, but to white South African society in general, of a "flexibility of thought on the part of the ANC".

One of the issues discussed was South Africa's economy, and the ANC gave the undertaking that — should it rule South Africa — it would pursue a mixed economy even though some large business corporations would be nationalised.

Mfuwe lodge in the dry bush of Zambia, 40 km east of Lusaka.

There was speculation that the meeting could lead to talks between SA State President Mr P W Botha and the ANC — although Mr Botha had said he would "never" talk to the ANC unless the congress and Nelson Mandela renounced violence.

Mr Relly noted the ANC still refused to lay down its guns or even accept a pause in the vio-

lence, which is Mr Botha's condition for freeing Mandela.

But he added: "I believe today, in the context of the changes that have been taking place (in South Africa), particularly in relation to citizenship and a number of discriminatory laws, and the prospect of the rest of the trappings of apartheid disappearing, the positions are not as greatly antagonistic as some might think."

Mr Tambo and Mr Relly spoke to reporters separately at the Mfuwe air strip 40 km from the lodge.

Mr Relly and his seven-member delegation, including two South African newspaper editors, immediately flew back to Johannesburg in a Gulfstream private jet. Mr Tambo, accompanied by five members of the ANC national executive committee, departed for Lusaka in a

Zambian Air Force Buffalo transport plane.

The men in Mr Relly's group were Harald Pakendorf, editor of the *Die Vaderland*; Tertius Myburgh, *Sunday Times* editor; Anglo American chief executive Mr Zac de Beer; Mr Tony Bloom, head of Premier Milling; Mr Hugh Murray, editor of *Leadership South Africa* magazine; and Mr Pieter J de le

To Page 2, Col 1

"It is impossible that these corporations continue as they are while there is so much poverty in South Africa," he quoted the ANC as saying.

Three major commercial federations, the Afrikaanse Handelssentrum, Association of Chambers of Commerce and Federated Chamber of Industries, said from Johannesburg they had not been approached or consulted about the meeting. — Sapa-
Reuter-Associated Press.

Luckett overjoyed after 20 days in prison

CAPE TOWN Staff Reporter

14/9/85
THE Rev Sid Luckett, released yesterday from 20 days in detention, has left Cape Town for a few days to "reorientate" himself.

Mr Luckett, Anglican clergyman and executive member of the United Democratic Front, said in a statement through his attorney yesterday: "I am in good health but a little disoriented. I need a few days away with my family before being able to resume my normal duties in the church."

He was "overjoyed" to be reunited with his wife Kathy and their baby son, and the family has gone together to an undisclosed destination to recover.

"I was kept in solitary confinement at Pollsmoor Prison for the 20 days. It was the first time that I had been detained and it was a traumatic experience to be removed from my family, particularly my wife and son.

"I therefore hope and pray that those who are still in detention will be released soon so they too can be reunited with their families."

Mr Luckett was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on August 23, while preparing for a march on Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. Twelve other marchers were detained with him.

(11A) S. Times 15/9/85

Blacks switch allegiance

A SURVEY of Indians, coloureds and blacks has revealed dramatic changes in their attitudes towards political groups and their leaders.

While the United Democratic Front was found to have the most declared support among blacks and Indians, the survey also showed a doubling of support for the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives among Indians and coloureds.

Support for the Natal Indian Congress, an affiliate of the UDF, dropped by half among blacks and Indians.

Among the blacks surveyed, backing for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha president, was shown to have declined considerably and support for the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Man-

dela, to have increased significantly.

The random sample survey was conducted last month by the University of Natal's Institute for Black Research in 11 of Durban's black suburbs, including KwaMashu, Inanda, Phoenix, Chatsworth, Reservoir Hills, Wentworth, Newlands East and Greenwood Park.

□ □ □

A total of 488 men and women, most over the age of 26, were surveyed. The percentage breakdown for each of the groups interviewed was: 46,51 black, 32,99 Indian and 20,49 coloured.

The IBR's report released this week said that the results of the survey revealed the "traumatic impact" the unrest had had on the politi-

cal leanings of people.

"It showed a radicalisation of African political sentiment, and a marked shift towards conservatism on the part of coloureds and, particularly, Indians."

President P W Botha, according to the survey report, emerged as a "popular figure" among coloureds and Indians.

But more significant was the finding on people's attitudes towards Chief Buthelezi and Mandela.

"A survey conducted among blacks in 1979 by the IBR showed that only 2,5 percent of the people interviewed were willing to express their support for Mandela.

"In this survey, 52,9 percent expressed support for



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Mandela as a leader."

The report said that the IBR survey of 1979 showed a support of 45 percent for Chief Buthelezi. This support had dropped to 4,8 percent, according to the current survey.

"Support for Chief Buthe-

lezi among coloureds remains non-existent. It rose among Indians.

"When the survey tested the extent to which political affiliations had changed as a result of the unrest, the UDF was shown to have increased its support slightly among Indians and coloureds, and to have doubled its support in the black community.

"Support for Inkatha," the report said, "had risen in the Indian community from zero to 3,1 percent, and in the black community it had dropped from 19,8 percent to 5,3 percent. There was no support for Inkatha in the coloured community."

Blacks saw the unrest largely in political terms, instigated by the police and Inkatha; Indians saw the attack

in economic terms (against business) and in racial terms (against Indians). The report added that blacks did not identify Indians as the target of attacks during the unrest.

"Despite the perception by Indians and coloureds that the attacks were directed against Indians, there was general agreement that Indians became involved because they shared a common neighbourhood, and hence got caught in the middle of the unrest in Inanda.

□ □ □

"Indians and coloureds had a greater sense of Indians being attacked because they were disliked, or because they had been 'given' a chamber in Parliament than blacks — though in all instances a negligible minority

thought this way."

The report said that blacks saw Inkatha and the police as the "principal troublemakers" once the unrest had started. Students were rated as the third element. Indians and coloureds saw blacks as the troublemakers.

"Clearly, blacks suffered most in the unrest. Almost all the 70 or more people who died were black; 200 black houses were affected as opposed to 44 Indian houses."

The majority of Indians and coloureds had obtained information on the unrest from the media. The majority of blacks had obtained their information from personal contact with people involved and from having observed the unrest themselves.

"Most people surveyed reported that community organisations and private individuals had come to the assistance of people affected by the unrest."

S. Times 15/9/85

Face to face with the ANC

(11A)

BY TERMIUS MYBURGH

IN a peaceful valley in the heart of central Africa, the most powerful businessman in South Africa sat down this week for an indaba with the leader of a black revolutionary movement committed to making his country ungovernable.

It was, in its way, a significant moment in our history.

The venue: President Kenneth Kaunda's game lodge at Mfuwe on the banks of the Luangwa River, 400km east of Lusaka.

The parties: seven white South Africans led by Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, and six black

South Africans, led by Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the banned African National Congress.

The agenda: open.

First, it is important to record what Friday's much-publicised meeting between South African businessmen and representatives of the ANC hierarchy did NOT achieve.

There were no deals, no agreements, except, if possible, to meet again. Indeed, there were no negotiations at all — merely exploratory, getting-to-

know-you talks between two groups which, for the moment, share the same country but remarkably little else.

But it was, indubitably, a mutually educational experience.

The ANC leadership, committed to socialism and hardened by years of conflict and exile, face-to-face for the first time with their philosophical adversaries, the practitioners of free enterprise.

The latter confronted, also for the first time, by the men who

have orchestrated, systematically and over many years, much of the violence that has brought turmoil and economic calamity to their country.

In South Africa there had been official resistance, unambiguously expressed by President Botha, to the meeting taking place at all. In Lusaka, hard-line revolutionaries similarly questioned the wisdom of treating with capitalists.

The completeness of this report — the first eyewitness account of the meeting — has been restricted by South African law.

Yesterday the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, refused permission for the Sunday Times to print the remarks of Mr Tambo, a listed person, which had been submitted to him with a request that he exercise his right to give permission for their publication.

The Sunday Times does not normally seek such dispensation because of the danger of news manipulation. However, in view of the interest in the meeting, an exception was made in this case.

As they were introduced on the banks of the muddy Luangwa on

Friday morning, both sides were acutely aware of the piquancy of the moment, but the full drama of it all was masked by Africa itself: the isolation of the bush venue, the slow-moving river and the sparse wilderness beyond, all overlaid by heavy heat and humidity.

For this observer, it was difficult to get his mind around the fact that these men took decisions to despatch killers southwards carrying limpet mines and grenades. Yet, chillingly, this is so.

To the conciliatory and unfailingly urbane President Kaunda, veteran of his own freedom struggle

□ To Page 2



TALK TIME ... ANC man Tambo, Zambia's Kaunda, Anglo American chief Relly

P.T.O.

11A S. Times 15/9/85

Face to face with Oliver Tambo

□ From Page 1

gle and host these many years to the ANC-in-exile, goes much of the credit for making the meeting possible. And to his friend, Hugh Murray of Johannesburg, publisher-editor of that posh quarterly journal for the establishment, *Leadership*. Together they tolled for many months to bring the sides together.

What for? Simply to talk and to explore whether personal acquaintance might not be the beginning of wisdom and peace in this troubled region.

First there was tea, poured by the host, scones, and ice-breaking chatter. Somebody quipped: "I don't know why, but I keep thinking of Plet Relief."

Steered by their host to a

long, low coffee table under a musombo, or indaba, tree (*syzygium cordatum*) on the terrace adjoining the lodge, President Kaunda directed the ANC party to sit in a row on his right, the visiting party to his left.

Someone objected, lightheartedly, to the confrontational formality and two from each party were asked to change places.

"Welcome to the capitalist class," quipped Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom as Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of information, took his seat beside Mr Rely.

In Mr Rely's party were Mr Bloom, Dr Zach de Beer, an executive director of Anglo and chairman of LTA construction, Mr Peter Sorour, executive head of the SA Foundation, Hugh Murray, Harald Pakendorf, editor of

Die Vaderland, and the writer of this article.

In the ANC president's party were five members of his executive, who at their secret July meeting in Kabwe, took the now notorious decision to escalate the violence in South Africa: Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, a heavyweight in Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC's military arm, Pallo Jordan, a Tambo confidante who was wounded by the parcel bomb

FACE TO FACE WITH THE ANC

that killed Ruth First in Maputo, Mac Maharaj, former Robben Island prisoner (12 years) and the only Asian on the executive, and James Stuart, based in Lusaka.

President Kaunda, neatly attired in slacks and a lemon sports shirt with embroidery announcing that he had served on the committee for the 1985 Zambian golf championships, welcomed his "dear brothers".

"You are," he said, "all South Africans whom God has destined to live together in one country as brothers and sisters.

"This is not a meeting where decisions will be taken, but one to establish what you have in common; what divides you is artificial and man-made."

Half gazing across the river, where hippos lazed and two great white egrets searched for food in the shallows, he added: "How I wish we had done this 10 years ago."

Thereafter our host presided benignly over proceedings, intervening only occasionally while the black and white South Africans talked.

Mr Rely opened the batting on behalf of his party. His manner was good-humoured ("I hope Mr Tambo does not find facing the frightening front of capitalism too dreadful") and his statements as measured as they were elegant.

He said: "In the light of President Botha's recent statements, particularly about citizenship, we feel South Africa can now be launched on a path of new unity.

"We have spent a generation pulling our country apart; we may now be on the threshold of another generation who will put it together properly.

"We cannot have reform and a stable society without economic growth and, as

businessmen, we know we cannot have growth unless we have reform."

As he looked across at Mr Tambo, he added: "What we are concerned with is not so much whether the following generation will be governed by white or black people, but that it will be a viable country and that it will not be destroyed by violence and strife."

Mr Tambo's response may not be published in South Africa, but the South African listeners were surprised by the mildness of his manner, even as he declared his refusal to lay down his guns.

The opening statements disposed of, all participants in the unique encounter engaged in lively, free-wheeling and frank debate.

Dr de Beer, in the skillful way of a former Parliamentarian and one of his country's coolest analysts, spoke of the paradox that, just when there were praiseworthy advances in the dismantling of apartheid, the prospects of racial conciliation also seemed at their lowest.

Around the table the theme was taken up: violence versus negotiation, the role of the security forces, the UDF, the churches, the trade unions

FACE TO FACE WITH THE ANC

and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (the ANC view of the Inkatha leader was vehemently critical).

The white visitors were impressed by the talent of the ANC men in debate and the up-to-date quality of their information. They seem to read all the newspapers "from home" a day or two after publication and they listen to SABC newscasts nightly. President Botha's recent speeches have all been analysed in detail and even

Cabinet factions were correctly identified.

Unbending though they may be when addressing such matters as the possibility of a moratorium on violence while they give negotiation a chance, these are articulate, confident and experienced men, their grasp of the detail of South African affairs seemingly little affected by years of exile.

One visitor, eager to put a question to Mr Tambo and apparently influenced by the nomenclature of revolution, referred to him as "Comrade President".

Two puku — antelope that look like woolly impala — emerged from the bush across the river as the conversation flowed back and forth through the morning.

Lunch (serve-yourself cold cuts and salad consumed with dry white wine under a thatch canopy) was brisk, but provided a brief opportunity for amiable personal chat.

Back under the indaba tree, the talk turned, predictably, to a question that had been lingering on the edge of conversation all day: socialism versus free enterprise. Ticklish stuff — and central to the concerns of the ANC team who were, for the first time in their lives, actually addressing Mr Capitalism himself on the merits of nationalising industry.

It was about mid-afternoon and a herd of elephants had come to drink nearby when Mr Rely responded.

"True," he conceded, "poverty, ignorance and disease are the problems of Africa — but they will not automatically be solved by what you call liberation."

It was a masterful display which, while conceding the failures of the free enterprise system as it is practised in South Africa, nevertheless warned against utopian dreams of an instant socialist

Nel dismisses Rely-Aid

A Government spokesman has dismissed talks between top businessmen and leaders of the ANC, saying discussions were pointless unless the ANC renounced violence.

Some of South Africa's most-influential business leaders, headed by Gavin Rely, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, met ANC leaders in Zambia on Friday.

The Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, said yes-

terday: "I don't want to sound cynical, but I think they (the businessmen) will have come back trying to give a positive impression on the talks. I don't think that will be the true situation. In the end they will be disappointed they went."

Mr Rely said he had gone to Zambia in the spirit of President P W Botha's undertaking that he would himself negotiate with an open agenda on South Africa's future.

Mr Nel said: "There is no

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● Hourly time
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Mayor's Mandela remark upsets black councils

By ELSABE WESSELS

JOHANNESBURG Mayor Mr Ernie Fabel has invoked the wrath of black mayors on the Reef by saying that ANC leader Nelson Mandela "is a terrorist and should have been killed a long time ago".

Mr Fabel's remark — at an official Press conference in Israel on the last day of a visit there en route to Europe — invited strong reaction from black leaders, who considered it an "ill-timed and insensitive faux pas".

The PFP caucus in the Johannesburg City Council also called for an urgent investigation into Mr Fabel's controversial statement.

Many believe that the incident will force black towns to reconsider their participation in the city's centenary celebrations next year.

"We will have to consider our position," said the Mayor of Alexandra, Dr Sam Buti.

"With such remarks he is definitely not promoting

goodwill."

The Mayor of Dobsonville, Mr Steve Nkatlo, said Mr Fabel "should be brought to book by his fellow councillors" for the remark.

"Mandela may have employed methods which were unacceptable to some people, but he is in jail for trying to liberate his people."

The leader of the Nationalist Party caucus in the council, Mr Jan Burger, yesterday defended Mr Fabel's comment.

"All he tried to do was to interpret the view of the judge who sentenced Mandela and also echo the comments made by the State President during his Durban address," he said.

Mr Obie Oberholzer, chairman of the management committee, said Mr Fabel had now been instructed not to discuss politics.

(11A) ~~11A~~
S. Times 15/9/85

Boesak may stand trial

DETAINED church leader Dr Allan Boesak will probably be charged with a large group of United Democratic Front leaders once police have completed their investigations, official sources in Pretoria have disclosed.

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

But it is not expected that Dr Boesak will appear in court for quite some time.

Police have already detained 48 people — most of them UDF leaders — who, the sources believe, will probably be charged with Dr Boesak.

It is also expected that further arrests could follow.

The sources believe Dr Boesak will definitely have to stand trial, but there is still uncertainty under which law he will be charged.

Subversion

However, they believe he will most probably be charged with subversion.

It is believed that Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange was to have decided by the weekend under what law Dr Boesak is to be charged.

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and senior leader of the UDF, was detained on August 27 on the eve of the Pollsmoor Prison march he had organised.

He is being held at Pretor-

ia's Central Prison.

Dr Boesak was seen by his wife, Dorothy, at police headquarters in Pretoria shortly after his arrest.

This week the general secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Edmond Perret, said he saw no reason for Dr Boesak to be detained for long after visiting him in Pretoria.

However, it is believed police and legal officials will take quite some time to complete a charge sheet.

Meanwhile, it has been learnt that Dr Boesak threatened a hunger strike in prison shortly after his detention, but he did not go ahead with it after a senior official spoke to him.



Kaizer breaks boycott

5/19/85
DESPITE the consumer boycott in Queenstown, Transkeians are doing their shopping there - under the protection of the homeland's police.

This followed a promise by President Kaizer Matanzima in Flagstaff a few weeks ago that Transkeians wishing to do their shopping in Queenstown, would be given protection by the Transkei police. Vehicles with Transkei registrations are escorted into Queenstown - despite opposition from within the homeland by supporters of the "Buy Transkei" campaign.

⑤ (IA) D/B C. Per
**Negotiations end Port
Alfred business boycott** 15/9/85

THE BOYCOTT of businesses at Port Alfred in the Eastern Cape has been lifted after talks initiated by the local business community and leaders of the local black community.

In addition, unrest in the township has ended and black and white people in the town are negotiating to find short and long-term solutions to the town's major racial problems.

And similar moves towards intense local negotiation by the business communities of Cradock and Graaff-Reinet also show promise.

"We have not discovered any magic formula," says Port Alfred businessman Charles de Bruin.

"We simply got together with the real

leaders of the black community and talked and talked and talked."

The process began when white civic leaders formed an 'Employers' Federation designed to by-pass formal local and Government bodies and to organise a meeting with black leaders recognised by the community.

They were led by United Democratic Front member Gugule Nkwintu, 36.

The black delegation presented a list of 20 demands which were considered by the Employers' Federation. The federation said it would act immediately to solve local issues, and that they would support other issues by liaising with Government authorities.

A meeting of Port Alfred's black community was then called - attended by half the town's black population - who accepted the employers' attitude and lifted the boycott.

The central committee of the organisation backing the day of prayer, appealed for its scheduled date of October 9 to be put back.

Church leaders, including Anglican prelates Archbishop Philip Russell and Bishop Desmond Tutu, called for the day of prayer and a work stoppage at a Christian reconciliation conference in Pietermaritzburg last week.

Inkatha endorsed the churchmen's statement, which included demands for an end to the state of emergency, the removal of the South African Defence Force and emergency police forces from the townships, the release of all detainees and political prisoners and for immediate talks with authentic leaders of various population groups.

The discussions at the Pietermaritzburg conference had on the whole reflected the views of black Christians, said Inkatha in a statement yesterday.

Too soon

But Inkatha made it clear that it considered October 9 too soon for most black Christians.

It was essential that enough time be provided for people involved to understand the reasons behind the initiative so that they could endorse the proposed action.

'We are also aware,' the Inkatha statement said, 'that stayaways which have been organised in the past to demonstrate black abhorrence of apartheid have been spoilt by violence, when some black organisations and trade union leaders used violence to intimidate black workers into abiding by the stayaway decisions.'

'In view of this history we fear that a day of prayer which involves stayaways at this time is more likely to become a forum for a black-on-black confrontation of the kind going on now in our townships and between different political organisations.'

'If these kinds of conflicts were to flare up during the stayaway in observance of the day of prayer, this would be a further setback to the struggle for liberation.'

Furthermore, October 9 coincided with the end-of-year examinations and it was feared that any stayaways at this time might jeopardise the careers of thousands of black pupils, the statement added.

All this would result in large numbers of black workers losing their jobs

Condemned

In another statement, Inkatha condemned the ANC's 'now repeated' call on black South Africans to kill other black South Africans who 'did not toe the line dictated by those in exile'.

The organisation's Central Committee strongly condemned the ANC attack on Inkatha's president, KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and 'the seeds of civil war such attacks sow'.

Inkatha called on Chief Buthelezi to make public what the ANC's mission in exile had said about the movement so that they could make their own assessment. — (Sapa)

ULUNDI—Inkatha last night endorsed a call by church leaders for a day of prayer to end South Africa's turmoil but expressed fears of violence arising out of their call for a stayaway from work and school.

Clerics warned: Beware violence

16/9/85

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A pat on the back for talks with ANC

ABJ (11A) Mercury 16/9/85

Mercury Reporter

THE South African businessmen who flew to Zambia last week were to be congratulated on taking the initiative and meeting members of the banned African National Congress, PFP national chairman and Foreign Affairs spokesman Colin Eglin said yesterday.

'Obviously there are risks involved, but somewhere along the line people have to come together and start talking rather than standing at arm's length and throwing bombs at each other,' said Mr Eglin.

He said he believed the kind of contact that had been established, 'even with all the risks involved, has positive prospects for South Africa, and I think the businessmen deserve to be congratulated for taking the initiative'.

Listed

Mr Eglin said he noted that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had refused permission for the publication of remarks made by ANC president Oliver Tambo, and he could therefore not comment on what the ANC had said.

Mr Tambo is a listed person.

The Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac) said in a statement yesterday that Friday's meeting was a recognition on the part of big business of the ANC's 'central and decisive role' and an indication that they no longer took the Government seriously.

Jorac publicity secre-

tary Ian Mkhize said: 'It is remarkable that the talks took place in spite of Botha's protests.'

'It was highly opportunistic and bordering on treachery on the part of big business to expect the ANC even to countenance the laying down of arms at a time when the Botha regime has embarked on a programme of intensive militarisation of the country, and ironically, with the collusion and participation of big capital whose directors serve on Armscor and invest pensions and other funds in that industry.'

'For the ANC to have acceded to these talks is a sign of statesmanship and genuine concern with the future of the country.'

Convince

It was now up to big business to convince the Government that 'the people's minimum demands are the complete and immediate scrapping of apartheid, the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other political parties and the immediate working out of a programme for the transfer of power to the majority of South Africans.'

Knockout punch



CAPE TIMES 16/9/85

11A

Blacks choose Mandela

DURBAN. — Most Indians — and to a lesser extent coloured people — prefer President P W Botha to lead South Africa, but a large majority of blacks want Mr Nelson Mandela as national leader.

These are some of the findings of a survey into the recent Natal unrest by the Institute for Black Research, released here at the weekend by the institute's director, Professor Fatima Meer of the University of Natal.

The survey also showed that the Kwa-Zulu leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, has lost considerable support, with Mr Mandela emerging stronger than ever in the black community.

"Traumatic"

A report accompanying the survey findings said the results showed that the unrest had had a "traumatic impact" on the political affiliations of people.

A total of 488 people in black, Indian and coloured townships in the greater Durban area was sampled after the unrest and riots early in August.

While there was radicalization of black political sentiment, there was a marked shift towards conservatism on the part of coloured people and particularly Indians.

More coloured people (25 percent) preferred the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, for the number two choice of national leader, while blacks chose UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak as the second choice.

While coloured people (11 percent) and Indians (3,7 percent) picked Mr Mandela as third choice, blacks picked the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The survey showed that support for Chief Buthelezi declined among blacks from 45 percent in a survey con-



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... 25 percent more support among coloured people



Mr P W Botha ... Indian and coloured peoples' number one choice for leader



Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi ... lost 'considerable support' among blacks



Bishop Desmond Tutu ... chosen by blacks after Mr Mandela and Dr Boesak

ducted by the IBR in 1979, to 4,8 percent in the present survey.

Support among coloured people remained non-existent but where previously there had been no support for him among Indians, a 0,6 percent support was registered after the unrest.

Concerning Mr Mandela, the report said the last IBR survey conducted among blacks in 1979 showed only 2,5 percent of respondents even willing to express support for him because of fear, but in the present survey 54,2 percent expressed

support for him as leader.

The survey also showed that number one choice for South African leader was given to Mr Botha with Dr Slabbert taking second position. Others in order of preference were Bishop Desmond Tutu, Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and Dr Boesak, the report said.

The report said that while there was practically no support at all for Mr Botha among blacks interviewed, 53,4 percent of Indian respondents and 31 percent of coloured people chose

him as the most popular leader.

The survey found that while the United Democratic Front increased its support slightly among Indians and coloured people after the unrest, the support for the UDF by blacks doubled.

There was also strong support for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives, the survey showed.

Support for the Natal Indian Congress dropped by half in both black and Indian samples with no support registering in the coloured community

for the NIC. The survey also showed that support for Inkatha among blacks dropped from 19,8 percent before the unrest, to 5,3 percent after the unrest.

"There was and is no support for Inkatha in the coloured community, but there was no support for the Inkatha movement among Indians before the unrest and a support of 3,18 percent was registered after the unrest — which was higher than the 2,3 percent support shown for the NIC," the report said.

Neighbourhood

The report also found that Indians were caught in the riots in Durban's Inanda area last month because they shared a common neighbourhood with blacks and not because of their participation in the tricameral parliamentary system.

It said 43,6 percent of blacks interviewed in the survey said Indians "had just got caught" in the middle of the unrest, while 51 percent thought Indians became victims when blacks took the opportunity to steal.

Only four percent of blacks thought Indians were attacked because they had a parliamentary chamber while blacks did not, the report said.

On the other hand, the report said 26,7 percent of Indians and 31 percent of coloured people thought the main reason for attacks on Indians was their participation in the new political dispensation without blacks.

The survey also showed that more blacks saw Inkatha and the police as the "principal troublemakers" once the unrest had started, with students rated as the third element.

Most Indians and coloured people on the other hand saw blacks as the troublemakers, the report said. — Sapa

Change stayaway date — Inkatha

UJLUNDI — Inkatha's central committee last night endorsed the call by church leaders for a day of prayer to end the state of crisis in South Africa, but appealed for the date — October 9 — to be postponed.

Church leaders at the National Initiative for Reconciliation conference in Maritzburg last week called for the day of prayer and a work stayaway.

The committee also endorsed the conference's demands for an end to the state of emergency, removal of the SADF and emergency police forces from townships, release of detainees and political prisoners, and immediate talks with the authentic leadership of the different population groups.

It said the discussions at the conference, on the whole, reflected the views of black Christians.

But Inkatha made it clear it considered October 9 too soon.

It said it was essential there be enough time for the people involved to understand the motivation

behind the initiative so they could endorse the proposed action.

"We are also aware," the Inkatha statement said, "that stayaways which have been organised in the past to demonstrate black abhorrence of apartheid have been spoilt by violence, when some black organisations and trade union leaders used violence to intimidate black workers into abiding by the stayaway decisions."

CONFRONTATION

"In view of this history, we fear that a day of prayer which involves stayaways, at this time, is more likely to become a forum for a black-on-black confrontation (of the kind) going on now, in our townships and between different political organisations."

● A group of 400 Christian leaders from 47 denominations placed an advertisement in a Sunday newspaper calling for, among other things, Christians to stay away from work on October 9.

— Sapa.

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Business to push for Mandela's release

STAR 16/9/88 11A

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Big business in South Africa is ready to throw its considerable weight behind moves to gain the unconditional release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and to persuade the Government to have direct negotiations with the ANC.

Talking to reporters after this weekend's historic meeting between business leaders and the ANC, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and hinted the talks could pave the way for direct negotiations between the Gov-

ernment and the ANC.

In a statement released after the meeting in Zambia, Mr Relly said he and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo would meet again.

No date has been set for a second round of talks.

Mr Relly hinted that while the ANC had refused to end its guerilla war, the positions of both the ANC and the Government were not as "antagonistic" as some might think.

Calling for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Mr Relly added: "A good number of business people in South Africa are of the opinion that Nelson Mandela should be released."

Mr Relly told reporters after the Zambian meeting he was convinced further talks might lead to some fruitful conclusion.

Although the President, Mr P W Botha, has described the Zambian talks as "disloyal" there is strong speculation they could lead to direct talks between the ANC and the Government.

"I believe today, in the context of the changes that have been taking place, particularly in relation to citizenship and a number of discriminatory laws, and the prospect of the rest of the trappings of apartheid disappearing, the positions are not as greatly antagonistic as some might think," Mr Relly said.

● See Page 13.

Common

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ground for ANC and Relly

CAT TIME 16/9/85

JOHANNESBURG. — The real common ground between big business and the African National Congress was concern for the next generation, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly said at the weekend.

Defending his decision to lead informal talks with the ANC in Zambia on Friday, Mr Relly said: "As South Africans we are all interested to create a more cohesive society and a more equitable one."

Although the positions of the two groups were "very far apart", the real common ground was that "we are all concerned that the next generation should inherit a viable economic and political system".

Responding to criticism from government spokesmen who condemned the talks on the basis that the businessmen were being "disloyal" to soldiers fighting on the SWA/Namibian border, Mr Relly said: "All one can really say is that if there's any point in talking at all, it is with the object that in future people will not have to fight on the border."

'A good impression'

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had given an undertaking that he himself would negotiate with an open agenda on the future.

"We've taken the view that our talks with the ANC were not outside the basis of that undertaking.

"We have told the Foreign Affairs people about the talks we've had with President Kenneth Kaunda, and we will undoubtedly tell them about our talks with the ANC," Mr Relly said.

Mr Relly said his group found the ANC attitude "not nearly so grossly antagonistic as might be thought", while Mr Tom Sebina, ANC spokesman in Lusaka, said the South African group had created a good impression.

'Signs of weakness'

However, noting that there was "little community of interest between us", Mr Relly told SATV that as a "free enterprise person" he could not look with favour on ANC plans for nationalization and the reform of the monetary system under a socialist government.

A spokesman for the State President's Office in Pretoria said at the weekend that Mr Botha had "no comment" on the outcome of the talks. Mr Botha stood by his earlier statement that he could not see what the talks

could achieve other than to show signs of weakness to enemies.

However, the Mozambique News Agency AIM, quoting "a well-placed Lusaka source", said yesterday that the ANC learnt from the businessmen that Mr Botha had already accepted in principle the need to enter a process of negotiation which included the ANC. His problem, the businessmen are reported to have said, was how to bring this about.

This was denied by a spokesman for the State President's Office, who said Mr Botha had consistently denounced such talks as long as the ANC supported violence.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday said the businessmen were to be congratulated on taking the initiative.

"Obviously there are risks involved, but somewhere along the line people have to come together and start talking rather than standing at arm's length and throwing bombs at each other," he said.

Mr Sebina last night said: "The most important thing is that we got to know each other's views. We hope they went home with a picture of having met decent human beings interested in finding a solution to common problems."

Subjects discussed

According to AIM, subjects discussed at Friday's meeting included:

● The question of civilian deaths, with the ANC saying there was no specific intention to hit civilians, but that in a situation of growing confrontation more civilians would die.

● ANC nationalization plans.

● The businessmen were told the ANC would not renounce violence as a strategy because violence had been started by the apartheid system.

● A constitution based on an entrenched bill of rights. The ANC said it would accept this, provided that it meant individual rights.

● The need to release ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other jailed leaders. — Own Correspondents, Sapa-Reuter and UPI

● Leading article, page 8

CAPL TIMES 17/9/81
Attack on MP's home: 8 held

Crime Reporter

POLICE have arrested eight people in connection with a petrol-bomb attack on the home of Mrs Joy Pilcher, Labour Party MP for Kasselsvlei, earlier this month. Damage to a bedroom and Mrs Pilcher's luxury

car was estimated at about R4 000. Police found a bucket of half-bricks and stones in Mrs Pilcher's front garden. All the front windows of the house were smashed.

A police spokesman said yesterday "four males aged between 16 and 21" had been arrested over the weekend. They would appear in the Bellville Magistrate's Court today. The attack on Mrs Pilcher's home took place about 9.10pm on September 3.

'LUTHULI WOULD BACK TODAY'S ANC'

IF CHIEF Albert Luthuli, former president of the African National Congress was alive today he would not go against what the organisation stood for. 11A

This was said by the daughter of the late leader, Miss S'Mangele Luthuli, repudiating news reports (SOWETAN September 6) which quoted her elderly mother as having said that if her father was alive he would oppose the modus operandi of the present-day ANC.

Miss Luthuli, who said she

**By SOWETAN
Correspondent**

spoke on behalf of her mother, Mrs Nokukhanya Luthuli and the family as a whole, said: "We want to make it clear that there is no way a person can speak on behalf of the dead. SOWETAN

Ideology

"My father lived in different times altogether. It is impossible to say what opinion he would have had about the activities of the ANC today," said Miss Luthuli. 17/9/85

"But what we know is that he would not go against the ANC policy or what the organisation stands for because he subscribed to its ideology until his death."

Talking about the disputed newspaper report, Miss Luthuli said her mother was going deaf and "the reporters concerned must have had difficulty communicating with her making it possible for misunderstandings to occur".

Chief Luthuli was the first South African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961.

SOWETAN can't see Mandela - prisons department

Sowetan 17/9/85
THE South African Prisons Service has turned down an application by The SOWETAN to visit ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng in prison.

Mr Mandela is serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town and Mr Mothopeng fifteen years in the Johannesburg Prison near Soweto.

The chief liaison officer of the Prisons Services, Lt Col Danie Immelman, telephoned The SOWETAN yesterday to give us his department's decision.

We sent the request that we visit the two leaders on August 26 and two days later we got a telex acknowledging receipt of ours.

Mr Mandela, who has been in jail for the past 21 years, has been

interviewed in jail by foreign journalists and others.

Only last month, Mr Mandela was interviewed by the controversial the Rev Jerry Falwell, a conservative Baptist leader, who is campaigning for continued American investment in South Africa, and accused Bishop Desmond Tutu of being a phony.

Interview

He was also interviewed by two Washington Times journalists, Cal Thomas and John Lofton.

It was reported that the State President, Mr P W Botha, personally cleared the application for the visit by the two journalists.

In January, Mr Mandela gave his first Press interview since his conviction when he was visited by British Conservative Party peer, Lord Nicholas

Bethell. The interview was spread across two pages of a London newspaper.

In July, the Prisons Services allowed South African newspapers to use an interview that Mr Mandela had with Professor Samuel Dash of Georgetown University in the United States.

No newspaper has ever interviewed Mr Mothopeng since his conviction in the Bethal PAC Trial in 1979.

In our application for the interviews, we pointed out that newspapermen from abroad had interviewed Mr Mandela, and we felt it was time that a local journalist interviewed him.

Lt Col Immelman yesterday would not say who had taken the decision to turn down The SOWETAN's application.

Page 2

OKS
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DNDEL & BLAKE 77102

the

Inkatha support for stayaway praised



CHIEF Buthelezi . . . Inkatha leader.

THE practical difficulties raised by Inkatha about the proposed national stayaway and day of prayer on October 9 were being sympathetically considered by the national committee of the National Initiative for Reconciliation Conference, the committee's chairman, Mr Mike Cassidy, said yesterday. *Sowetan*

He said he had not been able to speak to all his fellow committee members. *17/9/85*

"We are thankful to

learn that the central committee of Inkatha last night endorsed the call made last week for a national day of prayer about our present situation."

Mr Cassidy, who also heads the Christian organisation, Africa Enterprise, said the people intending to be involved in the day of prayer were adult Christians and that pupils writing end-of-year examinations would not be inconvenienced.

Natal poll finds growing support for Mandela

Own Correspondent

11A STAR 17/9/85

DURBAN — Support for jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and for the United Democratic Front has increased considerably since unrest began in Durban, while Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement have lost ground among blacks, according to a survey conducted by the Institute of Black Research.

But State President Mr P W Botha was the choice of leader among coloured people and Indians, with Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert in number two spot.

Mr Mandela got 54,2 percent support from blacks, 11 percent from coloureds and 3,7 percent from Indians.

A total of 488 people — 227 from black areas such as kwa-Mashu, Umlazi, Inanda and Clermont, 161 Indians from Phoenix, Avoca, Chatsworth and Reservoir Hills and 100 coloureds from Wentworth, Newlands East and Greenwood Park — were interviewed for the survey.

Mr Botha got no support from blacks, 31 percent from coloureds and 53,4 percent from Indians, while Dr Slabbert got 3,1 percent from blacks, 25 percent from coloureds and 11,2 percent from Indians.

Chief Buthelezi, Inkatha leader and Chief Minister of kwaZulu, got 4,8 support from blacks, no support from coloureds and 0,6 percent from Indians.

Bishop Desmond Tutu got

11,9 percent support from blacks, 5 percent from coloureds and none from Indians.

Dr Alan Boesak got 13,6 percent support from blacks, 3 percent from coloureds and 3,1 percent from Indians.

The survey pointed out that in its last findings about six years ago, Chief Buthelezi had 45 percent support from black respondents and only 2,5 percent were prepared to come out in support of Mr Mandela.

"The results reveal a traumatic impact on the political affiliations of people as a result of the unrest: a marked radicalisation of black political sentiment, and a marked shift towards conservatism on the part of coloured and particularly Indian people.

"Chief Buthelezi lost considerable support and Mr Botha emerged as a popular figure among coloureds and Indians.

"Mandela however, emerged stronger than ever in the black community," says the survey.

It also said that the United Democratic Front increased its support slightly in the Indian and coloured community and doubled its support among blacks.

Significantly, the UDF has the highest declared support of any organisation among blacks and Indians.

Support for the black Parliamentary Houses doubled in the coloured and Indian samples.

Support for the Natal Indian Congress dropped by half in both the black and Indian samples.

Tambo behind UDF, treason trial told

ARGUS

18/9/82

11/11/82

MARITZBURG. — The United Democratic Front was formed at the behest of Mr Oliver Tambo, the leader of the African National Congress, as a movement with underground structures for national liberation, the State alleged today.

As the trial in which 16 UDF activists are charged with treason resumed today in the Natal Supreme Court, the State announced it would proceed against the accused on charges of treason, alternatively terrorism, and fulfilling the objects of a banned organisation.

It would withdraw the charges of participating in terrorist activities against Mr Ephraim Nkondo, Mr Archibald Gumede, Mr Paul David, Mr Richard Gqweta, Mr James Njikelana, Mr Samuel Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

Charges of furthering the objects of communism brought against Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr George Sewpershad, Mr Morgan Naidoo, Mr Paul David, Mr Ebrahim Saloojee and Dr Essop Jassat were also withdrawn.

Charges of furthering the objects of communism and/or the ANC were withdrawn against all accused except Mr Curtis Nkondo, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and Mr Archibald Gumede, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Frank Chicane, Mr Ebrahim Saloojee and Mr Ismail Mohamed.

Revolutionary

In giving further particulars of the charges being pursued, the State referred to the statement by Mr Oliver Tambo that the UDF was participating in the revolutionary struggle. However, the State did not know when and where and how each of the accused allegedly became part of an underground structure.

The State will attempt to prove that the UDF had underground structures and intended to further the ANC's policy and objectives. This included mass action and mobilisation of the people and popularisation of the leaders of the ANC.

The State alleged also that the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress were committed to the aims of the congress movement and Congress Alliance whose aim was to overthrow the South African Government by violent means.

Committed

The State also alleges that the Release Mandela Campaign and the South African Allied Workers' Union were also committed to the revolutionary aims of the Revolutionary Alliance.

Before the court are Mr Mawalan Ramgobin, 52, Mr Chandero Sewpershad, 43, Mr Moorooogh Jayahajapathy Naidoo, 53, Dr Essop Essack Jassat, 52, Dr Dundubela Aucsy Mokoena, 52, Mr Ephraim Curtis Mkondo, 56, Mr Archibald Joseph Gumede, 70, Mr Devadas Paul David, 40;

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 66, the Rev Frank Chicane, 34, Mr Cassim Saloojee, 49, Professor Ismail Mohammed, 54, and four members of the SA Allied Worker's Union, Mr Sisa Njikelani, 29, Mr Sam Kikine, 36, Mr Isaac Ngcobo, 36, and the national chairman Mr Thozinale Gqweta.

Mr Justice Milne is sitting without his assessors and hearing argument on amplification of the indictment and particulars.

(Proceeding)

'Tambo ^{STAR} behind ^(11A) forming of UDF'

MARITZBURG ^{18/9/85} The United Democratic Front had been formed at the behest of Mr Oliver Tambo, the leader of the African National Congress, as a movement with underground structures for national liberation, the State alleged today.

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COMMUNISM

A charge of furthering the objects of communism levelled against six of the accused was also withdrawn. They were Messrs Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpershad, Morgan Naidoo, Paul David, Ebrahim Saloojee and Dr Essop Jassat.

Charges of furthering the objects of communism and/or the ANC were withdrawn against all accused except Mr Curtis Nkondo, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Mr Archibald Gumede, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Frank Chikane, Mr Ebrahim Saloojee and Mr Ismail Mohamed.

The State referred to the statement by Mr Tambo that the UDF was participating in the revolutionary struggle. However, the State did not know how each of the accused allegedly became part of an underground structure.

(Proceeding)

'in a few years'

Tutu forecasts a black Prime Minister

The Star Bureau

11A

LONDON — South Africa could have a black Prime Minister in "a few years' time", Bishop Desmond Tutu has told British television viewers.

"It could even be next year," he said.

STAR

Appearing with banned former South African newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods on the BBC's "Open to Question" programme last night, Bishop Tutu faced questions via a satellite from an audience of Scottish schoolchildren.

18/9/85

He was asked to appear after the withdrawal of South Africa's Ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, who was to have been the first guest on the programme.

Questions put to Bishop Tutu covered a wide range of issues including economic sanctions, the proposed abolition of pass laws, communism in Africa, black rule in South Africa, the change of heart among enlightened Afrikaners and his own role in the country's future.

Introduced to television viewers as an "apostle for change without violence, frequently attacked by extremists on both sides", Bishop Tutu said he opposed apartheid because he was a Christian, not because he was a politician. He had no political ambitions.

"People like myself are leaders by default because the main leaders — like Nelson Mandela — are not around," he said.

He said he would not want to become leader of the

country and would decline if ever asked to become President.

The bishop dismissed the suggestion of a strong communist influence in black politics but said that the "best recruiter for communism is the oppression of apartheid".

Communism, which was "atheistic and materialistic", was not attractive to Africans because they were generally "deeply spiritual" and it would not satisfy them.

Bishop Tutu highlighted his belief in peaceful action, which included pressure from abroad.

He criticised Britain and America for not taking a stronger line, adding that sanctions would help "bring us to a conference table to discuss the dismantling of

apartheid and the creation of a new country where blacks and whites can live together".

Discussing the proposed abolition of the pass laws and other concessions, the Bishop said: "I am not going to pick up the crumbs of concessions from the master's table — I want to help decide the menu."

On citizenship, he asked: "What is citizenship without the right to vote? When you cannot send your children to the school of your choice and when you cannot live where you want to?"

Asked about African attitudes to mixed marriages, he said this was not "a high priority" but, if people loved each other, their skin colour did not matter.

By way of illustration, he said his son had had two British girlfriends.

Of a future South Africa in which whites and blacks might live in equality, Bishop Tutu said there was a lot of goodwill and tolerance among black people who did not want to "push the whites into the sea".

But he said that whites "may want to go there of their will".

Bishop Tutu demonstrated a flair for comedy in the run-up to the recording of the programme when he put his thumbs to his forehead, wagging his fingers and sticking out his tongue as cameramen in Johannesburg adjusted their lenses.

Then, as sound engineers fiddled with his earpiece, he joked: "There's an echo through the satellite and I am too boring to listen to myself."

Terror wave in Durban as 'impis' purge UDF

By WEEKLY REPORTER
Durban

AN unprecedented wave of terror is sweeping the Durban black townships of Umlazi and Kwa Mashu where hordes of armed warriors are "purging" the townships of United Democratic Front (UDF) sympathisers.

At least three people have been abducted and brutally killed by the "impis" who roam the streets at night, forcing males to join them on their murder and destruction spree.

Last week two organisers of the National Federation of Workers, a UDF affiliate, were attacked at their Umlazi homes.

Thabo Robert Mokoena, 33, was abducted and killed, and his colleague, Mandla Ndlela, 37, had his house destroyed by about 50 men who critically assaulted him.

These are just some of the incidents that have followed a "warning" by the KwaZulu legislative assembly member for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, that all UDF sympathisers should leave Umlazi or else they would be "dealt with".

Mr Sabelo announced this at a press conference about three weeks ago, but has since been repimanded by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha who said Mr Sabelo had not been mandated by either the KwaZulu government or by Inkatha to issue the "warning".

But despite Dr Dhlomo's assurances, the UDF has borne the brunt of the impi's acts of killing, maiming and destruction.

The impi were initially vigilante groups that were formed by Inkatha at the height of the recent unrest to "restore" normality in the townships.

Mr Sabelo who was in charge of these vigilante groups claims the impis now terrorising the residents are not his people — despite several claims that he has been seen with them.

Several people are known to have left the townships in fear of their lives. Among them is Rev Wesley Mabuza, a prominent member of Diakonia, an organisation of Christian churches in the Greater Durban area. Rev Mabuza was frog-marched by the attackers who forced him to chant anti-UDF slogans.

But chants were before the present reign of terror that has seen even journalists incurring the wrath of the impis when they tried to photograph them in action.

Police are investigating.

'Still a chance for non-violent change'

IIA

Mercury 19/9/85

African Affairs Correspondent

IF PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan had announced very damaging measures against South Africa which would have really hurt the economy, President Botha would not have been in a position to argue the merits of scrapping the pass laws and the President's Council would not have been in a position to endorse the Oosthuizen recommendations on influx control.

This was said at Ulundi yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, when he met the American Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel.

Backlash

Chief Buthelezi said he was grateful the American President had not taken the kind of steps against South Africa which would have submerged reform attempts under an overriding white backlash.

This could easily have led to whites adopting a 'scorched earth' policy.

Chief Buthelezi said his non-violent stance and his commitment to bringing about change through negotiation and through employing democratic opposition to apartheid was not authored by a view that South Africa was not yet in an 11th hour situation.

'I again and again warn that the time may well come when every non-violent attempt to bring

about radical change has failed, and the people will be historically justified in using violence as a last resort,' he said.

However, he told the ambassador that he did not believe all non-violent tactics and strategies had been exploited even though there was not much time left.

'I believe that a concerted black South African attempt made in harmony with positive

forces from the international community can yet conjoin non-violence with radical changes and salvage our country from a race war,' Chief Buthelezi said.

'I remain completely convinced that black South Africans want to bring about change preferably through non-violent means and will only support the forces of violence if they are really convinced that non-violent means have failed.'

black

19/9/87

Page

White capitalism and

W. Mail

Young blacks who arrive at ANC recruiting centres ask to join not the ANC, but the Communist Party. In the townships, the youth equate capitalism with apartheid. On the morning of the big-business meeting with the ANC, PATRICK LAURENCE assesses capitalism's uncertain future

THE survival of capitalism is at stake in South Africa as the rebellion against apartheid intensifies.

South Africa's major extra-parliamentary opposition movements bristle with anti-capitalist sentiment. There is no doubt that there is growing hostility towards capitalism among black youth. The reason is simple: capitalism is seen as the driving force behind apartheid.

The threatened mass dismissal of striking black miners by mining corporations last week has reinforced the perception of capitalism and apartheid working in tandem against black interests.

Recent criticisms of President P W Botha by big business as the value of the rand plummeted — it dropped as low as 34,80 US cents before emergency measures — have done little to modify the hostility.

They are seen as an attempt to chide Botha for bad management and to salvage capitalism by belatedly dissociating it from the cruder aspects of apartheid.

Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, a patron of the United Democratic Front, said of these recent criticisms of Botha by big business: "They are trying to boost their own interests. They want to create a climate conducive to healthy profit-making. They are not really against apartheid. But they realise that the township unrest is against their interests."

George Wauchope, vice president of the Azanian People's Organisation, said: "Big business feel its interests are threatened. They want Botha to undertake a few palliative measures to hoodwink the outside world. They still want to maintain capitalism within the framework of apartheid, which provides them with cheap labour."

The Manifesto of the Azanian People, which was adopted by the pro-black consciousness National Forum, an umbrella organisation with 200 affiliates, reflects these feelings. "Our struggle for national liberation is



On the road to Lusaka ... slow beginnings to a peace?

ANC will play it tough

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

THE African National Congress is likely to place the ball firmly in South African business leaders' court when the two sides meet for talks in Lusaka today.

The business leaders will be asked to explain what prompted their request for the meeting and what they expect from the ANC.

The ANC believes that its economic policies and its desire for a non-racial democracy in a unitary country are publicly available in numerous documents, so that businessmen have no sound reason to plead ignorance on these counts.

ANC President Oliver Tambo will lead the delegation which is likely to be comprised of several other members of the national executive committee.

The ANC has been at pains in previous comments on the talks to specify the meeting will in no sense constitute negotiations. Instead, it will be only an "exchange of views".

The ANC views the meeting as a sign of

relatively serious tensions developing in the white bloc, with advanced sections of big business beginning to consider fairly radical political options as possibly the best means to attempt safeguard business interests.

Over the past year in particular, there have been signs that the ANC is hostile to some sections of the business community.

The offices of Anglo American and Anglova were bombed earlier this year, following the sacking of several thousand black miners.

In this connection, the ANC is likely to want an explanation as to why the Chamber of Mines is pursuing several ways in wage bargaining with the National Union of Mineworkers.

From the perspective of the ANC, the Chamber split had the effect of neutralising and demobilising a large proportion of miners who were trying for a better set of working conditions.

directed against the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania (South Africa) in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies," the manifesto declares.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), which has largely pushed the National Forum to the sidelines, is loosely described as "Charterist." The label reflects the allegiance of many of its more than 600 affiliates to the

Freedom Charter, which asserts: "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

The exiled African National Congress shares commitment to the Freedom Charter with UDF affiliates. At the ANC's recent consultative conference in Kabwe, Zambia, a leading South African communist, Joe Slovo, was elected to the national

executive. Slovo, Chief of Staff Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's fighting arm, helped to draft the Freedom Charter.

As Dr Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, has observed of black political thinking: "There has developed a profound and widespread antipathy to capitalism. It is evident in the anti-capitalist polemic of virtually every black trade union spokesman (and) in the

motivation of youthful militants who arrive at ANC recruiting centres in the front line states and demand to join, not the ANC but the South African Communist Party."

It does not follow, of course, as the South African security police affect to think, that communism is the main force behind the black resistance.

There is a strong nationalist component, but the failure of South African capitalists as a whole to dissociate themselves from apartheid — as distinct from criticising it in times of crisis — has strengthened the socialist element in black nationalism.

The perception of capitalism as the reverse side of apartheid is not confined to young black radicals. American scholar Dr Heribert Adam wrote more than five years ago of the role of South African big business, particularly the giant Anglo-American Corporation and its then chairman, Harry Oppenheimer, in helping to secure "essential lifelines to outside loans, markets and know-how" for the country and hence, in his view, for its apartheid regime.

"Oppenheimer, the epitome of foreign-oriented capital and its then financial backbone of the official (white) apartheid opposition, has his speeches to the corporate establishment abroad occasionally published by the Department of Information as paid advertisements in foreign newspapers," Adam said.

As recently as April, Oppenheimer, in a speech in London, raised his voice against sanctions, saying: "South Africa is not, or anyhow should not be at this stage, concerned with the normal party-political battle, but with the bringing to birth of an entirely new sort of country."

Rightly or wrongly, Oppenheimer's speech was seen as evidence of an alliance between big business, including its liberal wing, and "Botha reformism".

Oppenheimer's London speech should be seen in the context of indirect but unmistakable support for Botha's new tri-racial constitution for whites, coloureds and Indians by the new chairman of Anglo-American, Gavin Relly, in the November 1983 referendum.

Botha assiduously and, in large measure, successfully, wooed big business after he first came to power almost exactly seven years ago. He promised reform, and businessmen — with one or two notable exceptions — gave him their support. It helped to consolidate the view in black ranks that apartheid and capitalism are "two sides of the same bloody coin".

Since then, however, big business has become increasingly critical of Botha. The term "both ar and" expresses the new attitude succinctly. It reflects anxiety and anger at Botha's apparent inability to introduce the reforms necessary to remedy the political crisis which, all observers agree, underlies the financial crisis. Relly, who in 1983 advocated support for the "reformist" tri-racial constitution, said as the rand started its plunge: "It is necessary for the government to enter into genuine negotiations with representatives of all groups in South Africa for a new system of genuine power sharing."

DON'T UNDERRATE THE COMMUNISTS, BUSINESSMEN TOLD (1/4) W. Mail

BUSINESSMEN and industrial relations practitioners did not appear to bat an eyelid this week when they were informed that the South African Communist Party (SACP) was an authentic element in the political life of many South Africans.

Crammed into a conference hall in the plush Sandton Sun Hotel, the R250 a day delegates politely heard out Dr Tom Lodge, of Wits University's Department of Political Studies, as he said the SACP's command of public support had been bolstered.

They would have been cheered to know that the ANC has still held back from an unequivocal commitment to socialism.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

But what to make of the SACP, banned and exiled for a quarter of a century, a mysterious and, to many, a sinister force?

Dr Lodge said that before its banning, the Communist Party was a significant political force, with about 5 000 highly dedicated members and enjoying a commanding position in a huge black trade union federation.

The SACP's predecessor, the Communist Party of SA, had won municipal elections in all the main urban centres — in Johannesburg, on the basis of an all-white municipal vote — and was about to win

parliamentary representation. 19/9/85 ANC and related organisations and "It operated in close co-ordination with both the ANC and the Indian Congresses — the latter then poised to embark on a campaign of civil disobedience.

"The post-1948 Nationalist administration fulfilled one of its most conspicuous electoral promises when it banned the party in 1950."

Dr Lodge said the SACP, which was formed underground in 1953, had never aspired to be a mass organisation, and from its inception to the present is believed to have had no more than a few hundred members.

It has worked within the organisational structures provided by

ANC and related organisations and adopted a programme in 1961 providing the ideological rationalisation for working with nationalist organisations.

Dr Lodge said that of the 30 people recently elected to the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, 13 could reasonably be assumed to be members of the SACP.

"But it would be wrong to conceive of them acting as a radical wing within the Congress leadership.

"Experts believe, for example, that the SACP has been one of the restraining impulses checking the use of violence against civilians.

Pik asks Mozambique about ANC activities

Pretoria Correspondent

11A
Besides reporting to the Mozambican authorities on the "technical violations" of the Nkomati Accord by South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs asked them about the presence of African National Congress (ANC) members in Maputo.

Mr Botha said on arrival in Pretoria, after he and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan held talks with a Maputo delegation at Komatipoort yesterday, that the session was a follow-up to his meeting with President Samora Machel on Monday.

On Monday Mr Machel alleged that South Africa had transgressed the Nkomati Accord, to which Mr Botha said it was a "technical" violation, made to try

to bring peace to Mozambique's rebels.

Mr Botha and General Malan were accompanied by General Bob Rogers, the former Chief of the South African Air Force, and Dr James Gilliland, an aviation expert, who conducted the urgent inquiry into Mozambique's allegations.

Mr Botha said as far as the South African Government was concerned there was no threat to the Nkomati Accord.

20/9/85
He said trying to get the MNR and Frelimo together could not be done in the open.

STAC
The Nkomati Accord also made provision for disputes and the two countries had to try to sort out their problems through reconciliation and mediation.

● See Page 13.

Arson attack shocks former Inkatha man

Mercury
20/9/85 (11A)

Mercury Reporter

THE former secretary general of Inkatha and a professor at the University of Zululand, Dr Sibusiso Bhengu, said from Switzerland yesterday he was shocked to learn that his seven-roomed house in Esikhawini, near Empangeni, had been petrol-bombed.

Speaking from Geneva yesterday, Dr Bhengu said he had received a telex from South Africa about the bombing and damage to the house from the family which had been living in it at the time of the attack.

Dr Bhengu said he left South Africa in 1978 after resigning as secretary general of Inkatha following a difference of opinion with the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said he now held a senior position with the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva.

'According to the telex message, the occupants of the house were woken in the early hours of last Saturday after two petrol bombs were hurled through the windows,' he said, adding the house had also been peppered

with shotgun pellets.

Dr Bhengu said he was no longer a member of Inkatha nor a follower of Chief Buthelezi.

He claimed that the damage to the house was estimated to be more than R20 000.

A police spokesman confirmed the incident but said no arrests had been made.

PW considers ANC talks a flop

11A Political Correspondent

President Botha today slammed the recent talks between leading businessmen and the African National Congress, branding the talks a failure which served no purpose.

The businessmen involved may have believed it was their right as individual citizens, but, he said, he wished to make the statement that the discus-

sion was not to the advantage of anyone.

ST AR 20/9/85
"The discussion was a failure because no common interest could be found and the ANC only repeated previous extremist ideological economic views which are general knowledge," Mr Botha told the congress.

"If business people or other South Africans wish to be informed about the

● To Page 3, Col 7 ■

RELEASE BOESAK

EIGHT prominent Americans, including former Secretary of State Mr Cyrus Vance, yesterday called for the release of detained UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

They said the record of the South African Government "in causing injury within its jails" made them gravely concerned about Dr Boesak's wellbeing.

In a statement released in Cape Town last night, they say his "many friends and admirers" in the United States are "deeply concerned about his fate."

Among the signatories to the statement are: Mr Derek Bok, president of Harvard University, Mr A Bartlett Giamatti, president of Yale University (where Dr Boesak received an honorary degree in 1984), Mr David Hamburg, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Rev Theodore Hes-

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

burgh, president of the University of Notre Dame.

They say the consequences of imprisoning Dr Boesak are "rapidly becoming very grave".

• Dr Boesak had at the time of his detention not

yet decided whether to attend Saturday's Convention Alliance meeting in Johannesburg, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, his wife, said yesterday.

One of the co-ordinators of the pilot meeting of the Alliance, said this week that Dr Boesak had planned to attend.

"There was some talk that he might attend,

but he was still deciding when he was detained," Mrs Boesak said.

• An urgent application is to be brought in the Cape Town Supreme Court next week for the release from detention of the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Boesak.

Dr Boesak's attorneys

have confirmed that documents would be filed this week and the court hearing was expected next week.

Dr Boesak was detained at a roadblock on August 27, soon after he had announced plans for a march on Pollsmoor Prison where Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, is held.

- PLEA BY US TOP EIGHT

(Handwritten notes: 110A, Sowetan, 20/9/85)

PFP CONVENTION ALLIANCE

Catalyst for a settlement

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's first "Convention Alliance" meeting on Saturday initiates probably the boldest domestic attempt at negotiation politics for some time.

The politics of negotiation has, so far as radical black organisations are concerned, been gravely undermined. For this reason and because the organisers do not want to compromise or prematurely prescribe, the PFP is not divulging the names of most of the individuals or parties attending the talks. There could, however, be some surprises.

About 150 people, among them leaders from commerce and industry, the churches, prominent sportsmen, representatives from bodies like the Black Sash, Nafcoc and the

to want nothing to do with it, at least for the time being. At least three layers of the UDF's leadership are in prison, either under the Emergency regulations or as treason trialists. The UDF would never take part while its leaders are in jail. (The PFP has joined the call for their release). So it has been difficult for the convention organisers, who understand the problem, to make any headway on that front. But, as the PFP's Alex Boraine observes, the party cannot sit on its hands and do nothing. The convention excludes nobody, he points out.

Azapo and the black consciousness-socialist body, the National Forum, reject the convention idea out of hand. It would be the "ultimate compromise," they say, deaf to PFP assurances that the convention alliance is not yet a "national convention" representing all South Africans.

Meanwhile, the ANC, SA's premier black nationalist organisation, remains banned and could therefore not participate even if it wanted to. But the PFP may well have put out feelers in that direction. And although the ANC has, through its imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela, rejected the idea of a national convention, the ANC did meet with South African business leaders recently. This would suggest

the organisation is not as intractable as its posturing might suggest, for it cannot seriously believe that only the "terms of transfer of power to the people" is up for discussion. The same may hold true for government which, while publicly denouncing the businessmen's meeting with the ANC, was all along aware of it and, privately, at least, must be keen to see if anything can come out of it.

The small and tentative beginnings of the convention alliance may indeed prove to be the catalyst that eventually leads to a full-blown national convention.

Observes UCT political scientist and Slabbert supporter, David Welsh: "A convention is not a coming together of people who already agree because, by definition, one would not then be necessary... A convention has to agree upon, not the details of policy, but ways and means of regulating conflict. It must aim to establish a basic set of principles within which they can peacefully disagree."

Any initiative that encourages negotiation and dialogue between the contending elements of SA is to be welcomed. As Welsh points out: "The contending forces will at the very least have to understand each other. A

convention or similar forum may reveal to those involved that they have more in common than they otherwise might have thought. If it shows that it can fly, the chances of more becoming attracted to the idea will grow."

FM 20/9/85
BUSINESS AND THE ANC 11A

Narrowing the gap

Last week's indaba between South African businessmen and leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) in Zambia was the first step in what both sides hope will become meaningful dialogue leading to a narrowing of the gap between government and the ANC, and eventual negotiation over power-sharing.

The two groups agreed to have further meetings, but from now on it will be secret. Anglo's Gavin Rely and Zach de Beer, Premier's Tony Bloom and the SA Foundation's Peter Sorour attended the exploratory meeting, but future talks could include Barlows' Mike Rosholt, Barclays' Chris Ball and possibly a number of leading Afrikaner businessmen.

State President P W Botha and Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange condemned the talks in strong terms last week, but the *FM* understands that, at least in Botha's case, this was done for the benefit of the local constituency. Unofficially, the business leaders were given the government's approval for the talks — officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs even briefed the businessmen before they left for Zambia.

Apparently government feels that such talks should take place in secret, otherwise it might give the ANC "more legitimacy than it deserves." Certain government leaders quietly seem to hope that the business leaders could prepare the ground for their own secret talks with the liberation movement.

Substantial support for the initiative by prominent Afrikaner businessmen — reportedly Sanlam's Fred Du Plessis and Remgro's Anton Rupert — as well as academics and newspaper editors (see *In My Opinion* page 67) make it more difficult for government to discourage it. Rumour has it that it was Du Plessis who initially told President Botha about the plans.

Just about the most significant aspect of last week's talks is the ANC's cautious indication that, although they cannot afford to renounce the armed struggle now, later they may be willing to talk about a kind of ceasefire to facilitate real negotiation.



Slabbert

Boraine

press, will be there to hear Slabbert explain the motivation of the Alliance. Slabbert explains that the meeting will be "exploratory, to assess the extent to which there is a need for the Alliance and to work out an agenda for it."

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has all along indicated its support of the convention alliance and is a strong component of it. Slabbert obviously welcomes this support but is anxious that the alliance not be misconstrued as simply a cosy PFP-Inkatha arrangement, with perhaps the Solidarity Party of the Indian House of Delegates thrown in.

Labour Party leader, Allan Hendrickse, is not involved at all. Nor is his Indian counterpart, Amichand Rajbansi. This may not be a shortcoming as those parties might, some feel, tend to deter more people than they would encourage to participate.

A major positive factor is that the talks will be unconstrained by any ideological framework in the way that government's plans always are by National Party dogma.

However, a major snag is, of course, that important political forces such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) — not to mention government, which holds the power — seem

THE ANC

Time to be heard

Officially, at least, the State President thinks Gavin Relly and his troupe were disloyal to fly off to speak to the African National Congress (ANC) last week. We can't understand why.

The ANC, whether we like it or not, is a major player on the stage of reform today. But in the Noddyland world of South African politics, it is a player which cannot speak its lines.

It is vital, we believe, that South Africans should be acquainted with all points of view in this tortuous quest for a brave new world. Our future — as citizens or corporations — depends on it. So if the State President is disinclined to hear the other man's point of view, who can blame business for finding out for itself?

This it not to suggest that the ANC, or any other organisation committed to the law of the gun, should have carte blanche to pursue its creed of violence. Indeed, SA law is shot through with restraints on what can or cannot be quoted. Incitement to violence or racial hatred and furthering the aims of banned organisations and communism are among them.

But surely we should not pretend that the ANC, with its undoubted support in the black communities, does not exist? Perhaps it has less support than many seem to think, but

sooner or later we will have to know what the ANC is about.

The *Sunday Times*' account of the Zambia meeting put the problem in telling perspective. Relly: "What we are concerned with is not so much whether the following generation will be governed by black or white people, but that it will be a viable country and that it will not be destroyed by violence and strife."

But the paper noted that Tambo's response could not be published in SA, although "the South African listeners were surprised by the mildness of his manner, even as he declared his refusal to lay down his guns."

What did Tambo say? If all South Africans are to participate in the process of reform, they have a right to know, even if many disagree with him.

The fresh and painful lessons from Zimbabwe should not be ignored. Only months before the "Lancaster House" elections, Robert Mugabe's face had never been seen on local television. His words had never been quoted in a local newspaper, and the bookies were quoting evens on Nkomo and the "Bishop." The culture shock of Mugabe's subsequent runaway victory lingers to this day.

We do not suggest that the ANC will become the Zanu of SA. What we do suggest is that the public is adult enough to hear what it has to say. ■

RAILWAY APARTHEID

Reform derailed

Make no mistake, apartheid is still very much on the tracks; indeed, since September 1, it has taken a new and unbelievably tortuous form. A special Sats letter, dated July 26 1985 and issued to train commuters on the Reef, explained the new system. Certain first class coaches, says the letter, will still be marked and reserved exclusively for whites; first and third class coaches previously marked "non-whites" will have their markings removed and they will be known as "open coaches" in which anyone may travel. This means that whites may choose any accommodation and they are advised to state their preference when booking. On mainline sleeper trains, continues the letter, "the 'open coaches' will still be separated from the white coaches by the dining car, and on trains without a dining car, the door between the last white coach and the 'open coach' will be locked."

It is clear that Sats' good intentions have been overwhelmed by an understandable but desperate desire to reassure uneasy whites. But does Sats realise how insulting the new arrangements must appear to its black customers? Before, they were separated, but at least they were "equal" in terms of access to accommodation and facilities.

Now, symbolically, they have been deprived of the "preference" so deliberately offered to whites; and they are bluntly reminded that coaches will be locked to keep them out. Before, this dubious protection could be argued to work both ways. Now, the locked doors seem only to protect whites from the unnamed horrors perpetrated by blacks — and, it must be inferred, from other whites who take their chances in the "open" coaches. And whites who choose the "open" way are insulted by implication and thereby discouraged. Even worse: although "non-white" signs have been removed, the mad logic has resulted in more "whites only" markers. Absurdly, ugly discrimination is more visible than ever.

Sats' well-intentioned reform by gradualism has come out looking clumsy, insensitive and foolish. Now is the time for boldness. Sats should abolish all official segregation on its trains. It may be surprised to find that passengers will continue to choose their accommodation according to their own cultural, linguistic and — let it be admitted — racial affinities. Anyway, sheer economics will ensure that the status quo is largely maintained. There may be a few incidents: if so, we have the Railway Police to keep order and protect travellers — all of them. ■

Buthelezi says major producers are insensitive

11A Mercury 20/9/85

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

BLACK people were being 'driven to reject the free-enterprise system' because of the Government's policy and the 'insensitivity' of South Africa's major producers, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Giving the opening speech at the Organisers of Livestock Producers symposium at Natal University here, Chief Buthelezi said many of those who wanted to bring about change by using violence in townships wanted to steer South Africa toward socialism.

The visit by Mr Gavin Bely, chairman of Anglo-

American, to the leader of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, in Lusaka last week was a wild goose chase and like the Archangel Gabriel trying to convert the devil in hell,' he said.

Ovation

Chief Buthelezi, who received a standing ovation for his speech, said there was an urgent need for 'deregularisation and privatisation' in South Africa.

This would ensure a free-enterprise system in which black people could participate and feel 'they had something in it for themselves', he said.

'Black and white people do not have to love

each other but to accept they depend on each other for purely vested interests.'

He was appalled that regulations 'for the meat trade allows whites to make money out of black needs quite regardless of black consumers' views on the subject'.

He said: 'About 55 percent of all meat consumers in South Africa are black. I speak here because I represent these customers and not to show that you can tolerate a cheeky black in your midst.'

'Every black commuter knows that the regulations themselves force

blacks who have access to butcheries to buy meat and then to transport that meat home over considerable distances in conditions which are far more unhygienic than the small butcheries which the regulations make possible.'

There was something 'radically wrong' with the meat industry which had not yet found an 'effective means to distribute the approximately 37 000 tons of surplus meat at present in the country'.

Chief Buthelezi called on the meat industry to create opportunities for black people to enter the market and for black and white meat producers to work together.

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Pik asks Mozambique about ANC activities

Pretoria Correspondent

11A

Besides reporting to the Mozambican authorities on the "technical violations" of the Nkomati Accord by South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs asked them about the presence of African National Congress (ANC) members in Maputo.

Mr Botha said on arrival in Pretoria, after he and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan held talks with a Maputo delegation at Komatipoort yesterday, that the session was a follow-up to his meeting with President Samora Machel on Monday.

On Monday Mr Machel alleged that South Africa had transgressed the Nkomati Accord, to which Mr Botha said it was a "technical" violation, made to try

to bring peace to Mozambique's rebels.

Mr Botha and General Malan were accompanied by General Bob Rogers, the former Chief of the South African Air Force, and Dr James Gilliland, an aviation expert, who conducted the urgent inquiry into Mozambique's allegations.

Mr Botha said as far as the South African Government was concerned there was no threat to the Nkomati Accord.

He said trying to get the MNR and Frelimo together could not be done in the open.

The Nkomati Accord also made provision for disputes and the two countries had to try to sort out their problems through reconciliation and mediation.

● See Page 13.

What have these...

OCTOBER 9 STAYAWAY

Mixed responses

Campaigning in support of the call by the National Initiative for Reconciliation Conference for a national day of prayer, including a work stayaway, on October 9 is taking off. But it has met with a lukewarm response from trade unionists.

The call followed Bishop Desmond Tutu's speech to the conference in which he proposed the idea of a one week stayaway. Tutu has enthusiastically welcomed the partial acceptance of his proposal by the interdenominational conference, which included members of a wide range of church groups among participants, including, significantly, the NG Kerk.

And businessmen have been asked by organisers to support the call by closing down for the day or, at least, not penalising employees who stay away from work.

But SA's two major black trade union groupings, the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) and the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) have expressed concern that Tutu made the call without canvassing the idea with them first.

Says a Cusa spokesman: "We were not consulted by Tutu before he made his call. It perturbs us that the first we heard about it was from the press — it is our members who would be involved."

And Fosatu president Chris Dlamini asks why Tutu did not discuss his plan "with anyone from the working class movement." Because of this, he says, Fosatu's Central Committee was unable to give the call its blessing at its meeting last weekend. Instead, Fosatu's regional committees have been instructed to set up meetings with church representatives to discuss the call.

"They are quite right," says Tutu. But he explains that the dynamic of the conference was such that decisions had to be taken. The situation in SA is deteriorating. And although delegates were there only in their personal capacities, he was astounded that people from such a broad range of churches supported the idea — it was an opportunity

that could not be thrown away.

He is prepared to compromise to reach agreement among as many organisations as possible. "We did not intend to put anyone's nose out of joint. I am sure nothing will be lost if the date is changed," he says. Inkatha has said it supports the proposal in principle but feels it should occur at a later date.

Tutu adds: "While it is no longer my baby, I am sure the organisers will be consulting with a wide range of organisations. And I hope business will be co-operative." ■



Tutu ... 'no longer my baby'

11A FM
20/9/85

on businessmen to demand changes from the government — and a mere 36% favoured armed struggle against the government's security forces. Of the latter group, about half of ANC and UDF supporters see insurrection as justified, compared to 25% of Tutu supporters and 7% of Buthelezi supporters.

The Case survey shows a quarter of respondents opposed to foreign disinvestment, a quarter in favour of total disinvestment — and 49% in favour of conditional disinvestment, in which “foreign firms should not be allowed to invest here unless they actively pressure the government to end apartheid ...”

This, Orkin points out, amounts to 75% in favour of some form of disinvestment pressure. He explains the apparent discrepancy between the Case findings and those of Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and surveys conducted by Lawrence Schlemmer of the Natal Centre for Applied Social Science: “In most cases, the options given in those surveys were extreme — total disinvestment or total investment.

“In one survey, where Schlemmer did provide a ‘middle-ground’ option, somewhat less than half chose it. It seems clear that the majority is in favour of disinvestment as a form of conditional pressure on the government.”

Orkin concurs with Schlemmer too that the disinvestment campaign over the past year has also seen a hardening of black attitudes on the subject.

Responses to a question as to whether respondents favoured capitalism or socialism showed 22% in favour of the former, and 77% in favour of the latter. ■

URBAN BLACKS

Sobering evidence

SA's dark continent remains the political attitudes of its black majority. Wilfully or not, government appears to be most in the dark. State President P W Botha's recent assertion in yet again refusing to consider talks with the African National Congress (ANC) — that it has “less than 10% support” nationally — is challenged by the latest survey attempting to chart this terrain.

Mark Orkin of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case), designed a survey in association with the Institute for Black Research, which was conducted by market research firm Research Surveys.

The Case survey put 10 questions to 800 respondents from Pretoria, Soweto, Johannesburg, the Reef and Vaal areas, Durban and Maritzburg, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

An open question as to “which leader or organisation would you most like to represent you in solving problems or grievances?” saw 31% opting for the ANC or its jailed leader Nelson Mandela; 16% for Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu; 14% for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and related organisations; 8% for KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi or Inkatha; and 8% mentioned government or other pro-investment organisations. A substantial 21% did not know or did not choose a leader.

The three major tendencies, all identified with black nationalism and universal sufferage in a unitary state, make up just over 60% of respondents. But in fact, when asked how best apartheid may be ended, fully 80% of respondents agree that “compromise is no longer possible . . . the next step must be a unitary arrangement in which all blacks and whites together vote for their leaders, to participate without regard to race or group in one central government.” Only 20% favour a transitional federal option.

Nonetheless, the survey indicates that an overwhelming majority of urban black opinion is still in favour of negotiation with government by genuine black leaders, supplemented by foreign and business pressure to obtain reforms.

A striking 90% of respondents favour genuine negotiations between government and “true leaders of the black people.” Some 70% favoured some form of foreign pressure

HARALD PAKENDORF

11A

IN MY
OPINION

But the opening gambit



Harald Pakendorf is editor of *Die Vaderland* and member of the SA business delegation which met with senior ANC leaders in the Zambian bush last week.

It was an amiable discussion between a group of South Africans. The atmosphere was relaxed and regular peals of laughter could be heard.

But the subject was a serious one — and the men around the table under the hot African sun were also serious.

South African businessmen were talking to the African National Congress (ANC).

About violence, the possibility of talks with government, the ANC's economic policies, the ties with the SA Communist Party (SACP). The talks were off the record and details cannot be made public.

On the issues, though, which interested businessmen in particular, nothing new was

said, thus making it possible to indicate the substance:

□ Economic policy: The hungry dare not go on being hungry and the poor remain poor. Monopolies cannot go on running the economy and a change in ownership and control will come. How, will depend on the way the ANC gets into power.

But apart from State intervention in the monopolies — and clearly at least at the levels and the places where State intervention exists now — there will be room for free enterprise.

□ Ties with the SACP: Of course they exist, but the ANC leads and the Freedom Charter is still its policy document — which cannot be called communist;

□ On violence: There is no possibility that violence will be foresworn to enable talks to start. The ANC did not start the violence. Its violence is a reaction to the violence of apartheid.

If it stops its violence, calls off the pressure, there won't be any reason for the government to talk to it;

□ On talks: The government cannot do more

than reform, and even about that there is doubt. What is needed is a transformation of society. If talks are about the mechanism of instituting one man one vote, they may be possible. There are several pre-conditions though, one of which is the release of Nelson Mandela.

Thus far the ANC position. If more is said, confidence will be broken.

It needs to be stressed though that Gavin Rely in particular, but the others in the South African group too, strongly stressed P W Botha's honest reform intentions and the willingness of society to begin to accept these.

Particularly clear too was the message to the ANC: with your kind of approach to the economy there cannot be growth, we can not solve the problems of poverty, hunger, poor schooling, inadequate medical services. Africa has shown this abundantly.

The talks were significant because they happened. The ANC needs to be taken seriously because it is there. Perhaps the Mfuwe-round was but the opening gambit. For both sides. ■

APC Times 20/7/85 4A

UDF organizers flee

Staff Reporter
SEVERAL United Democratic Front organizers fled from a closed organizational meeting in Athlone on Wednesday after the AME hall in Hazendal was surrounded by police, a UDF spokesman said.

UDF interim organizer Mr Naseegh Jaffer last night said police had surrounded a house adjacent to the hall where about 20 organizers and representatives

of UDF area committees were to have met at 7:30pm.

Plainclothes policemen were positioned at different places outside and at the entrance of the hall, he said.

Most of the people in the hall jumped over walls to escape. No one was arrested.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said last night that police had held a routine observation at the meeting.

S A's death risks sparked better deal for blacks, says chief

Mercury 2/9/85

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Mercury Reporter

THE South African Government was making more and more concessions giving blacks wider recognition because the life and death stakes for the country had increased since the introduction of the new tricameral parliament, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a South African Black Alliance meeting in Durban yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi, Kwa-Zulu's Chief Minister and chairman of Saba, said although there still was confusion in Government ranks, the National Party had now accepted that Verwoerdian apartheid had to be abandoned.

However, he said while there was real change in this context the fundamental cornerstones of apartheid were still accepted as permanent aspects of social, economic and political existence.

Abandoned

'There is no talk of the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and influx control of one kind or another being scrapped,' he said, adding that these 'hideous Acts' would continue being stumbling blocks in the paths of those who sought the politics of negotiation.

He said many members of the Black Alliance had abandoned the organisation to join the National Party in the tricameral Parliament which had been shown to be unworkable.

Chief Buthelezi reiterated his commitment to negotiation but added that if the Government did not dismantle the new Parliament it was difficult to see how there could be real progress in the politics of negotiation.

He said the new Constitution had failed to be a catalyst of political progress and had actually



Chief Buthelezi ... apartheid still a stumbling block.

been an instigator of violence.

'I warned South Africa that it would be rejected and that it would polarise the country further and stimulate black anger,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he saw Inkatha remaining as an African organisation until the Population Registration Act, group areas and influx control regulations were scrapped.

The Chief Minister explained why he supported the call by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, for a convention alliance.

'Dr Slabbert had stood shoulder to shoulder with me in the referendum campaign in trying to persuade whites to reject the new constitution,' he said.

He said he was satisfied that the PFP leader's rejection of the constitution

was genuine and that he saw it as disastrous, he said.

'Unlike our Indian and coloured brothers and sisters who scrambled and scrapped with each other to creep under the net, Dr Slabbert was a victim of the new constitution and not a protagonist of it like those who moved voluntarily into its tangled network of racist policies.

'For me it is not important whether or not Dr Slabbert actually gains a massive black membership support. What is important is that he has remained true to a political stand he took before the new constitution became a reality and that he is now acting out past commitments in his own way.'

Chief Buthelezi said he also supported Dr Slabbert's call for a convention alliance and agreed that at this stage a true national convention was ruled out by prevailing political circumstances.

Police will hand me to Inkatha, ^{21/9/85} says fugitive Gasa ^{Mercury}

By Stovin Hayter
Political Reporter

THE fugitive chairman of the UDF-affiliated Umlazi Residents' Association, Mr David Gasa, said this week he was willing to come out of hiding if he could be sure he would not fall into the hands of Inkatha.

In an interview with the Mercury, Mr Gasa said he had been told by friends who had infiltrated Inkatha that 'every time they meet they talk about how they are going to kill Gasa'.

Mr Gasa said he fled his home late last month after receiving death threats over the telephone for several weeks beforehand. His home was petrol bombed during the township violence in August.

One anonymous caller had said: 'You swine, you think you are clever, you're going to die, we are going to cut you into pieces', Mr Gasa said.

New hideout

'I was warned by friends that I must hide myself because they had heard I was going to be taken by the SBs (Special Branch) as though they are arresting me and then handed over to Inkatha. And Inkatha is going to cut my body so that I die by bleeding.'

The day after he left his home was burned to the ground after being petrol bombed a second time.

'The police came to my home in Harding twice but I was not there and Inkatha chase me wher-

ever I go.'

Mr Gasa said he had been forced to change hiding places three times.

He appeared briefly in Durban this week and spoke to the Mercury while on his way to a new hideout.

'I am an earthworm running from my own people,' he said.

'I am prepared to surrender myself if I can be sure the police will not hand me to Inkatha. I am not afraid. I have committed no offence.

'But I cannot face Inkatha. I am not prepared to fight physically.'

The SAP public relations officer for Port Natal, Capt Winston Heunis, said that as far as he was aware police were not looking for Mr Gasa.

But he said he did not know whether or not the Security Police were looking for Mr Gasa.

'Ridiculous'

Asked about Mr Gasa's fear that he would be handed over to Inkatha, Capt Heunis said he was not prepared to comment on 'a ridiculous idea like that'.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, said: 'Inkatha

is not there to kill people.

'We stood up during the time of unrest to protect our property, houses, schools and families. We never attack people.'

Mr Sabelo said Mr Gasa had been seen with people handing out pamphlets calling on students to mourn the death of murdered lawyer Victoria Mxenge.

Those same people had then turned to looting and burning shops, Mr Sabelo said.

'And after that Gasa was nowhere to be seen in Umlazi. He owes the people of Umlazi an explanation about what took place during the unrest.'

Cape Times 21/9/85

Bid to launch alliance today

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE proposed convention alliance, to be discussed at a meeting in Johannesburg today, could restore rationality and provide hope for something better in South Africa, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

"I have no doubt that if an alliance of this nature can come off the ground it can be the best way in which reasonable people can pool their resources to plan for a better future," he said in an interview.

A number of Afrikaans-speaking academics, including Professor Dawid Bosch and Professor Marinus Wiechers, are expected to attend the meeting in a Sandton hotel, as is a group of students from Afrikaans universities.

Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, and Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, are also expected at the meeting.

Businessmen who met ANC

Among the businessmen are Mr Mike Rosholt, head of the Barlows group; Mr Raymond Ackerman, head of Pick 'n Pay; Mr Tony Bloom, head of Premier Milling and one of the businessmen who met the ANC in Zambia last week; Dr Zac de Beer, a director of Anglo American who also met the ANC; and Mr Hugh Boonzaier, the immediate past president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, will head a delegation from Inkatha.

However, no representatives of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which is particularly critical of Inkatha's involvement, nor the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) will attend.

Allan Boesak precluded

It is also unlikely people like Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, will be present, but Dr Slabbert said he had personally informed them about the intention of forming an alliance.

This was also the case with Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who was released on R20 000 bail yesterday and whose bail conditions would have precluded him from attending anyway.

"I want to make it quite clear that the concept of the alliance which is to be formed should not exclude anyone who subscribes to the idea of one constitution, based on one citizenship in one country, to be negotiated in a national convention," Dr Slabbert said.

It is likely that a steering committee, with a broader base than the political groups present, will be formed today with a mandate to examine the best way to launch the alliance and to obtain the broadest spectrum of support.

Cape Times 21/9

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Boesak on subversion charges

Staff Reporter
 21/9/85
 CHIT TRAF
 (circled initials and date)

DR ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was charged in Malmesbury with subversion and released from detention yesterday on R20 000 bail with "stringent" conditions.

Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Front, was not asked to plead and the case against him was postponed for further investigation until November 6 in Malmesbury Magistrate's Court.

He faces three charges of subversion and one of "promoting or convening" a prohibited gathering, namely the march to Pollsmoor Prison.

The first subversion charge concerned alleged transgressions of Section 54 of the Internal Security Act on six occasions in August this year, mostly in churches, church halls or civic centres.

An alternative charge concerns a Section 54 transgression through encouraging people not to buy at certain establishments.

Restricted to Bellville

Encouraging teachers not to teach is the basis of the second charge. The third concerns calling on foreign institutions to withdraw their investments or not to make further loans to South Africa.

Conditions of bail, which Dr Boesak's counsel Mr S Desai described in court as "stringent", prevent Dr Boesak from attending any meeting of more than ten people, apart from his church services.

Dr Boesak is also restricted to Bellville magisterial district. He may not be interviewed by the press.

He must also report daily to Bellville police station. He may not attend any funeral without police permission. He may not visit any educational institutions other than to preach at the University of the Western Cape, and he may not propagate a consumer or educational boycott or disinvestment.

Mr A P Dippenaar was the magistrate. Mr A R Acherman, with Mr P J A van der Merwe and instructed by the State Attorney's office, appeared for the State. Mr Desai was instructed by E Moosa and Associates.

Dr Allan Boesak in the Magistrate's Court in Malmesbury yesterday. ● More pictures, page 9

Cape Times Newscolour: Dan Bosman

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DISPATCH
DV Unrest

(11A)

arrest

EAST LONDON — A man was arrested in Dunean Village on Thursday night after police dispersed a mob of stone-throwers, the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said yesterday.

A situation report yesterday morning on unrest around the country listed no further incidents in the Border area.

— DDR 21/09/65

Call for open areas after EL boycott

By BENITO PHILLIPS

EAST London's all-white North End Traders' Association wants black traders to trade freely in the area.

Their call comes after shops in the North End were dealt a crippling blow by the consumer boycott, which caused 16 of the 18 shops to close their doors.

In a strongly-worded memorandum, association chairman Dennis Meyer said the North End was in a unique position because it was a Section 19 area, which meant that all race groups with the exception of black people, could trade there.

A copy of the memorandum was also handed to East London City National Party MP, Peet de Pontes.

The association said the boycott by black consumers in the Central Business District highlighted the need for urgent action to step up reform.

The traders also said racial discrimination and other inequalities could no longer be tolerated.

Saba says this is

Sunday Times Reporter
THE South African Black Alliance (Saba), under the chairmanship of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has called on the Government to release all political prisoners and detainees and unban all political groups.

Chief Buthelezi said at a news conference after a Saba meeting in Durban yesterday that it would not be possible to end countrywide violence while such detentions and bannings continued.

The meeting specifically condemned the recent banning of the Congress Of South African Students (Cosas) and the detentions of members and officials of the United Democratic Front (UDF) as well as churchmen.

A resolution, passed unanimously, reiterated Saba's view that bannings and detentions would not solve South Africa's political problems. It said that the unbannings and releases had to

NOT (11A)
22/9/85 S. Aming
the way

take place so that meaningful negotiations could begin.

In spite of its call for the unbanning of Cosas and the release of UDF members, Saba recorded its concern that "certain organisations, like the UDF and Cosas, were implicated in the recent outbreak of violence".

Saba, which has black, Indian and coloured organisations as members, resolved to support the formation of the National Convention Alliance.

It also urged President Botha to reconsider "his blunt refusal" to issue a statement of intent if he genuinely wanted to see serious and positive negotiations between himself and the country's black leaders.

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Molaise counts the days to PW's death verdict

NA Press
22/9/85

By MONO BADELA

CONDEMNED ANC guerilla Benjamin Molaise will probably know his fate next week when State President PW Botha announces whether his life is to be spared.

Molaise's lawyer Priscilla Jana yesterday told City Press that President Botha is expected to make the decision next week.

The Molaise family and his lawyers are anxiously awaiting

word from President Botha.

The family will also find out whether a petition to reopen his trial has succeeded or not. A three-week stay of execution granted 11 hours before he was due to hang on August 21, expired on September 11.

Molaise, 30, of 3643 Zone 3 Diepkloof has spent two years in Pretoria Central Prison's deathcell. He was sentenced in June 1983 for the murder of security cop Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe of Mamelodi

in November 1982.

Molaise and his mother, Mamike have maintained his innocence throughout the long wait.

The United Nations, the British Government and the European Economic Community have registered their pleas for clemency.

Bishop Desmond Tutu also added his weight to the call.

The ANC, in an unprecedented move, have twice denied Molaise's guilt.

emorandum,
ennis Meyer

Award, conferred on him by the International Publishers' Association, and the SA Society's of Journalists' Pringle Award.

Family doctor to see Nelson

C. Pers
11A
22/9/85

By MONO BADELA

A TEAM of doctors to be led by the top Baragwanath urologist Dr DVA Mzamane, will examine imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela either this weekend or early next week, a source very close to the Mandela family told City Press yesterday.

His wife Winnie, now under house arrest at her Orlando West home in Soweto, received a telegram on Tuesday advising her that the Prison department had granted her permission to have Mandela examined by his family doctor.

According to the information, Mrs Mandela will accompany the medical team when it goes to Polsmoor Maximum State Prison near Cape Town.

Mandela's lawyer Ismael Ayob is believed to be finalising the details of the planned trip.

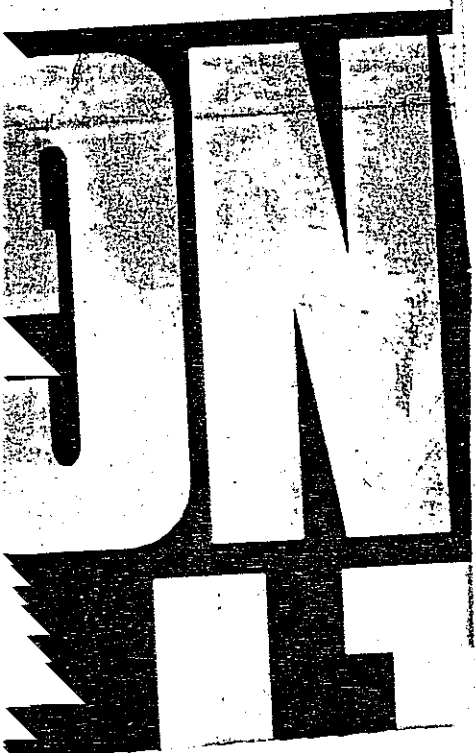
This week Mandela received medical treatment prescribed for him by a urologist, a Prison Department spokesman said.

Mandela has been advised to have his prostate gland removed, say family members.

Mrs Mandela is said to have "sighed with relief" at the news that family-appointed doctors could examine her husband.

Mandela has been in prison for 24 years now and it will be the first time that his family doctor examines him.

An urgent application to have Mandela examined by his family doctor was made by Mr Ayob after the prison authorities had announced that he had undergone urological tests in Cape Town.



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next week when St...
President PW Botha...
nounces whether his lif...
to be spared.
Motoise's lawyer Pris...
Jana yesterday told City F...
that President Botha is ex...
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The Motoise family an...
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ess, instead of next week.



Ex-ANC officer buried at Ulundi

Mercury Reporter 23/9/88

THE funeral of former Durban journalist and ANC exile Jordan Ngubane took place in Ulundi yesterday. He died last week aged 68, after a long illness.

An author and freelance journalist for several overseas publications, Mr Ngubane fled South Africa in 1961, hours before a five-year banning order was issued against him.

He had just been elected vice-president of Alan Paton's Liberal Party and also held office as an executive member of the ANC and was Natal president of the Youth League.

Swaziland became his home for the following nine years until he was eventually granted British citizenship.

He then took up a lecturing post at Howard University in Washington.

He spent 10 years lecturing to audiences across America on South Africa's apartheid



Jordan Ngubane
... 20 years in exile.

policies.

Negotiations, initiated by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, saw Mr Ngubane return to South Africa in 1980 for a year's trial period.

Since then he has lived in Ulundi and held the post of information officer for the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Convention Alliance launch feels sting of UDF stayaway

B. Day 23/9/85

PAUL BELL
Political Correspondent

THE Convention Alliance, launched in principle on Saturday, should start taking shape within a fortnight, says convenor Jules Browde.

But the alliance, while it has attracted English-speaking clergy, lawyers, liberals, some top businessmen, academics and a sprinkling of black leaders, has a long way to go to broaden its base.

Browde, chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, says the steering committee nominated by the more than 150 delegates to the launch, will meet next week to "clarify a clear plan of action and advise on the formal launching of an alliance".

"The assembly did this because it is persuaded that it is absolutely vital at this time in our country's history to bring about by non-violent means, and in the shortest time possible, the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country."

While the alliance is undoubtedly an important political development, it may, how-



● BUTHELEZI



● SLABBERT

ever, be the victim of high expectations at this stage.

Browde's announcement of the results of the meeting seems to leave observers feeling somewhat flat about what has been achieved, despite the fact that little could realistically have been expected of the embryonic alliance.

A large part of this muted disappointment obviously rests on the stayaway by the UDF.

The alliance will direct much of its effort to persuading the UDF to join. But until this happens, the movement will lack any substantial base of support in the black community — and must ultimately stand or fall on that factor.

The movement's co-sponsors — PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — have chosen to remain slightly distanced from the leadership in order to bypass the problem of projecting their own parties' political stances too vigorously on the alliance.

But this, too, presents a problem in that the idea, meritorious as it may be, lacks dynamism in its presentation. The idea is fine, but will need to be conveyed by natural leaders if it is to achieve its full potential in the political marketplace.

There were interesting side-bars to the alliance in terms of who attended.

Kingwilliamstown MP Pat Rogers of the New Republic Party was there, leading to speculation that the party, which has had its support steadily whittled away by the National Party and the PFP over the years, may at last be on the verge of dissolution.

Members of the Afrikaanse Studentebond and delegates from the University of Stellenbosch SRC were present, but they will have to report back to their organisations before any decision is taken on a formal association with the alliance.



Dr Boesak embraces one of many well-wishers who crowded around him after he delivered a sermon in the Ned Geref Sendingkerk in Bellville-South yesterday morning.

Cape Times 23/9/85

Boesak will 'resist to the end'

THE Rev Allan Boesak, defiant in the face of subversion charges brought by the government, pledged to his congregation yesterday: "I will resist them to the very end."

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was detained without charge on August 27 and charged on Friday with subversion. He was released on R20 000 bail and ordered not to speak at public gatherings apart from church services, among other tight bail restric-

tions.

Dr Boesak, 39, preaching at the Bellville Dutch Reformed Church, said he was near despair during his three weeks in detention in Pretoria before he was charged and freed on bail.

"I wrestled with God, I fought with God. And the moment came when I fell on my knees and cried as I've never cried before, maybe for the first time since I was a little boy," he said in his sermon.

He said he thought "God would work through the inter-

national community to put pressure on the South African Government to let me out — but that didn't happen".

But finally, Dr Boesak said, "the man who has been humbled before God for almost three weeks, in 21 days of prayer and sometimes just bread and fasting, has learned to depend on the spirit of God alone. That, I think, was my great discovery. To remember the promise of God, to become as humble as I can before God, and to believe that the world of God is

true.

"Let me make it clear to you today, I have not given up my conviction," he said. "Our non-violent struggle for justice in this country is God's will, it is God's struggle. I will continue to do that as long as God gives me breath in my body."

Dr Boesak implored those fighting apartheid not to turn to violence, saying: "Violence will destroy us as it will destroy the people who use it against us.

"Violence will destroy our

soul even as their violence has destroyed their soul.

"They have no God left except the God of their guns and their Casspirs and their tanks and their violence. Let them pray to that God.

"Even today I do not hate them, I will not hate them. But I will resist them to the very end, because I love my country and my people and them too much to allow oppressors to destroy us.

"This we must know. Whilst evil is alive, the people of God are called to battle," Dr Boesak added — Sapa AP

PAC man dies in Tanzania

By ALI MPHAKI

A FORMER Tanzanian representative of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Moses Dlamini, has died of diabetes in Dar es Salaam.

Mr Dlamini represented the PAC in Tanzania in 1977 and 1978 and had been ill for some time before his death last Wednesday.

Previously, he had been jailed on Robben Island from 1963 to 1969 and wrote a book about the experience called "Robben Island - Hell Hole".

He was buried on Friday but his Soweto family only knew yesterday when told by The SOWETAN.

His younger brother, Mr Samuel Dlamini, was on his way to the foot-

ball grounds when reporters met him.

On being told of the death and burial he was speechless for a moment and decided to go back home.

"I do not even know him personally and had only seen him in pictures as I was small when he was imprisoned. His death leaves me speechless," he said.

Mr Dlamini's other brother, Phillip, is a leading trade unionist and by late yesterday he was trying to make arrangements to contact his brother's widow and two children in Tanzania.

"We do not even know them — which makes it a problem to contact them," he said.

UDF slams PFP

for abandoning 'apartheid stand'

While the PFP has hopes of drawing the United Democratic Front into the Convention Alliance, the UDF has made it clear that it distrusts the PFP's move to become a non-racial party.

In a letter sent to members of its affiliates, the UDF says the PFP seems to have forsaken its steadfast opposition to apartheid and taken a second, less critical look, at the Nationalists' reform deal.

"One of the Government's aims, we believe, in repealing the Political Interference Act was to help win legitimacy for the tricameral Parliament. Last year over 80 percent of potential Indian and coloured voters boycotted the elections because they did not believe that real change could be brought about from within a Parliament designed to entrench apartheid," the letter reads.

It suggests that the Government hopes that the PFP can be used to win "some popular legitimacy"

for the new deal by recruiting black members and participating in future elections for all three houses.

"The Nationalists would obviously prefer to do this themselves but presumably they realise that the PFP may be better equipped.

"Sections of the PFP have found this very tempting. They hope that, by winning power in the Indian and coloured houses and by winning the 'balance of power' in the white house, they can chart the course of change.

"However, they seem to have forgotten what they themselves said about real power lying with the white house, the State President and the State Security Council."

The PFP may be able to recruit members from all communities, but its candidates will sit in separate houses and African party members will be relegated to the role of observers, the UDF says. It also accuses the PFP of not speaking out against the onslaught against the UDF.

Growing ANC influence cannot be ignored — Dr Naude

STAR
Pretoria Correspondent

11A

The secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, told students of the University of Pretoria yesterday that emotional and political support for the African National Congress (ANC) was growing in the black community.

He was one of the members of a panel of five theologians who took part in a debate on the church's role with regard to Government action in the state of emergency.

The other members were Professor Adrio Konig, of the University of South Africa; the Reverend Lukas Mabusela, of the Mamelodi congregation

of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika; Professor Carel Boshoff, of the University of Pretoria; and Professor Hendrik van der Merwe, of the University of the North.

Discussing the issue of violence, Dr Naude told the students that those who sought negotiations with blacks without taking into account the important contribution the ANC had to make, denied the hard, genuine reality.

He also warned that the Government's insistence on the rejection of violence as a precondition for negotiation excluded vital parts of the black community.

"In our negotiations, we have come to a point where the militant black

youth no longer believe that a peaceful solution to the country's problems is possible," he said.

Answering criticism from Professor van der Westhuizen about the fact that he addressed a funeral with a red flag in the background, Dr Naude said he had not been aware of the flag at the time.

However, seeing the news item on television made him question the implication and message behind the presence of the red flag at the funeral.

"It is important that we know what it is," he said, "so that we can prepare ourselves for the appalling shock that awaits us."

For decades, blacks saw the people

24/9/85
who fought for their rights prosecuted under legislation that prohibited communism and came to the conclusion that communism was synonymous with the protection of their rights.

Mr Mabusela said the Afrikaner, when he accused the black man of walking over to communism, should also ask why.

The Afrikaner caused enough dissatisfaction in the hearts of blacks to cause them to seek shelter elsewhere.

Professor van der Westhuizen suggested that Mr Mabusela acquaint himself with the dangers of communism and also warned against the theology of revolution.

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Cape Times

24/9/85
11A

Cape

Tambo to speak at LP meeting

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, arrives in London this week to meet British businessmen and address the Labour Party's annual conference in Bournemouth next week.

Mr Tambo has had unprecedented international media exposure in recent weeks culminating with the watershed meeting between an ANC delegation led by him and leading members of the South African business community.

The meeting has given Mr Tambo's international image a major boost and has opened doors to the international business community which is now joining the queue to meet him rather than risk being seen as dragging their feet in publicly opposing apartheid.

Mr Tambo, who is a close friend and contemporary of Mr Nelson Mandela, is being given a reception accorded only to heads of state.

Labour's general secretary, Mr J L Whitty,

said: "We are delighted that such a distinguished leader as Oliver Tambo has agreed to address our 1985 conference.

"This will present us with a great opportunity to express our solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against the apartheid regime."

Bail problems for Boesak

By BARRY STREEK

AN application for a change in Dr Allan Boesak's bail conditions would be made because the restrictions were affecting his work in the church, his attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, said yesterday.

"We haven't decided yet when we will make an application, but we will definitely do so," Mr Moosa said. The application would be made "as soon as possible", perhaps this week.

Mr Moosa said that as a result of the bail conditions, Dr Boesak had had to cancel a church appointment in Stellenbosh for tonight.

Dr Boesak is also due to chair the annual meeting of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in New Delhi from October 8 to October 19, but his existing bail conditions would prevent his doing so.

An application for a change in bail conditions would have to be made in the Magistrate's Court in Malmesbury, where Dr Boesak was released on R20 000 bail on Friday.

Dr Boesak also has the right to appeal to the Supreme Court after an application for a change in bail conditions has been considered in the Magistrate's Court.

COPY TICKETS

24/9/85

Handwritten initials and scribbles in circles.

Court told of sabotage

BY NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

THE sabotaging of the railway line between Beaufort and Newclare stations by an alleged African National Congress member, on the referendum day (November 2, 1982) was yesterday recalled in the Rand Supreme Court. 24/9/85

Captain P C Schutte,

10A
the South African Railways Police explosives expert, told the court that although no one was injured in the incident, windows of houses next to the railway line were broken.

He was testifying at the trial of three alleged ANC members, Mr Joseph Boitumelo Leepile (26), of Soweto, Mr Justice Mafa Ngidi (31), of

Soweto
Alexandra and Mr Siphon Stanley Ngwenya (34), of Soweto.

They have all pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice L WH Ackerman to a charge of high treason or alternatively charges under the Terrorism Act or the Internal Security Act.

Capt Schutte's evidence was in relation to allegations by the State that on the referendum day Mr Ngwenya sabotaged and damaged the base of a railway line between the two stations.

To achieve this, it is alleged, he had one kilogram of plastic explosives, an electric detonator, a battery, a timing device and a length of electric wire.

Proceeding.

SOWETAN

PROFIT

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1985

27c + 3c GST (PWV) Elsewhere 35c

REMOVALS

WARNING

THE Government will have to withdraw its moratorium on removals if it accepts the proposals made for the consolidation of KwaZulu by the Commission for Co-operation and development.

The commission envisages large-scale removals and resettlement of blacks — albeit on a much smaller scale than the 1974 proposals accepted by Parliament.

Estimates of the number of people who faced resettlement in terms of the 1975 proposals ranged from an official figure of 400 000 to more than a million by the Surplus People's Project.

The chairman of the commission, Mr Hendrik Tempel, estimates that 42 000 people will be moved in terms of his latest proposals.

A handful of the people to be moved



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

will be white, coloured or Indian.

The people to be moved will come from various areas and include:

Sowetan
Black spots

- Those in the so-called "black spots", which the Government terms "badly situated areas", are to be cleared. Many of these areas such as Mati-

Recipe for disaster - Chief

24/9/85
wanes Kop and Jonbs

Kop have been the focus of international attention. The Surplus People's Project said there were 189 such "black spots". Most of them are black-owned farms of various sizes on which anything from a handful of people to hundreds could be living;

- People, including landless chiefs, living both illegally and legally on white-owned farms; and
- Those in areas of land being cleared for conservation purposes,

such as the higher altitudes of the Tugela location, or for political reasons to get contiguous boundaries.

KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that the Government commission examining proposals for the consolidation of KwaZulu was "finalising a prescription for disaster".

The commission yesterday started taking evidence about consolidation.

The Inkatha president called on "all thinking South Africans" to join black people in telling the Government that theirs was one country, with one people, with one future and that the deep-rooted problems being faced could not be segregated out of existence.

"Damelin m

Mr. J.P. Brummer, Principal, E



The Damelin Study Directorate, under the Chair sees to it that every student receives personal attention from other members of the Directorate are Mr. Phillip Advisers, and Mr. M.C. Andrew, the Director of Studies. "To get a good job and earn more money you must in the past 30 years prove that there is no finer way than to get the very best in you. You see, Damelin is a private institution to stand in the way of dynamic teaching. My many years in the educational field have enabled me to guarantee the best teachers and the very best in the world. It means that your teachers are in fact in fact I am so sure of our methods, that if you do not pass an education until you pass. Fill in the coupon below. Damelin is the official correspondence college of numerous official and business organisations.

Thatcher will meet Tutu

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has asked the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to meet her when he comes to London next week.

Bishop Tutu said today he received the request about two weeks ago through the British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Patrick Moberly.

He is going to Britain to attend a preparatory meeting for the 1988 Lambeth Conference.

Asked whether the meeting would take place, Bishop Tutu said: "Yes, I think so."

Last week Bishop Tutu effectively called Mrs Thatcher a racist on British TV. Earlier in the interview he accused her of "bending over backwards to protect white supremacy" in South Africa.

P W denies backing talks

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday flatly denied that he has given his blessing to discussions between top South African businessmen and the African National Congress (ANC).

This follows reports that top businessmen, including Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Dr Fred du Plessis, of Sanlam and Dr Anton Rupert, of Rembrandt, have initiated planned discussions with the ANC in Zambia this month.

Several of the businessmen said to be involved have denied the reports.

In his statement yesterday, Mr Botha refers to a report published in yesterday's issue of the

Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*.

Mr Botha says: "A report appears in the Sunday newspaper *Rapport* where the names of certain South African businessmen are mentioned who are apparently prepared to negotiate with the ANC. "The report claims further that I have already been notified about their plans. From this uninformed people could conclude that I support such a plan.

"The facts are that a few weeks ago a leading South African consulted me over such a plan and that I strongly advised against it. His name does not appear among the published names.

"As long as the ANC is under communist leadership and supports violence in South Africa, there can be no question of me approving discussions with them." — Sapa.

Chief accuses SOWETAN

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused The SOWETAN of pursuing a "poisonous vendetta" against him and the Inkatha organisation of which he is president.

Speaking at the King Shaka Day ceremony at Stanger, the KwaZulu Chief Minister referred to a SOWETAN report on August 16 which, he said, had claimed that Inkatha "was dancing outside the house of Mrs Victoria Mxenge (the recently murdered Durban attorney), saying that they would burn down the house and kill her orphaned children".

The same report had said: "Scores of impis have been moving around the townships beating up youths and urging them to go back to school."

Chief Buthelezi said: "The SOWETAN has continued to report in this vein and done its damnest to drive a wedge between black brother and black brother in our country.

"It has fanned the flames of black disunity and has been a constant threat to every move made by anyone to bring about black reconciliation." SOWETAN

For decades now there has been a demand for the holding of a national convention to draw up a new constitution for South Africa. Major resistance has largely been from the Government.

But increasingly, people to the left of the Government have rejected even this call, demanding an immediate handing over of power to the black majority.

Last weekend saw the emergence of a new initiative to work for the holding of such a convention when 150 top South Africans met in Johannesburg to discuss the idea.

The conference decided that a Convention Alliance would be launched within the next few weeks to make arrangements for the possible holding of the convention in the near future.

But the parties that are perceived by many as the main actors in South Africa's political show — the Government, the ANC and PAC — have rejected the idea for different reasons.

The Government, which has every reason to feel threatened by the Alliance, is probably worried about what it might be required to surrender by a National Convention.

The concern of the ANC and the PAC, on the other hand, is what they believe they will not achieve through a convention. Besides, the two organisations are committed to violent revolution as the only way of bringing about meaningful change in South Africa.

Recent talks between South Africa's top businessmen and the ANC in Lusaka condemned by the Government because the ANC has refused to denounce violence as an instrument for political change.

Until the State President, Mr P W Botha's Durban speech on August 15, the ANC was still open to participation in a National Convention. It was after the speech that Nelson Mandela released a statement from prison saying there was no longer room for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

He has also refused to denounce violence as a condition for his release from prison.



OLIVER TAMBO.



PRESIDENT BOTHA.

The main actors shun alliance

FOCUS 25/9/85

Some of the people at Saturday's conference included: Mr Chris Ball of Barclays Bank, Mr Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Tony Bloom of Premier Milling, Dr Zac de Beer of Anglo American, Dr Oscar Dlomo of Inkatha, Professor John Dugard of Wits University, Prof Willem Kleynhans of Unisa, Mrs Joyce Harris of Black Sash, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Advocate Sydney Kentridge, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, Mr Musa Myeni of the Urban Foundation, the Rev Peter Storey and the Rev Stanley Mokgoba of the Methodist Church.

By SAM MABE

What the ANC would now like to see happening first is that it be unbanned, that all political prisoners and detainees be released, that political trials be stopped and one-man-one-vote elections in a unitary state be held.

Critical

The ANC's chief Press officer, Mr Tom Sebina, said a convention that would impose reformist solutions while apartheid remained intact could not be accepted.

The PAC, on the other hand, has always rejected the idea of talking to the South African Government except where the handing over

of power to the African majority would be taking place.

It believes that apartheid cannot be reformed — which is what they believe a National Convention will try to do. One-man-one-vote elections in a unitary state is what they see as a solution.

That system of voting has been rejected by the Government, which expressed fears that there could be a domination of so-called minority groups by the black majority.

Azapo and the UDF — who were conspicuous by their absence from Saturday's conference — are also not interested in a national convention.

Even if they were, the four groups would most certainly not want to be at a conference table

with bantustan leaders.

The ANC is suspicious and has been critical of the relationship developing between PFP leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who are the principal founders of the Convention Alliance.

Although the leaders have emphasised that they participated in the alliance in their personal capacities, it will not be easy for the man in the street to divorce the alliance from Inkatha or the PFP.

Giants

Saturday's conference was attended by a very wide cross-section of people, most of whom are giants in intellectual, academical, legal, commercial, industrial, political and sporting fields.

Most of them have not been politically active. The alliance will create a national forum which will bring them together to start a de-

bate on the country's racial problems.

Because of the money that big business will pump into it and the wealth of the expertise of the people involved, the alliance could become a strong and highly articulate group.

And while trying to sell the idea of a national convention to the people and trying to bring concerned parties to the conference table, the alliance will most probably draw up a list of reforms for which it will drum up mass support from moderate people.

The sentiments that seem to fire the alliance appear to be the same as those behind the formation of the Black Sash some years ago. The women of the Black Sash were a pressure group opposed to the constitution as it was then. They still are.

There is a wider representation in the alliance, but will it be any more effective than the Black Sash has been?

'REAL PROGRESS WILL BRING END TO VIOLENCE'



BUTHELEZI

IF real progress began emerging in South Africa through peaceful negotiation, most black people who now considered violence a viable political option would abandon it for democracy, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Stanger yesterday. 25/9/85

The KwaZulu Chief Minister was speaking at a King Shaka Day ceremony attended by King

Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu, chiefs and members of the Zulu royal household, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the consular corps. SOWETA

Chief Buthelezi told a large crowd gathered at the place where the founder of the Zulu nation died that those who followed in Shaka's

footsteps would not cease their efforts until South Africa had been unified as one country, with one people and one government in which there was one destiny for everyone, regardless of race, sex or creed.

"Those of us who call for non-violent democratic opposition reflect the deep feelings of the

vast majority of black South Africans," the chief said.

"The vast majority of black South Africans have a deeply felt need for unity first and foremost between black group and black group so that we can discharge our historic duty more efficiently to bring unity between black and

white." 11A

Referring to recent unrest in the greater Durban area, Chief Buthelezi warned that outsiders who tried to divide the Zulus against each other would not succeed.

Chief Buthelezi said: "When the hyenas of the night and the jackals crept into Umlazi, Kwa-Mashu, Inanda and Lamontville, in cars with foreign number plates and filled with people who could not even understand Zulu and who set about creating the circumstances in which mob behaviour opened the doors for hoodlums to burn and loot, it was the ordinary people who needed protection."

Inkatha had "responded to the call of the people" and moved in "to end the senseless killing and strife."

Inkatha had "put an end to mass thuggery" and would continue to "command the situation," the chief said.

But he warned that if any Inkatha member used its power for acts of political destruction or as a weapon to exact vengeance, "I will step in and dishonour that person publicly." — Sapa.

King Goodwill and Buthelezi speak at Shaka Day gathering

Mercury 25/9/85



Attack on ANC 'deviants'

African Affairs Correspondent

THE King of the Zulus, King Goodwill, yesterday attacked 'deviants' and 'misfits' comprising the banned African National Congress in exile.

Speaking at celebrations in Stanger to mark Shaka Day, he said Zulu national pride would not tolerate the presence of 'hyenas who stalked black communities at night' and tried to destroy the Zulu people from within.

The king was addressing a crowd of about 6 000, the largest turnout

at the main Shaka Day ceremony in the past five years.

King Goodwill accused the ANC of trying to discredit the 'chosen leaders' of the Zulu people such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

He said such attempts were insults to himself and the entire Zulu nation.

'Wedges'

King Goodwill said he was not making political statements when he said these things. He symbolised the unity of the Zulu people and attacks on the unity of the people were attacks on his person.

'Let me say clearly that

we as Zulus will cast out from our midst any who think they can turn brother against brother here in this part of South Africa.

'Any who would attempt to turn sister against sister or child against parent, or neighbour against neighbour, will be eradicated from our midst'.

The ANC was bent on driving wedges between peasants and workers.

However, no force on earth would divide the Zulu people and they would stand shoulder to shoulder as 6 000 000 people joined together in a common purpose.

Addressing the gathering, Chief Buthelezi, who is also president of

Inkatha, said he would publicly dishonour any member of Inkatha if he allowed the success that the movement had achieved in bringing peace to black townships around Durban to 'go to his head' and began to use this power in 'acts of political destruction' or to 'extract vengeance'.

He did not mention anyone by name, but the remark was understood to be a veiled reference to statements by Mr Winington Sabelo, member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for Umlazi.

Mr Sabelo said at the

end of August that sympathisers of the United Democratic Front should get out of the township or face the consequences.

The remarks were subsequently condemned by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that Inkatha did not use its power to destroy, but to protect and build up.

Following the destruction of lives and property in black townships last month, the movement had 'grasped the thorny nettle firmly' and commanded a situation which it would

continue to command.

Chief Buthelezi said Prof Fatima Meer, Professor of Sociology at the University of Natal and a leading figure in the UDF, was 'treading a very dangerous path' when she accused Inkatha of having fomented violence in the black townships surrounding Durban after violence broke out last month.

'I have not heard Prof Meer proclaim her loud indignation when UDF-inspired mobs continued to burn, loot, stone and kill,' he said.

'I am ever aware that

we should do everything in our power to avoid the black/Indian clashes we saw in 1949.

'I have always warned against the dangers that continue to exist of such clashes re-emerging, and the recent outburst of violence in Durban gives substance to what I am saying!'

Chief Buthelezi said he was nevertheless accused of adopting a Zulu racist stand against Indians.

It was people, such as Prof Meer, he said, who should be accused of fanning the flames of group hatred.

Chief says reform will outweigh revolt

Mercury
16/10/85
ILA

Mercury Correspondent WOLFSBERG—There were a great many more potent forces pushing the South African Government toward reform than those working toward violent revolution. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a meeting of European VIPs here yesterday.

He was speaking at the Conference of Wolfsberg, a key event opened by Swiss President Kurt Furgler, to which leading Swiss bankers, entrepreneurs and industrialists invite their international counterparts and politicians to discussions and to hear addresses by international decision makers.

The KwaZulu Chief

Minister and Inkatha president said the alternatives for South Africa's future were either escalating violence leading to the Government's overthrow within the foreseeable future or political reform meaningful enough to satisfy black aspirations.

The ANC's mission in exile, together with whatever works with them inside South Africa, were probably stretched to the limits of what they could do.

On the other hand, the Government was quite capable of containing black violence to its present levels, maintaining the 'equilibrium of violence', Chief Buthelezi said.

The mission in exile did not have the power to mount a fully fledged revolution.

It would take major groups such as Inkatha, with its card-carrying membership of more than 1 000 000 to join with the ANC before full revolution became a reality.

Big business

'The scales must be tipped to one side or the other for the equilibrium to be broken. And every indication is that the scales will be tipped against a violent revolution capable of overthrowing the Government. It is not in South Africa's interests that this happens.'

There were many forces working in opposition to the ANC mission in exile, quite beyond those working for the status quo, he said.

Apartheid could not survive into the modern world South African big business perceived this to be the case. So did the Government and so did white South Africa.

'For many decades, big business was intimidated by the South African Government and worked hand in hand with it to enforce apartheid in practice.

This has now stopped. And big business is now far more intimidated by the prospect of the violent equilibrium I am

talking about than by Government pressure.'

Apartheid is now a threat to big business interests. The scales are being tipped away from violence by the weight of big business, and the South African Government is under immense pressure to deepen its commitment to reform and towards power sharing.'

Chief Buthelezi said the final remedy for black suffering in South Africa would not be found in humanitarian reform.

'It will be found only in the kind of political reform which the State President has so far refused to put on his agenda.'

CAP. Trans 25/9/85

Arrested man dies in hospital

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mr Mbuyiselo Mbotya, 35, of Ginsberg, died in hospital on Saturday, the Border police liaison officer, Lieutenant Dot van der Vyver, confirmed yesterday.

Lieutenant Van der Vyver said Mr Mbotya was arrested on Friday evening for a "criminal offence". He had been taken to police cells in King William's Town where he became ill.

She said police took him to hospital in King William's Town and he was transferred to Frere Hospital in East London on Saturday morning.

The cause of his death was not known and police were still investigating, Lieutenant Van der Vyver said. She said it would be improper to disclose the reason for Mr Mbotya's arrest.

Mr Mbotya was a member of the King William's Town Youth League and the UDF.

Dr Ben Hall, medical superintendent at Frere Hospital, confirmed that Mr Mbotya had died at the hospital and that his body had been taken to Cambridge Mortuary. He said he did not know the cause of death and that it was a "police case".

Miss Nomtandazo Mbotya said her brother had been arrested on Friday evening while walking with his girlfriend. Two policemen had put him in a van and driven away.

She said her brother had been working in Port Elizabeth until four months ago. Earlier last week he had been arrested with rioting schoolchildren at Ginsberg township near King William's Town and later released.

UDF ^{25/9/85}
denies ^{11A}
alliance
invite

By BARRY STREEK

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) was not invited to last weekend's discussions in Johannesburg about the formation of a convention alliance, Mr Trevor Manuel, a UDF executive member who is in hiding, said yesterday.

He also said that talk of a settlement through a national convention in the absence of the most basic civil rights, such as the unbanning of individuals and organizations and the release of political prisoners, seemed to be creating "another cul-de-sac".

But, he said in an interview, "the kind of bloodshed we have seen in our streets surely cannot continue.

"At some point we will have to sit down and honestly try to determine by the greatest participation of the individuals concerned the future of South Africa.

"So, some form of talk, with basic preconditions, is the kind of option that we see at a given point of time."

Inkatha

Mr Manuel said the alliance "seems to be an attempt to move middle ground elements into the gaps created by the State repression of UDF elements".

The composition of the alliance was so wide that he did not know how long these elements were going to find common ground "especially in the situation of Natal where the kinds of atrocities by Inkatha are increasing on a daily basis. Sooner or later that dam wall is going to break".

The UDF had a number of difficulties with the alliance, including the absence of basic civil rights and that the people at the meeting were not accountable to any base as they had attended as individuals.

What existed now was not very different from President P W Botha's call for reforms.

"It's all from the top. For as long as people try to impose solutions on the masses of our people, so long will our country be taken on a collision course," said Mr Manuel.

● Soweto civic 'no' to convention, page 2

APC Times 16/10/85 11A

Moloise to hang on Friday



Mrs Beverley Moloise, mother of Benjamin Moloise.

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha yesterday refused a new trial for Malesela Benjamin Moloise — sentenced to death for murdering a security policeman — and he will be executed on Friday.

His attorney Ms Priscilla Jana yesterday said she petitioned Mr Botha for a new trial on September 10 on the basis of new psychiatric and sociological evidence, but heard yesterday that the appeal had failed.

"We are all in a terrible state of shock," she said.

"His mother has just heard and she is not able to talk about it yet."

Ms Jana said all legal channels to save Moloise's life had been exhausted but she probably would file an appeal for clemency on humanitarian grounds.

A spokesman for her office said Moloise would be informed of his fate this morning when his mother and counsel visit him in prison.

Moloise, who was sentenced to death in June 1983 for killing Warrant

Officer Phillipus Selepe, of Mamelodi, was due to hang at dawn on August 21, but a judge granted a last-minute 21-day stay of execution saying there was new evidence of extreme psychological pressure at the time of the attack.

According to Ms Jana's office, the petition sent to Mr Botha was based on a report by a sociologist who interviewed Moloise and several close friends.

The report had never been raised in court before and related to the pressures under which Moloise acted during the killing.

He admitted being a member of the ANC and acknowledged last month he was involved in planning the murder. But he said he did not pull the trigger.

The ANC claimed responsibility for killing Warrant Officer Selepe, but said Moloise was not the hit man.

His initial execution order provoked local and international appeals for clemency. — Own Correspondent and UPI

(11A) ~~DISPATCH~~
**Mourners turned
away from funeral**
DISPATCH
25/09/86

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The South African Police public relations division in Pretoria yesterday confirmed that mourners were turned away from attending the funeral of Mr Andile Matshoba in Queenstown on Saturday.

A spokesman for the police public relations officer said restrictions were imposed by a magistrate limiting all funerals in the Queenstown magisterial area to weekdays.

As a result of the magistrate's order, hundreds of people were turned away from the scheduled funeral of Andile Matshoba in Mlungisi Township.

Mr Matshoba, 18, a Std 9 pupil at Phillip Ngcelwane Secondary School, Mdantsane, was shot dead in Zone 8, Mdantsane, on September 9.

The national vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation

(Azapo), Mr Phambili Ntloko, said yesterday that mourners had travelled to the funeral from Mdantsane and East London and other parts of the country in buses and private vehicles.

On arrival at Queenstown, they were told that the funeral had been barred by authorities and it should be held on a week day, Mr Ntloko said.

Mr Ntloko said after the funeral was barred, the mourners held a memorial service at the Apostolic Church.

He said police arrived during the service and ordered the mourners to disperse.

4 black shops close after owners arrested

By KIN BENTLEY

FOUR shops in Fort Beaufort's black townships — which have served the community during the black consumer boycott there — have effectively been closed due to the arrest of their owners under the emergency regulations.

The Fort Beaufort Boycott Organising Committee said in a statement today that police closed down the

shops after arresting the owners and said six elderly people were among community members detained.

The committee described the arrest of the businessmen and the effective closure of the shops as a "subtle retaliatory measure by the police on behalf of white commerce".

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen,

today confirmed the detention under the emergency regulations of the four shop owners, but denied that the shops had been closed by police.

He said they might have had to close because their owners were detained, although he had learnt that one had since re-opened.

He confirmed that shop owners Mr Z Nondumo, Mr M H Kiviets, Mr A Qeqe and Mr N

Rumby had been held since July 22.

Col Van Rooyen also confirmed that the following people had been detained in Fort Beaufort: a Mr Zetu, 73, and a Mr Mantshango, 80, since July 22, a Mr Matoto, 74, a Mr Poti and a Mr Nbovane since July 27 and a Mr Ngxangane since July 23. The ages were given by the boycott committee.

Announcing its decision to continue the boy-

cott, the committee said in a statement the boycott would only end once its demands were fully met and all detained leaders were immediately and unconditionally released.

The statement says attempts by families of the detainees to see them have been unsuccessful. It adds that Mr Zetu is in a "critical state of health".

The demands the committee has made

are: "The withdrawal of the SADF and riot police from the townships; the resignation of all Government-sponsored local councillors and the scrapping of the Black Local Authorities Act; the lifting of all bans of meetings imposed on community organisations; the building of houses; the provision of employment to the unemployed; the abolition of the pass law system; and the building of a

community centre."

The chairman of the Fort Beaufort Chamber of Commerce, Mr Richard Roy, a wholesaler, today appealed to organisers of the boycott to contact the chamber so that they could discuss black grievances.

He said such leaders could approach him in confidence. Anonymous statements and demands were "no substitute for open discussion.

The boycott call comes through foggy on Reef

By SEFAKO NYAKA

SOME recession-ridden traders in the eastern Cape traders have buckled under the consumer boycott. But in the Transvaal organisers are still struggling to get the boycott message to the people.

According to a member of the Consumer Boycott Committee (CBC), strong-arm efforts by the "system" against the boycott have made it difficult to co-ordinate and sustain.

In the East Rand township of Tembisa police recently closed seven black shops in terms of the emergency regulations and detained a number of shopkeepers. They have the power to take such action if they consider the continuation of a business to be promoting or prolonging a boycott of other businesses.

The shopkeepers were released only after intervention by the black National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc).

There have been reports from the township that police have been stopping trucks from delivering to certain shops in the townships and that wholesalers are afraid to risk sending trucks into the township.

Some residents, commenting on incidents of hijacking and looting of delivery vehicles in townships have blamed these on the "thug element that takes advantage of the situation."

Reaction by white businessmen varies. In some areas their intervention has prevented the arrest of boycott organisers. In other areas there has been little or no contact with the organisers.

In the Transvaal the boycott has affected the Witwatersrand, the East Rand and some towns in the Eastern and Northern Transvaal.

The organisers' main problems have been firstly, to establish channels through which to get the boycott message to the people and secondly, how to analyse and develop new

A spokesman for the Nafcoc-owned Blackchain complex in Diepkloof and Zola said it was still too early to say whether the boycott had boosted their sales.

A member of Assocom said it was difficult to say what the effect of the boycott was, because "there is a recession and people have no money."

The organisers believe that through community organisations and trade unions the message will reach the majority of the township dwellers. But they admit it will take a long time and a great deal of hard work.

The boycotts may, or may not be an eventual success.

But one thing is certain: It is going to be difficult to work overtly towards a boycott while there is chaos in the townships.

a vast gap to bridge

By HOWARD BARRELL,
Harare

Weekly Mail

11A

26/9/85

Anglo and ANC

WHEN Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly and ANC publicity chief Thabo Mbeki sat down alongside each other in the Zambian bush last week, shared tobacco pouches and puffed merry smoke rings past each other, there was good reason to wonder what, if anything, was being cooked up.

For sure, an important political process was underway. But what did it mean for the ANC and its support base as opposed to big business?

Clearly not the same thing. Relly and Mbeki had the comfort of both being pipe smokers. But, for the rest, the common ground between the two parties was more limited.

They were all South Africans. They all professed to share a concern that democracy should be achieved in South Africa with the minimum of suffering, though they disagreed on what exactly democracy was, particularly the extent to which wealth needs to be redistributed in order to give it concrete meaning.

Both front- and back-door ANC sources say no deals were reached. It was just "an exchange of views".

What, then, was the point for the ANC?

It is clear from ANC sources that talks with a wide variety of people or organisations, such as those with big business leaders on Friday, are regarded as politically important.

Talks of this kind complement other facets of ANC strategy, a senior ANC source said this week. There was "no question" of any let-up in the ANC's strategy of armed struggle. Instead, the coming months would show an escalation.

It did not matter how many times ANC leaders had tea and scones with Anglo's Relly. If Anglo again acted harshly — in the ANC's view — against black workers, more ANC



ANC president Oliver Tambo and political commissar Chris Hani share a story during a recent Lusaka conference

attacks would be mounted on the corporation, he said.

He said it was necessary for the ANC to talk to people at various levels of society. Meetings would be aimed at convincing these people that the time was past for reform; what blacks wanted was real political power.

"Any meeting we have with non-ANC people is aimed at convincing them that the time is past for just fiddling around — changing this, reforming that. The reason people are dying is that they are saying 'we want a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. We want people's power.'"

Why then talk? To big business, clearly identified by the ANC as part of what it terms "the enemy forces"?

"Through these talks, it may be possible to move some elements away from active support and perpetuation of the system. That's an important aspect," the source said.

"Relly and the others have drawn the attention of a portion of South African society to the fact that this government is unable to maintain stability in our country. These are people who once had illusions that the Botha regime had the answers. These people are rethinking," the source added.

Of AZAPO Publicity Secretary Imram Moosa's criticism of the talks, the ANC source dismissed it as containing "no seriousness".

"It is mere posturing."

The ANC expects to hold talks in the foreseeable future with a number of other organisations operating legally inside the country, some of which it regards as allies, others as hostile.

But, on Gatsha Buthelezi and the Inkatha leadership, the ANC's answer is a flat "no" for talks.

"We regard Gatsha Buthelezi as a salaried employee of the South African regime. Beyond that, he has adopted a posture which is directed at the physical destruction of all forces that are opposed to apartheid.

"We are not prepared to speak to his paymaster at present, so there's no reason to talk to the hireling," the ANC source said.

Despite the bellicose denials of President P W Botha and Deputy Foreign Affairs and Information Minister Louis Nel that the government had approved Friday's talks, usually reliable political sources in the frontline states say Botha did, indeed, give the talks a nod and a wink.

As far as the ANC is concerned, talks with the government or "its employees" fall into a wholly different category — that of negotiations.

In this case a whole range of preconditions apply. The central one is that any negotiations be about the transfer of power. The ANC's position is that it wants a united, democratic and non-racial country, and it will not budge from that position.

Prog aid to violence victims

THE Progressive Federal Party has established an advice bureau to help victims of violence and people threatened by violence in Durban's black townships.

This move follows a spate of incidents of violence particularly in Umlazi and KwaMashu where vigilante groups have attacked people and destroyed several houses belonging to trade unionists, political activists and suspected United Democratic Front sympathisers.

Ray Swart, the Natal leader of the PFP, said the party had been inundated by appeals for help from victims.

He said members of the legal profession in Durban would take affidavits and where applicable representations would be made to the authorities to take action against those

concerned, and to give protection to those threatened.

Swart said the PFP was aware of the "unfortunate" divisions which appeared to exist among the black communities in these townships at present.

He expressed concern with the lack of protection being given to people in the townships.

In the latest incident of violence by a group of armed men, a house belonging to a former KwaZulu Legislative Assembly members, Willel Yengwa, was attacked and set alight in Lamontville on Sunday.

Her husband, George, and their daughter, Zinhle, 13, were admitted to King Edward Hospital after shots were fired and petrol bombs thrown at the house.

Church move puts coloured MPs in a spot

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Two prominent coloured political leaders, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Rev Andrew Julies, have been put in a dilemma by a decision by their church to force its ministers to renounce party politics.

Church officials are reluctant to talk about the decision taken by the synod of the Congregational Church at a meeting in Gaborone this week.

The Rev Joseph Wing, general secretary of the church, would say after the meeting only that the synod had decided "all ministers will be required to make a declaration to the effect that they are not engaged in party political activity".

Any ministers known to be so engaged "will be communicated with directly," he said.

He said the decision was taken in the form of a resolution amending the synod's constitution "regarding the status of ministers who engage in party political activity".

The most prominent ministers in the church who will be affected by the decision are Mr Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, chairman of the Ministers' Council and a member of President P W Botha's Cabinet, and Mr Julies, who is Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives.

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Bishop urged to remove priest from township

Mercury Mercury
11A 26/9/85

Mercury Reporter

AN URGENT request has been made to the Anglican Bishop of Natal, the Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, to remove the Rev Mncedisi Xundu, detained rector of St Simon's Church and the UDF's Natal regional chairman, from Lamontville so that peace can be maintained in the township.

In a report tabled before the recent meeting of the Durban's Ningizimu Community Council it was revealed the request had been delivered by a delegation of the S J Smith Hostel.

Bishop Nuttall yesterday confirmed that such a request had been made to him but said it had been 'overtaken by the police detention' of Mr Xundu, which he had to concentrate on first.

In a document submitted to the Ningizimu Community Council by an S J Smith councillor, it was stated that generally church lease agreements were granted on condition that the sites were used for religious purposes only.

'Contrary to the generally accepted principle, ever since the assumption of office as rector of St Simon's Anglican Church by the

Rev Xundu, the above church site and buildings are almost every night used as a nest for political meetings held and addressed by the Rev Xundu and other political activists from outside Lamontville,' said Councillor Mhembeni Xulu.

As a result of the meetings addressed by Mr Xundu and others, violence had during the past two years escalated all over the province, he said.

The Ningizimu Community Council said yesterday it resolved that a letter be written to Bishop Nuttall pointing out that the site permit for St Simon's allowed it to be used for religious purposes only.

Mandela, Soweto honoured

DAKAR—One of the main avenues in Senegal's capital Dakar has been named Nelson Mandela Street in honour of the jailed black South African nationalist leader.

An official statement published after a Senegalese Cabinet meeting also said one of Dakar's principal squares opposite Senegal's Parliament building would henceforth be known as Soweto Square. (1A)

The statement said a competition would soon be organised to judge designs for a statue to be built in the square commemorating the anti-apartheid struggle. —
(Sapa-Reuter) 26/9/85 Mercury

Dr Boraine 'encouraged' by UDF view

By BARRY STREEK

THE United Democratic Front viewpoint that the bloodshed had to stop and that somehow people had to talk to each other, was greatly encouraging, the chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

Because so many UDF leaders were in jail or in hiding it had been "very

difficult" to make contact with every UDF formation to discuss the possible establishment of a convention alliance, he said.

Dr Boraine reacted in a statement to a story in yesterday's Cape Times in which Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the UDF executive, said the UDF had not been invited to the meeting in Johannesburg last weekend in which the formation of a convention alliance had been discussed.

He said: "I am greatly encouraged by the statement by Mr Manuel.

"The reason for my encouragement is his acknowledgement that the bloodshed must stop, and that somehow and in some way people with conflicting views have got to talk to each other.

"This is one of the major objectives of the convention alliance.

"We are well aware that you cannot exclude anyone and in particular, those who have demonstrated grassroots support, such as the UDF.

In hiding

"Mr Manuel has made his statement 'in hiding' and that is one of the reasons why it was so very difficult for us to make contact with every formation of the UDF.

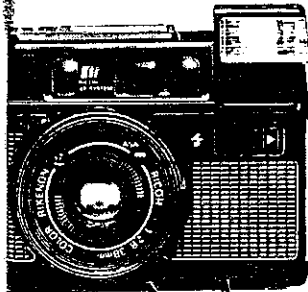
"But, I want to stress that discussions were held with Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, and with the Rev Allan Boesak, a patron of the UDF, simply because we could not make contact with so much of the leadership which was either in jail, or banned, or in hiding.

"Finally, we are in complete agreement that it is impossible to hold a genuine national convention without fundamental civil rights being restored, political prisoners being released and banned organizations given the opportunity to participate.

"I hope that normality will return as soon as possible so that people like Mr Manuel and myself and others can meet face to face without fear and with the one objective to resolve the terrifying conflict in South Africa," Dr Boraine said.



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CAPL Times 26/9/85
Businessmen call
for Mandela's release

BONN. — A group of South African businessmen yesterday called on the government to negotiate with black leaders and free-jailed ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela. But the group opposed sanctions against Pretoria.

The delegation, representing many leading companies in the Republic, is touring Europe after giving evidence last week at a United Nations hearing in New York on multinational corporations in South Africa.

A delegation member, Professor Nic Wiehahn, an expert on labour affairs, told a news conference the consensus in business circles was that Mr Mandela should be freed.

Mr Johan van Zyl, chief executive of the Federated Chamber of Industries, said the chamber's members represented by the delega-

tion favoured universal suffrage in South Africa within a federalist system to protect minorities.

Professor Wiehahn said they were against a future unitary system of government as that could lead to what he called "a new form of apartheid". — Sapa-Reuter

Call for Govt to talk to the UDF

Sowetan
11A
26/9/85

A COMMUNITY whose leaders are humiliated is worse than a wounded lion and will fight back blindly, the official mouthpiece of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk has warned, calling on the Government to talk to the United Democratic Front.

"When will it, in God's name, penetrate through to the authorities that the security forces will never be able to maintain law and order without the co-operation of the community?" asked the newspaper, Die Ligdraer, in an editorial.

"An order to storm in and clean up frustrates its purpose if community leaders are flattened in the process.

Release

"A community whose pride is offended by its leaders being insulted and humiliated, is worse than an injured lion. He will fight back blindly.

The government was asked to release the leaders of the UDF and other organisations and to begin talking to them without hesitation.

This was a logical extension of the church's stand that the Sendingkerk must never stop talking to the Ned Geref Kerk.

The residents of the affected areas found every day that the elimination of leaders contributed nothing to restoring law and order.

"If people talk about a new constitutional dispensation at a high

level, at street level relationships must be forged between the police and community leaders. The maintenance of law and order is not the sole right of the police and security forces.

"We do not mean that people should take the law into their own hands, but that the police must acknowledge the unmistakable role of church, educational and community leaders and subscribe to this . . . also on the street."

Warrant

A JOHANNESBURG magistrate yesterday issued a warrant of arrest against Mr Meshack Mabogoane, leader of the Society of Young Africa when he failed to appear in court.

However, Mr A C Knight, withheld the warrant. Mr Mabogoane's bail provisionally estreated until the next court hearing on October 11.

Mr Mabogoane (38) of KwaThema is charged with another Soya official, Mr Thami Ndala (20), of Protea, Soweto.

The State alleged that on May 8 and 10 Mr Mabogoane failed to abide by a court interdict restraining him from interfering with the business of Funda Centre. It is further alleged that on May 4 and 8, both men assaulted Mr Stanley Kahn at the centre and Mr Mudini Maivha, a journalist with City Press, at Dube YWCA, respectively.





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Through Vietnamese and Chinese-speaking interpreters, the group told South African officials who boarded the Safmarine ore carrier Sishen, some details of their journey and where they were headed before they were saved from starvation and drowning.

After being cleared from the ship by health and immigration officials the refugees will be taken to a tent camp set up for them in Saldanha Bay by the SA Navy.

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SDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1988

Crime Reporter

PRETORIA — Two people were burnt to death yesterday in unrest in the Eastern Cape and two men were fatally shot by police.

The police unrest report said the charred body of a woman was found in Langa, Uitenhage. In Queenstown a man died after being set alight.

A man was killed on Tuesday night in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, when a policeman opened fire with a pistol on a crowd that attacked him with stones. A youth was injured.

A Ciskei police spokesman said a man died in hospital yesterday after an incident in Mdantsane when a Ciskei policeman fired shots at six men attacking him.

Two schools in PE townships were damaged by fire last night. A classroom at a school in Kwazakele was damaged and a classroom at the Steven Masingula High School in New Brighton was also set alight.

A man was arrested. In the black residential area of Bedford, police arrested a man for stoning police vehicles.

tomorrow night in the Feather Market Hall. All the top gospel bands which the young people have heard during the week will perform.

Mr Helsby said they were expecting more than 1 000 people.

This festival will be followed by a four-hour music festival on Saturday at 2pm at the Mannville Theatre in St George's Park. The alternative venue if the weather is bad will be the Greenwood Primary School.

Another four-hour music festival will be held at 2pm on Sunday at the Adcock Stadium.

interdict
 awaits

The interdict has been welcomed by civil rights experts as a possible landmark with national implications.

The urgent application was brought by a PE district surgeon, Dr Wendy Orr, and 44 other applicants.

Dr Orr said in papers filed before the court that the interdict was necessary to prevent the state from interfering with the activities of the applicants in the PE district.

CAPE TIMES 26/9/85
**New Crossroads four
'not collaborators'**

Staff Reporter 11A (2/85)

FOUR New Crossroads residents, whose houses have been attacked twice this year because they were suspected of involvement in the Cape Town Community Council, have pleaded with their communities to take their word that they are not "collaborators".

The Rev Cameron Kani, Mr Merryman and Mrs Hilda Mgedezi, and Mrs Nomangesi Mbobosi are adamant that they have never served on or had anything to do with the community council.

The Western Cape Development Board confirmed yesterday that none of the four were councillors.

All four have been victims of harassment since New Crossroads rentals increased in January.

After their houses were attacked, they moved to Khayelitsha but moved back to New Crossroads once their houses had been repaired.

Recently their houses were attacked again.

Mrs Mbobosi, a community worker for the Lamia group operating at Quaker House, says she is "very hurt" by the accusations of council membership.

If she were a member she would resign, as she "can't see what they have done for the people".

Mr Kani, a member of the New Crossroads Executive Committee, said he had been attacked because people believed he had approved the January rent increase.

"This is not true," he said this week.

"We met with the (Western Cape Administration Board who informed us about the rents but we were never consulted about the increase.

"I have nothing to do with the community council and nothing to do with the rents increase," he said.

Mr and Mrs Mgedezi accused New Crossroads community councillor Mr L Nkonya of implicating them.

"We appeal to Mr Nkonya to clear our names with the residents," Mr Mgedezi said.

Mr Nkonya could not be contacted yesterday.

The WCDB confirmed that Mr Nkonya and Mr H Venfolo were the only community councillors in New Crossroads.

CAPE TOWN 25/12/78
Arson Councillor Resigns
Staff Reporter
A CAPE TOWN Community Councillor for New Crossroads, Mr Landus Nkonya, has announced his resignation following an arson attack on his house last week.
Mr Nkonya said this week that he had decided to resign as he was constantly being threatened. Damage to his house amounted to R4 000.
Another reason for his resignation was public pressure being brought to bear on councillors, participants in the council committee system and people who had voted for councillors.
He also said the council had failed to "do anything for the people".

Funeral curbs extended

DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Restrictions on all funerals of blacks in the East London magisterial district have been revised and extended as from yesterday until October 25.

27/10/85
In terms of an order signed by an East London magistrate, Mr Sarel Nel, the four previous conditions imposed on all funerals of blacks in the district were withdrawn and substituted by nine conditions.

The new conditions are:

- Funerals and memorial services may take place only on weekdays;
- The services may take place only within a building;
- Where a funeral service does not take place near a cemetery, those attending the funeral may proceed to the cemetery by motor vehicle only;
- No more than 100 people may be present at the interment;
- Only ordained minis-

ters of religious denominations may officiate at funeral services, provided that during the services no form of state or policy of any government or boycott action may be propagated or discussed;

- No flags, banners, posters, pamphlets or stickers may be displayed or distributed during any funeral or memorial service;

- No public address system may be used at any funerals or memorial services;

- Funerals of more than one person are prohibited;

- The body of the deceased may be conveyed only by means of a motor vehicle.

In the order, Mr Nel said he had reason to believe that public peace would be seriously endangered by gatherings in the form of funerals.

The magisterial decree was issued in terms of section 46 (1) of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

New EL funeral curbs

Post Reporter

EAST LONDON — New restrictions, applying till October 25, were placed yesterday on funerals of blacks in the East London area. They include:

- Funerals and memorial services may take place only on weekdays.

- Services must be within a building.

- Mourners may proceed to the cemetery by motor vehicle only.

- Only ordained ministers may officiate and no policy of the Government or boycott action may be discussed.

- No flags, banners, posters, pamphlets or sticks may be displayed.

- Funerals of more than one person at a time are prohibited.

5860/10
E. Post 27/10/85

TO: Captains of Industry and Commerce, Employers, Political
and Trade Union Leaders.

OCT 9 1985: NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER AND FASTING

We write to you as a person of influence to seek your understanding and that of the organization you serve, in interpreting the call for a Day of Prayer on October 9th 1985. This emerged from the National Initiative for Reconciliation held in Pietermaritzburg from 10 - 12 September 1985.

A copy of the full Statement of Affirmation supported by all but a few of the 400 leaders of 48 Church denominations and organizations is enclosed, and we know that you will read it with care. But even more important is the need to explain the quite remarkable - perhaps miraculous - process which gave birth to this statement. This is something that has not been conveyed in the shorthand of press reporting but must be understood if we are to receive from you the co-operation we covet.

I. A Sign of Hope

South Africa desperately needs signs of hope, and we believe that the National Initiative for Reconciliation is such a sign. In Pietermaritzburg where the Initiative was launched this was demonstrated by:

1. The widest cross section of Christian leaders ever gathered in South Africa - all searching for a new way for our land.
2. A willingness on all sides to acknowledge and confess our different complicities in creating and tolerating the cruel injustices of apartheid.
3. A common desire to move beyond political point-scoring to a genuine listening to God and each other.
4. The painful emergence of a pledge to work across traditional political and denominational barriers for a changed and totally nonracial South Africa.

The National Initiative for Reconciliation was in the words of a black leader: "A miracle which took my breath away and gave me hope again." A Dutch Reformed minister put it this way: "I have been converted four times since I came here!"

II. The Day of Prayer

1. The call for all Christians to give one working day - if necessary sacrificing their pay - to acts of repentance, mourning and prayer, was reached through a process of deep struggle, with everyone anxious to find a non-violent way to demonstrate to South Africa the depth of our caring for the intolerable suffering surrounding South Africans, especially those in the townships.
2. The calling of this day is not a cheap political act, and should not be seen in terms of a "stayaway" or "strike". It is intended to be an opportunity to express in a spiritual and Christlike way our repentance for past wrongs and our commitment to the removal of injustices.
3. It is not linked to any political grouping or organization, but is a call to Christians to identify with the pain of their fellow South Africans.
4. It is not a threat but an act of penitence.

III. Our Appeal

1. Accordingly we will be calling on all Christians responsibly to observe this day by seeking a day's leave on October 9th. It would be left to the individual to decide whether to request the day as paid or unpaid leave. It is also recognised that in many cases this will obviously involve sacrificing one day of their annual paid leave. All participants in the Day of Prayer would then be free to observe the day privately at home or join in services of prayer and fasting to be arranged in as many

churches as possible.

2. We wish to appeal to all employers in commerce and industry to respect this call by granting requests from their employees who wish to observe the Day of Prayer. We are grateful for the guidelines already circulated by the Federated Chamber of Industries, because these guidelines reflect the spirit which we have sought to express.

3. We appeal to Trade Unions and political organizations neither to oppose the call nor seek to enforce it in any way. As a Christian act we believe that any response to the call must be absolutely voluntary and devoid of any coercion.

4. We call on those involved in any essential services, as well as those affecting the health, education or well-being of anyone, particularly the young, aged or sick, to continue prayerfully with their work, and to consider donating one day's pay to any organization which eases the suffering of the victims of injustice.

5. We have no right, of course, to speak into any constituency but our own, but would nevertheless want people of other faiths to feel welcome should they wish to stand in solidarity with this witness to a hope in God and a desire for repentance and healing in our land.

IV. Our Expectation and Prayer

Our Biblical heritage demonstrates that there are times when God calls on His people to pause, to reflect, to seek His guidance, and to change their ways. We believe this Day of Prayer is such a moment, and that out of this moment there could flow new hope and unity for our divided and beloved land.

This is our confident expectation and prayer and we seek your understanding, and if possible your support.

STATEMENT BY THE FEDERATED CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES TO ALL ITS MEMBERS

DAY OF PRAYER: 9th OCTOBER 1985

The Federated Chamber of Industries is not unsympathetic to the cause but is in no position to prescribe to members how the call for the day of prayers should be approached.

In terms of its Constitution, the Chamber supports freedom of religion and conscience.

The Federated Chamber of Industries wishes to clarify an apparent misinterpretation. The Christian leaders have called for a day of repentance, mourning and prayer and not for a stay away in the accepted sense of the word. The authentic statement was published on page 10 in the Sunday Times dated 15th September (please advise should you require a copy). As a general guideline the Federated Chamber of Industries suggests that if it is a day of prayer and workers wish to observe or attend a Church service during midday or late afternoon (similar to days of prayer for rain in the past) employers could be expected to consider it sympathetically. However, should workers not attend work at all without permission the following approaches by individual employers have already been identified -

- should workers take the day off from work it will be considered as paid leave.
- no work, no pay!!

NATIONAL INITIATIVE FOR RECONCILIATION

THE ECONOMY

Barend's band-aid

Unravelling last year's austerity package after just 12 months is the last thing Pretoria should be doing right now. Yet its announcement last Friday of a mixed, if rather slim, bag of measures to promote employment and reduce interest rates further will do just that. It could turn out to be a first-aid package that finally kills off the patient.

The idea seems good: to spend R500m on job creation, further development of small business, and hunger relief. After all, who wants to see masses of unemployed stoning buses in full view of the world?

But Pretoria has forgotten why it wanted to kill off consumer spending in the first place. The austerity package announced in August 1984 was intended to reduce bank credit, improve the BoP and, most importantly, reduce

inflation. It did most of this. Yet, while the first-aid package may clean up a few cuts and bruises, it will also unleash the terrors of inflation again.

Certainly, government feathers have been correctly ruffled by the sudden and sharp increase in world condemnation of apartheid. But this is no time to lose courage — even though politics seems to hold sway over economic factors.

It is regrettable that Pretoria has seen fit to increase its budget revenues by yet more imposts, confirming its fear of letting go the bonds that grip the private sector. True, government must involve itself in the creation of jobs: but the business environment will do its best. Rearranging the deck-chairs on the *Titanic* will simply frustrate the upswing. And an upswing, more than any tinkering with taxpayers' money, is what will get jobless blacks into the productive sector. ■

NELSON MANDELA

Flight to freedom

It becomes daily more imperative that Nelson Mandela be released. He is 67 and it has been reported that doctors have advised that his enlarged prostate gland be removed, and that he has cysts on his liver and right kidney. Two private doctors will be visiting him and there seems to be full co-operation between the family and the Prisons Department.

There is no suggestion in any of this that Mandela is seriously ill. But if government has any face left to save, the African National Congress (ANC) leader's health should at least permit it to sanction his release on humanitarian grounds — whether or not he "renounces" violence.

It has been asked — we have asked — why Mandela cannot simply be released from Pollsmoor, placed on the street. The answer, and it carries some weight, is that in current circumstances this could trigger further violence: one has the image of thousands (millions?) of blacks flocking to the Mandela epicentre, and without doubt his freedom would rock the nation.

One or two alternatives need to be considered. Firstly — and this is a spectre raised by *Time* magazine — Mandela's death in prison would unleash violence on a scale never before experienced in this country. Never mind that it would be of natural causes, as the euphemism goes — the very symbol of the anti-apartheid forces would be perceived as having made the ultimate sacrifice in the hands of the "system."

Mandela, then, would be something of a messiah figure, not just a convenient rallying-point for a disparate variety of groups, ranging from extreme militants to those who want peaceful change.

If this seems an extreme viewpoint, recall how the "system" retained the ashes of Bram Fischer lest, in a peculiarly grisly turn of phrase used by the authorities at the time, a "cult" should develop around them.

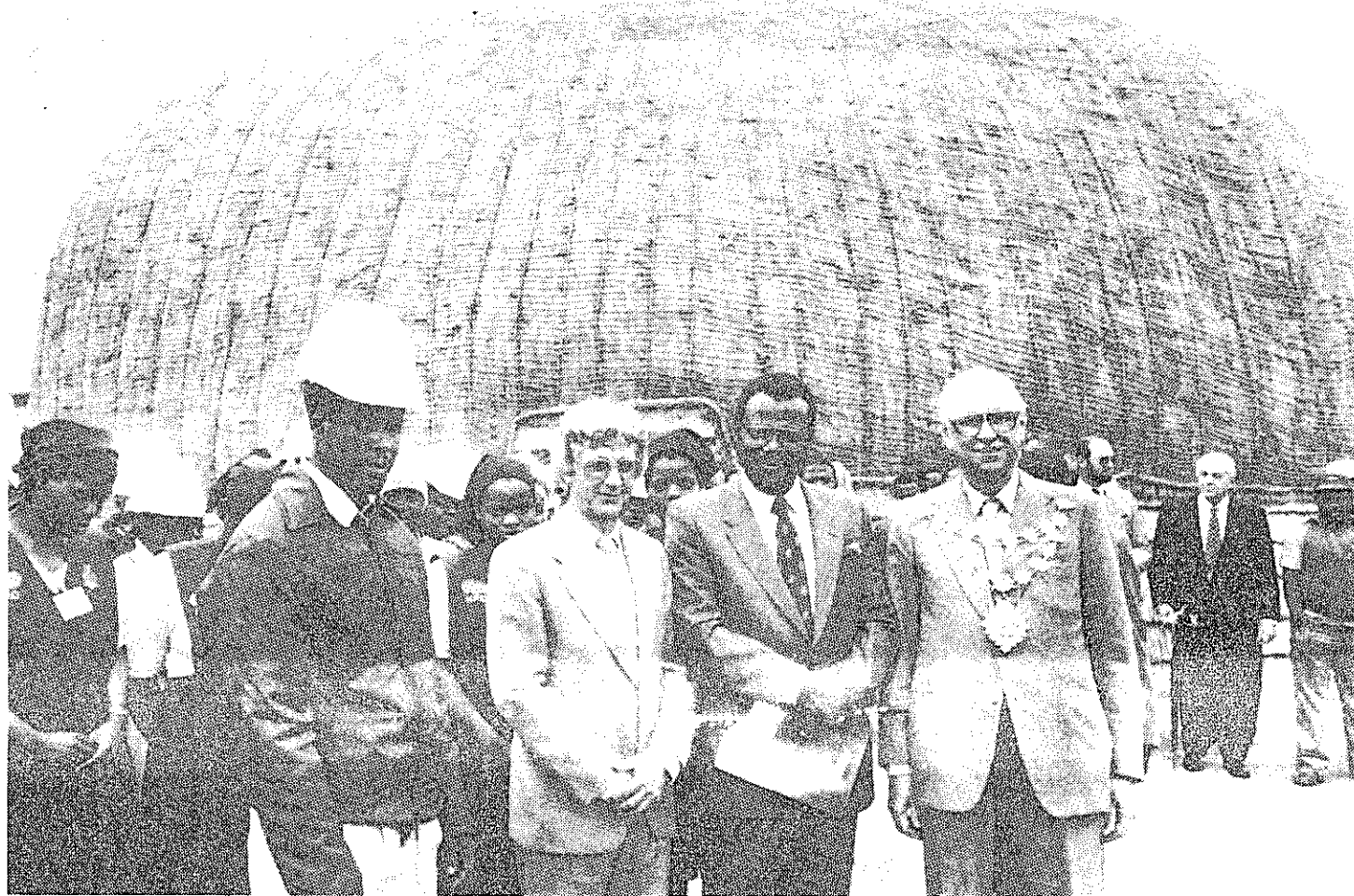
We sense that Pretoria wants to release Mandela, but is wondering where and how. The Transkei option has surfaced from time to time — Mandela, against his will of course, is a Transkeian citizen. Yet it takes little imagination to see that this, too, would be a trigger for violence within the geographical borders of SA.

What, however, is to prevent the government from returning Mandela to his colleagues in Africa? That step leaves the ANC with the problem of how to assimilate this great symbol into their own internecine operations. Mandela may well continue to prosecute the guerrilla war — but that war is being fought anyway. The Swapo leader, Toivo ja Toivo, is a case in point.

South African citizens who have paid their debt to society — and Mandela has been in prison for 23 years — have the right to resume their lives as best they can. The release of Mandela to, say, Lusaka, may well be seen as a violation of his rights.

However, Mandela's political life has been dedicated to opposing apartheid through an armed struggle and government is unlikely to wish to see him making a reaffirmation of that stance in the streets of Cape Town or Transkei. It is also not going to release him in order to negotiate a transfer of power to the black majority.

A flight to Lusaka may be *force majeure* applied to a man insisting he doesn't want release. But he must be released, soon, and that is one option to consider. ■



The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (second right) with (from left) indlu induna Mr A N Ncube, chairman of Expo 85 Mr Don Smith and Durban's Mayor Mr Stan Lange.

Blacks must share in the free enterprise system, says chief

11A Mercury 27/9/85

Mercury Reporter

GREAT pains were taken in building the KwaZulu indlu (traditional hut) at Expo 85, to emphasise that KwaZulu and Natal were totally interdependent and that the future of all the people in the region was inextricably intertwined.

This was said by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, at the official opening of the joint KwaZulu Government/KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation exhibit at Expo.

He said people had flocked to the city in search of a better life and

had made the city economically strong, but they had lived under appalling conditions on the periphery of the city.

While the KwaZulu Government had refused to apply any form of influx control on these people, and the South African Government had been powerless to stop the natural migration, the Government had harassed the people when they came in search of jobs.

'(They) generally behaved as if the hundreds of thousands of people on the edge of this city did not exist. Nothing was done to provide even the most basic of services

and people were simply left to their own devices,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said the exhibit strove to depict the major development needs of KwaZulu and highlighted the enormous differences in development between Natal and KwaZulu, in spite of 'the fact that the two areas are inextricably linked together'.

Chief Buthelezi said the KFC had done much to make the free enterprise system meaningful to black people, 'and this work is of particular relevance on a day like today'.

'The private sector

would do well to ponder how it too can foster the free enterprise system for black people.

'It does not need a soothsayer to predict that unless this happens, pressures for the introduction of alternative economic systems will mount and ultimately become irresistible,' said Chief Buthelezi.

He said a share of the capitalist system would mean the black people had something to lose, otherwise 'the devil they don't know would be better than the devil they do'.

The chief said nearly

R60 000 had been spent on the exhibit, but that the vast bulk of this had gone into the pockets of those who desperately needed it.

'More than 60 people, the majority of whom were brought in from really depressed rural areas like Nqutu and Nondweni, have had a job for three months while this indlu was being built.

'In addition, all the natural materials used in the construction were bought from people who are suffering grinding poverty at present,' said the chief minister.

Pay-or-die: Rich city blacks slain

ARGUS 27/9/85

11/11
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MARK STANSFIELD, Staff Reporter

SEVERAL black Cape Town businessmen, some of whom have died violently, may have been victims of extortion squads claiming to represent the African National Congress.

The squads are said to have asked for "donations" of up to R15,000 from wealthy township residents — threatening those who do not comply, with house-bombings, the murder of their families and their own "assassination".

The demands were made in telephone calls from Lesotho, according to sworn statements made by Guguletu residents.

The statements were handed in at the Wynberg Magistrate's Court recently at an inquest on Community Council chairman Mr Elliot Bill Lubelwana, who died in a hail of bullets when his car was ambushed in NY 110 Guguletu in August last year. Shortly before, Mr Lubelwana had closed his butchery after receiving a telephone call that left him highly agitated, according to a shop assistant.

Mr Lubelwana's death has been linked to several other killings in the township but because there are court cases proceeding it is not possible to name other businessmen and residents who have been killed or who have been threatened with extortion and death.

In all cases the businessmen first received anonymous letters, delivered by hand by children who said the letters were handed to them by strangers.

"We want R15 000"

All the letters had the same basic content:

"Dear ...

"Firstly, read this letter alone.

"Look (name deleted), we want R15 000 from you and no problems. We are going to phone you and we will see you when you read this letter anyway.

"Here are your orders: 1. R15 000 in cash (R20 bills); 2. Deliver the money at (location deleted) near the river; 3. We shall see you when you come.

"Look if you think this is a joke then think again. We know your wife (name deleted), your daughters (names deleted) and we know where they are.

"Secondly, there is you, our nearest target. We can do anything to you anytime we want."

The letters end with the words "We shall send you a sample of a bullet and you can see we do not play.

"So long."

Threatening calls

Threatening telephone calls followed, linking the letters to the ANC.

A township businessman told detectives that on December 26 last year he received a telephone call from a "Mr Jeremo" in Lesotho.

"He explained that he was a member of the ANC and that they wanted R10 000 as support for the movement.

"He went on to explain that the ANC was fighting for freedom so that everybody could enjoy freedom. He said the ANC was going to approach all the businessmen for support and if they failed to pay they would bomb homes and families.

"They want everybody to make a payment otherwise violence would be used," he said in a statement.

Several other residents claimed they had been approached. In some instances plain-clothed po-

(Turn to Page 3, col 5)

27/10/85

Letters of death

11A 8/10/85

(Cont from Page 1)

licemen were assigned to guard them.

In a statement handed in at the inquest, Captain Leonard Knipe, who has been investigating the murder of Mr Lubelwana for more than a year, said: "All the various suspects ... have been interviewed and investigated in depth. I have been unable to obtain any information which would justify an arrest.

"The deceased (Mr Lubelwana) a community leader, appears to have been a very complex character. The local community did not hold him in very high esteem and the majority of the local community expressed their pleasure with his death."

Captain Knipe added that it had been almost impossible to trace witnesses who would make statements.

These witnesses lived in various parts of South Africa including Transkei, Potchefstroom and Johannesburg.

The inquest magistrate, Mr A J Basson, found that the court "was not in a position to make a positive finding" about the death of Mr Lubelwana.

Stayaway held in protest — committee

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — The two-day stayaway held here this week was to register protest against recent detentions and other police actions, according to a statement yesterday from the Mlungisi Residents' committee (MRC).

The statement signed by the MRC secretary, Mr Mxolisi Olifant, said Mlungisi residents strongly condemned certain police actions which included the detentions of various peo-

ple, including MRC members. ~~22/09/85~~ (11A)

He said detentions and certain police actions between Monday, September 16, and Saturday, September 21, led to the passing of a resolution to stay away from work for two days to register protest.

He also said the MRC could not honour an agreement to attend a meeting arranged with authorities for September 20 as many MRC members were in detention.

The manner in which

DISPATCH

residents and MRC members were detained during the stayaway was also condemned, and the statement said authorities had not met a single one of the MRC's original six demands delivered at a meeting between the MRC, the town council, Sakekamer, Chamber of Commerce and East Cape Development Board on August 14.

Police have confirmed that 56 people were detained on Wednesday night during the stayaway.

After a month of dodging Security Police . . .

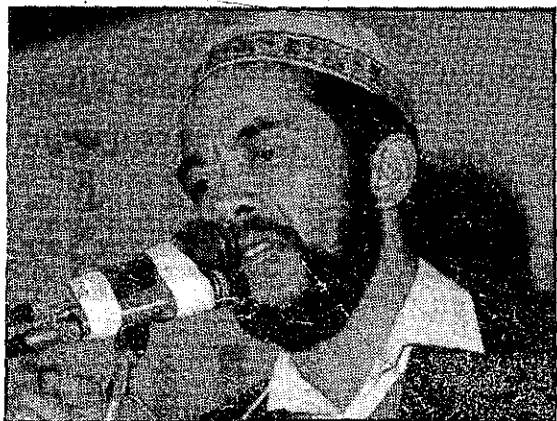
IMAM FLEES TO MECCA

Cape Herald

By DOUGIE OAKES

28/9/85

LEADING Muslim cleric and United Democratic Front activist Imam Hassan Solomons has fled the country.



● IMAM Hassan Solomons

Friends of the outspoken religious leader said he intends spending the next few months in Mecca, in Saudi Arabia.

"But," they added, "he has promised to return within a few months to help in the fight for freedom."

Imam Solomons, fearing arrest by Security Police, led a Scarlet Pimpernel-type of existence in the suburbs of Cape Town for almost a month.

On at least three occasions, he addressed crowds at mass funerals in the townships. And every time, his network of supporters was able to spirit him away from under the noses of security forces.

DETAILS

This week, the details of Imam Solomons's daring escape were given in a pamphlet drawn up and distributed by an organisation called "The Call Of Islam".

They said: "He arrived in Zimbabwe on Wednesday after having spent a few days in Botswana.

"He certainly had the last laugh when last Friday, policemen surrounded his mosque in Main Road, Claremont. (This time they also guarded all the toilet windows).

"But by then he was safely on his way to Botswana."

The Call Of Islam said Imam Solomons was "adamant" that he was prepared to do whatever his com-

4 Cape Herald, Sei

Imam flees

FROM PAGE 1

rades felt would advance the struggle — even if this meant having to "sit" for a few years.

"But it was felt he would be more useful outside the country. However, he only agreed to leave on the condition that he would return after a few months and that The Call Of Islam would not wait until freedom before asking him to return."

They added: "To him, Dr Allan Boesak, Advocate Dullah Omar, all others in detention and the many activists who are on the run — we salute you."

TURN TO PAGE 4

UDF committed to continue its work

By MICHAEL DOMAN

LEADERS in the UDF are committed to maintaining a place for it in South Africa, despite the State's national drive to detain its entire leadership.

So said Trevor Manuel, top local UDF man, on the run from the security police, in an exclusive interview this week.

Manuel went into hiding in the wake of the arrests of several top-ranking UDF officials last month.

"Both the national and regional executives — with the exception of the Rev Syd Luckett — are either in detention or being sought by the police," he said.

Manuel spoke of a year-long drive to arrest UDF leaders, which started immediately prior to the tricameral elections in 1984.

"Immediately after we had elected a new national executive this Easter, key co-ordinators Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe were detained.

DETAINED

"And after a wave of arrests of the Western Cape regional executive recently, members of the interim co-ordinating structure were visited by police within days. One member, Mansoor Jaffer, is presently being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act."

Trevor Manuel, on the run from the security police, spoke to Cape Herald in an exclusive interview this week

change it to suit the circumstances.

"The State has seemed to identify us as the major opposition, and as such it is acting far more heavily on us than on other organisations.

"This proves that it is not merely rhetoric, but the ability to organise people effectively which counts."

Would the UDF opt for a different form of leadership?

"All options are being considered at the moment. We have to continue our functions, and we'll try to go for the safest option, precisely because the UDF is an open and legal front.

"But we are definitely not operating in the open."

"Our actions have been criminalised, and people get that impression of the UDF. Anything to do with the UDF has been cast as if illegal."

He said the State was trying to create the conditions where "the people choose Gatsha Buthelezi and the National Convention Alliance as viable options".

His dismissal of UDF participation in such a venture was categorical.

"Until such time as political prisoners are released, organisations and individuals are unbanned, and the dismantling of apartheid is placed on the agenda, such talks as the Alliance are a deviation and an exercise in futility."

OVERSEAS

The UDF has wide support both locally and overseas and at times it has seemed an imminent option for the State to ban it, added Manuel.

"They haven't exercised that option, but they are trying to outlaw all the key activists.

"They could be trying to move moderates into the leadership positions.

"Alternatively, those in the ultra-left would have control, which could alienate the UDF because of their likely position with the police. Then the organisation will die a slow, natural death."

Organising within the UDF has become increasingly difficult because many of their meetings have been banned.

"But meetings and press releases or pamphlets are not the only way to do work.

"We will continue to re-define our role, and naturally we must

(11A)
**UDF man dies
in East London
after arrest** 29/7/85

EASTERN Cape political activist Mbuyiselo Mbotya died in hospital in East London last weekend after he was arrested on Friday night.

East London police have confirmed the detention and death of Mr Mbotya, 35, saying he was arrested for "criminal" offences.

Mr Mbotya was a member of the King William's Town Youth League and also a UDF member. Funeral arrangements have not yet been made.

(11A) B. Day 29/9/85
UK business lines up to meet ANC's Tambo

LONDON — African National Congress president Oliver Tambo arrives in London this week to meet British businessmen and address the Labour Party's annual conference in Bournemouth on Monday.

Tambo has had unprecedented international media exposure in recent weeks, culminating with the watershed meeting between an ANC delegation and top SA business leaders.

The meeting has given Tambo's international image a major boost and has opened new doors to the international business community, which is now joining the queue

JOHN BATTERSBY

to meet him rather than risk dragging their feet in publicly opposing apartheid.

His high-profile presence in Britain — and particularly his meeting with British businessmen — is likely to be a source of embarrassment to the British government which has an official no-contact policy with the ANC.

British Foreign Office sources said yesterday it was "highly unlikely" Tambo would meet government ministers or officials.

However, they conceded that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's surprise decision at the weekend to invite two Palestine Liberation Organisation officials to London for talks was likely to make contact with the ANC easier.

"This does not necessarily mean we would see Tambo but you can be sure that if Nelson Mandela was released we would talk to him," a source said.

The Foreign Office has observed a studied silence on the recent ANC-business talks in Zambia as it feels public encouragement of the initiative would undermine its no-contact policy.

PLANS are under way to
Natal UDF chairman Mcebisi Xundu
out of his Lamontville parish - and then
ban him from Natal. (11A)

If the plan fails, attempts will be made to cancel
the church site lease agreement.

Rev Xundu, the rector of Lamontville's St. Simon's Anglican
Church, has been in detention since early August and has since
been transferred to Pretoria. He is also Joint Rent Action
Committee vice-chairman.

A motion by councillor Mthembeni Xudu, of SJ Smith Hostel,
calling for Rev Xundu's removal from Lamontville, was unanimously
accepted by the pro-Inkatha Ningizimu community council this
week.

According to Ningizimu
community council chairperson
Ella Nxasane, Mr Xundu uses
the church site and buildings
for political meetings ad-
dressed by him and other politi-
cal activists from outside La-
montville.

"As a result, violence planned
there by Xundu and others dur-
ing the past two years has esca-
lated throughout the province,"
said Mrs Nxasane.

She also claimed that an ur-
gent request had been delivered
by a delegation of SJ Smith
Hostel dwellers to Natal's An-
glican Bishop, Michael Nuttall,
for the immediate removal of
Mr Xundu.

If Bishop Nuttall does not
respond positively to the re-
quest, the council intends can-
celling the church site lease.

Bishop Nutall confirmed he
had received the request, but
that it could not be considered
because Mr Xundu was in de-
tention.

Umlazi leader on Inkatha hit-list

FUGITIVE Umlazi Resi-
dents' Association chair-
man David Sponono Gasu
briefly surfaced this week
- and revealed a plan by
top-ranking Inkatha offi-
cials to kill him and then
"cut him to pieces".

He said he would only come out
of hiding when he was sure he
would not fall into the hands of
Inkatha's impis.

Mr Gasu told City Press he was
informed by friends who had
infiltrated Inkatha that he fea-
tured prominently on a hit-list
of UDF supporters and sym-
pathisers in Umlazi.

The Umlazi Residents' Association is
an affiliate of the UDF. Mr Gasu
fled his Umlazi B Section home
last month after it was petrol-
bombed twice by armed men and
razed to the ground. He had also
received several death threats.
One anonymous caller said he was
going to be "cut into pieces".

"My friends told me to go into hiding
because they had heard I was going
to be detained by the Security Po-
lice and then handed over to In-
katha. A hit squad would then have
cut me 'to bits' until I died.

The Durban police PRO could not
confirm whether a warrant of ar-
rest had been issued for Mr Gasu,
and refused to comment on "wild
allegations" that police would hand
Gasu over to the impis.

And Inkatha Central Committee
member Peter Davidson said the
allegations were "wild and laugh-
able".

BRITAIN
XUNDU

29/7/82 CP Correspondent

AGE 4
G.M. M.S.S. September 29th, 1982

SIX die

as Zulu warriors run wild

114 ~~276~~ ~~275~~ ~~274~~

CAM T.M.S 30/9/85

JOHANNESBURG. — At least six people died when Zulu warriors, some in full battle regalia, fought local youths in Durban's Lamontville township on Saturday. Twelve people, including a three-year-old child, were injured.

Lamontville residents said warriors took to the streets with fighting sticks and assegais, beating up people and smashing windows.

Many of them wore traditional Zulu battle regalia including skin skirts, beads and ankle rattles and carried cowhide shields.

Elsewhere in the country, police said they shot and killed a black man at Dordrecht, near East London, on Saturday when he fire-bombed a school and two whites were injured, when blacks attacked their car on a public highway near King William's Town.



Chief Buthelezi at the Umlazi rally.

According to a police spokesman, Mr V L Stotter and Mr R E Tooze fled when

a crowd stoned them and set fire to their vehicle.

In KwaZakele outside Port Elizabeth on Friday night, two soldiers were injured, one seriously, when a petrol bomb exploded in a Buffel armoured vehicle.

A Defence Force spokesman said last night Rifleman A H Coetzee of Brakpan and Rifleman G Maree of Johannesburg were in a satisfactory condition in Port Elizabeth Hospital.

A man has been arrested in connection with the incident, police said.

At Cathcart, also in the Eastern Cape, police opened fire on a crowd of blacks throwing petrol bombs at a private house. One man was killed, a police spokesman said.

The new deaths were reported as South Africa entered the 11th week of a state of emergency aimed at crushing year-long unrest that has seen about 720 people killed.

Fighting erupted in Lamontville, outside Durban, as the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addressed about 10 000 tribesmen at a rally in memory of Shaka, founder of the Zulu nation.

Chief Buthelezi arrived wearing a leopardskin headband and a necklace of lion claws and carrying a shield and fighting sticks.

He donned a leopardskin cape before he addressed the crowd in Durban's strife-torn Umlazi township where dozens of blacks died in inter-necine fighting last month.

"I do not want to leave this place if there is any doubt about my leadership," he said to cheering supporters.

Three-quarters of the way through Chief Buthelezi's speech, three busloads of amabutho (warriors) — among them a top Inkatha official — in tribal dress and many of them armed, left the Umlazi stadium and crossed the freeway into neighbouring Lamontville.

As he spoke, the warriors battled UDF supporters in Lamontville, stabbing four people to death, smashing windows and furniture in houses and injuring residents.

At least 12 people, including a three-year-old girl, were admitted to King Edward VII Hospital. Two of them had bullet wounds. According to hospital sources, one of the 12 was critically injured.

Men stoned and burnt

Two dead men, believed to be Inkatha members, were burnt in the fighting.

The body of one of the victims lay smouldering in the middle of the road almost an hour after he had been stoned to death and set alight.

In further violence in the troubled region, about 30 black children were injured when a bomb exploded in a toilet at Umlazi's Executive Hotel about 5.30pm yesterday.

According to the manager of the hotel, Mr Peter Davidson, a loud bang shook the building, creating chaos among about 150 children who were attending a "children's day" at the hotel.

About 30 of them suffered cuts from the flying glass and were treated by nurses and parents on the scene. — UPI, Sapa and Own Correspondent
● Buthelezi, King Goodwill attack ANC, page 2

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Hundreds of members of regiments armed with assegais and sticks attended the Shaka Day celebrations at Umlazi.

Zulu King and Chief Buthelezi slam ANC for 'betraying blacks'

11/4 *Mercury* *30/9/85*

African Affairs Correspondent

BOTH Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, and King Goodwill, the King of the Zulus, delivered all-out attacks on the banned African National Congress when they spoke at a major Shaka Day rally at Umlazi, Durban, at the weekend.

King Goodwill referred to the United Democratic Front as a 'hyena'.

He told a crowd of about 10 000 that the Zulu people knew 'beyond any doubt' that elements in the United Democratic Front (UDF) were 'in cahoots' with the ANC mission in exile which was attempting to stir up 'brother against brother'.

'Those who are in control of the mission have been out of the country too long and have forgotten what kind of a people

we are,' he said.

'Let me tell them as King of the Zulus that, if they came here today, the people would hiss and they would be driven out of this place,' King Goodwill said.

'They are unwanted and unrecognised because they have now turned to betraying the trust that our forefathers placed in their predecessors.'

The king said it was a matter of deep regret that Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the ANC in exile, rejected the wisdom of the Zulu people and despised the people who had wisdom.

Poison

'Our people know a hyena when they see one and call it a hyena, and we know the UDF when we see it and call it the UDF.'

King Goodwill said that, if the UDF had set

itself the task of destroying the Zulus as a people and subjugating them to the will of people in distant places who were not chosen by the black people and who did not represent them, they would fail.

'The people will rise as one and reject alien forces which are bent on our destruction,' he said.

The king said only Zulus knew how to spit out those who attempted to poison their society.

Chief Buthelezi said that no black political organisation had been as unchangingly steadfast and consistent in its policy over a period of 10 years as Inkatha.

Violence

The ANC in exile, however, had now openly declared war on Inkatha and had, in fact, ordered his assassination.

'It is now, in fact, bent on a strategy of attempting to woo Inkatha's mem-

bers away from Inkatha's leadership and the people must now decide what their attitude is,' the president of the movement said.

Chief Buthelezi said the fundamental difference in approach between the Inkatha movement and the ANC in exile revolved around the use of violence.

The armed struggle had been a dismal failure for 25 years, he maintained, and it was senseless to go on repeating that dismal failure for the next 25 years.

He said the ANC was becoming even more suicidal in their advice. They are urging black South Africans to leave their townships to go into white areas where, as we know, the police and army have got complete freedom of movement and where the majority of white households are, in fact, armed by the white living in them'.

Cape Times 30/9/85
11A

Buthelezi and King Goodwill attack ANC

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — Chief Gatisha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, and King Goodwill, the King of the Zulus, delivered an all-out attack on the banned African

National Congress when they spoke at a major Shaka Day rally at Umhlangeni here at the weekend.

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about 10 000 that the Zulu people knew "beyond any doubt" that elements in the United Democratic Front (UDF) were "in cahoots" with the ANC mission in exile which was attempting to stir up "brother against brother".

"Those who are in control of the mission have been out of the country too long and have forgotten what kind of a people we are," he said.

"Let me tell them as King of the Zulus, that, if they came here today, the people would hiss and they would be driven out of this place," King Goodwill said.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been attacked by the ANC mission in exile because he did not "do their bidding" and "dance to their tune".

"It is now, in fact, bent on a strategy of attempting to woo Inkatha's members away from Inkatha's leadership and the people must now decide what their attitude is," the president of the movement said.

He said the fundamental difference in approach between the Inkatha movement and the ANC in exile revolved around the use of violence.

The armed struggle had been a dismal failure for 25 years, he maintained, and it was senseless to go on repeating that dismal failure for the next 25 years.

"The armed struggle will not succeed while the ANC mission in exile is quite incapable of arming the people," Chief Buthelezi declared.

He said the ANC in exile were trying to get black South Africans to expand on an "orgy of killing".

"They are becoming even more suicidal in their advice. They are urging black South Africans to leave their townships to go into white areas where, as we know, the police and army have got complete freedom of movement and where the majority of white households are, in fact, armed by the whites living in them."

Setlhoke missing after deportation

MYSTERY OF EXILE

30/9/85

~~SA~~
Saweta
11A

THE mother of a South African exile who was this month allegedly handed over to South African authorities by the Botswana Government fears he might be dead.

The South African Police have denied holding Mr Gabriel Setlhoke (32) who was allegedly handed over to authorities at the border on September 19 after he had lost his permanent Botswana citizenship.

The Botswana Government is adamant it handed over Mr Setlhoke, who was deprived of his citizenship by the Botswana Ministry of Home Affairs early this month.

Mrs Grace Setlhoke, of Zone 1 Meadowlands, Soweto, said yesterday that she had tried in vain to locate her son after several trips to Botswana, where government officials refused to say why they had deported him.

She said she last saw Gabriel two weeks before he was escorted to the South African border.

Mrs Setlhoke said her son telephoned her to tell his family of his fate.

She said Gabriel did not know why he was being sent back to South Africa.

"The only property of his that I have are his television set, a radio, a bed and some cutlery. I will be returning to Botswana soon to retrieve his car and the rest of his belongings.

"Right now I am more concerned about his whereabouts. If he is dead the South African authorities must tell me," Mrs Setlhoke said.



Mrs GRACE SETLHOKE: Fears her son might be dead.

FIG: LEN KUMALO

Refugee

She also said she had sought legal advice but her lawyer last week told her he had difficulty in locating Mr Setlhoke.

Mrs Setlhoke said she had asked many influential people in Botswana, including his employers, to investigate the matter but all drew a blank.

Mr Setlhoke, who left South Africa in 1980, lived as a refugee in Botswana until 1983 when he was naturalised. He worked for a telephone manufacturing company until his deportation.

The Permanent Secretary in the Botswana Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr Augustine Pontsho, last week refused to say why Mr Setlhoke was deported and refused to divulge anything further.

Azaso backs unity call

THE AZANIAN Students Organisation "warmly welcomed" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for unity at a Shaka's Day speech on Saturday, as long as unity did not aim to boost apartheid, a Press statement said. Soweto

The statement said: "The Azanian Students' Organisation warmly welcomes the call for unity by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as long as it is not aimed at boosting up apartheid."

But the rejection of apartheid could not be reconciled with participation in current Government structures which made apartheid

workable, the statement said. IIA
Any attack on anti-apartheid organisations like the United Democratic Front or on opponents of apartheid would only lead to dis-

unity, more bloodshed and disaster, the statement said. Sapa

"We therefore call upon Chief Buthelezi to break away from the apartheid system." - Sapa. 30/9/85

★ (M) (R) 11P

ANC believes in 'mixed economy'

By BARRY STREEK

THE banned African National Congress believes in a mixed economy with room for private initiative in trade and industry and State control over certain sectors, according to Finansies en Tegniek, the weekly financial magazine.

The ANC would nationalize high-finance activities, such as mining, banks, the energy industry and basic communication enterprises such as the railways and harbours, but it would not nationalize the media, the magazine said.

Finansies en Tegniek, which is owned by Nasionale Pers, said the ANC's economic policies had never been clearly spelt out but after discussions with an ANC representative in Zambia these had been clarified.

Written by Esmare van der Merwe, the article said: "Land will be held in trust by the State and distributed to people who worked it, without overturning existing production. Incentives for commercial and co-operative farming will be introduced."

The economy would

not be nationalized wholesale. All activities, apart from those specified before, would be in the hands of the private sector. Trade and industry would be private or co-operative.

"Private initiative will go hand-in-hand with State control and co-operative undertakings in the armaments industry, construction, transport, tourism as well as small and large trading."

Asked whether private enterprise would not be suppressed, as had happened with Marxist governments, Finansies en

Tegniek said the ANC's position was that "private enterprise exists in what you call a Marxist economy. Any existing socialist economy demonstrates it with its small trading and small manufacturing activities".

It was impossible to say what taxation policies would be applied because these depended on economic conditions and expectations and it had to take into account government services, internal and external trade, loans and financial structures.

However, there would

be "personal income tax, company tax, capital gains tax, trading tax and much more — each with its own rules and administration, each with its own combinations and exceptions".

The ANC would regard job creation and raising incomes as priorities as well as housing, health services, education (particularly technical education) and the development of under-developed areas. Defence and administrative expenses "will definitely be restricted".

Asked if there would

be large-scale withdrawal of foreign capital from the economy if a socialist government came to power, Finansies en Tegniek said the ANC's position was that "we are not fighting for a socialist government, but for all universal democratic rights in a non-racial society. Foreign investments depend on the political climate and taxation structure.

"Where there is a need and the investment is not exploitative, but for the advantage of the community, it will be encouraged."

The ANC also believed

businessmen were entitled to be involved in politics because economic and political issues could not be separated. The political climate had to be advantageous to the economy, otherwise the economy suffered as was happening at present.

The businessmen who met the ANC were encouraged by a desire to create a healthy economic climate which would be conducive to normal economic activities without bloodshed and oppression.

"Their action was therefore more than a sign of goodwill."

Schools jibe angers Indians

JOHANNESBURG. — A jibe about black teachers being kept out of Indian schools because they may burn them down prompted six Indian Labour Party members, including two MPs in the House of Delegates, to walk out of a meeting of the National People's Party here yesterday.

Mr Salaam Abram-Mayet, an LP member and nominated MP, said last night that what had "irritated" him was that the NPP, the ruling party in the House, took no visible steps to reprimand the man, a party branch official, even if the remark had been made in jest.

Mr Ahomed Lambat, Labour Party MP for Actonville, walked out with Mr Abram-Mayet.

Mr Abram-Mayet said the "black teachers" remark was inflammatory and in bad taste. Instead of the NPP kicking out the man who made the offensive remark, he was given important duties at the meeting, he said.

It all started when Labour Party member Mr Farouk Majam asked why black teachers were not employed in Indian schools.

The official then jibed that black teachers would get Indian schools burnt down.

"The remark engenders racial hatred and mistrust and the man should have been reprimanded, but he was let off scot-free," Mr Abram-Mayet said.

The NPP public relations officer in the Transvaal, Mr Ismail Abramjee, declined to comment, saying a statement would probably be issued today by the party's national leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi. — Sapa

THE strident voice of high-school students, matured beyond their years by their environment, calls for action — and educationists now say . . .

HEED THIS CALL!

THE "youth revolution" and protest action by schoolchildren and students is not to be underestimated. Political statements coming out of young mouths now are surprisingly mature.

"All too often I've heard the cry from students and pupils: 'I've had enough. How can I carry on normally?'" said one psychologist.

And warnings not to dismiss this youth factor in the strife and crisis gripping the country now come from educationists, teachers, psychologists and politicians.

"I've been quite surprised by the mature political thinking coming from high-school students," said one involved teacher who wishes to remain anonymous.

The urgency of the issue — which focuses on a call for equal and adequate education, but which embraces beyond this the very fundamental rejection of apartheid and "the system" — is being reflected in almost daily meetings held during the past week, meetings of students, parents and teachers, he said.

"Debate is raging and there is division between parents and students on the issue of returning to school. Parents want advancement for their children. And the students feel that not one of their demands have yet been met. Some feel the boycott should continue for a day or a week as a show of strength."

Behind the debate though seems to be an unprecedented solidarity. PTSAs — Parent, Teachers, Students Associations — are mushrooming to replace PTAs and the message is that the students are involved and will be heard.

"And these young voices are voluble at the meetings," said the teacher.

"For a long time we have been witnessing the 'youth revolution' because, I think, young people are determined their future will not be the same as it has been for their parents," said Mr Jan van Eck, PFP MPC spokesman on education.

"The protesting students have had leadership thrust on their shoulders, and sure there must be some anarchistic excitement in all the action, but one must not underestimate the anguish and anxiety they are experiencing."

DALE LAUTENBACH Weekend Argus Reporter

He said it was "scary" to see the depth of awareness and politicisation among black and coloured pupils on the one hand against the "general trend at white schools to ensure that pupils are unaware and unformed."

"These two groups are tomorrow's adults and the gap between them is such that I'm concerned about them addressing each other — understanding each other — in the future."

Psychologist Sandy Lazarus, a lecturer at the University of Cape Town and involved in alternative educational programmes, said feelings of rage against the South African authorities must be a common experience for many students.

"Because they are young they have those universal ambivalent feelings towards authority anyway. But how much more difficult must it be for them to work through their present anger and frustration? Refusing their education now is partly an expression of desperation — in words I've heard often: 'I've had enough. How can I carry on normally?'"

"I think they must be racked with emotions now. They're having to deal not only with rage, but with a great deal of fear, uncertainty, frustration and despair. They are being forced to mature very rapidly — perhaps prematurely."

She saw positive spin-offs in the situation, however: "Many have developed amazing levels of competence. I'm astounded at how maturely they do deal with the situation facing them despite all the inner turmoil and external provocation. They appear to be making every effort to understand their experience and explore constructive ways of dealing with them."

"I think they deserve an ovation."

Educational psychologist Dr David Donald of UCT's education department added his voice to the warning: "Take them seriously."

"There can be no question that they are going through extreme emotional dis-

stress. And while what they are addressing are very real issues of equal education and political rights (and I endorse this call) it disturbs me as a psychologist that children are having to take on this adult responsibility.

"Adolescence according to Western norms is a time of finding and groping for identity, not a time to be forced into one."

Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, said that while young people in other environments were enjoying their youth, in his environment the youth "have to grapple with excruciating political and social issues".

The call by many students now for "Liberation first, then Education", reflected a hesitance to accept present norms with which to go into the future.

"But I think they also realise there is no true liberation without education — that education is an imperative and not negotiable. I would like to hear the call 'Education now, then Liberation', because the more educated you are the more effective the battle."

He said too that the protesting children could not be accused of having fun out there on the battlefield.

"Just the opposite. It's a traumatic experience for them and it spoils their chances of advancement through education."

Buried beneath the voice of protest, Mr Ken Andrew, PFP MP and a spokesman on education, identified the question put to the present system of education; the cry: "Where is this all leading me?"

"Students see ahead of them the frustration of unemployment and the ghetto trap, irrespective of what they've achieved educationally. I believe education is vital for a better South Africa and that 'Liberation now, then Education' is misguided."

But he understood the basis for this call, he said. "It is sad and tragic that the apartheid system has brought about this desperation and frustration. Young people don't want to wait and wait for change."

New teachers' body launch in Athlone

By YAZEED FAKIER
Education Reporter

THE Concerned Teachers Co-ordinating Committee, formed in response to the schools crisis, will officially be launched as the new Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu) at a meeting in Athlone tomorrow.

The launch of the organization, which has a signed-up membership of 1 500 teachers under the Department of Education and Culture, will start at 11am in the Kismet Cinema, Klipfontein Road.

It will follow the registration of members from 9am, when new members will be able to join.

The CTCC — which was instrumental in bringing about the joint action by parents, teachers and students on September 24 to re-open schools themselves — was formed as an interim body after a meeting on August 20 when the decision to boycott classes was made.

A CTCC spokesman said the Wectu membership would comprise teachers from 10 regions established by the CTCC — Cape Town, Athlone East, Athlone Central, Eisies River, Wynberg, Southern Suburbs, Northern Suburbs, Paarl and Worcester and Mitchells Plain.

'Unitary, non-racial, non-sexist'

Among the aims of the organization, the formation of which is significant in view of the official opening of schools under the Department of Education and Culture on Tuesday, are to:

- Struggle for a "unitary, non-racial non-sexist, democratic and free education system on all levels and compulsory education at primary and secondary level as part of the struggle for a unitary, non-racial democratic South Africa".

- Work for democratic control over the education system and to "militate against the propagation of oppressive education".

- Work towards the abolition of all racist and sexist salary scales.

- Support the principle and practice of non-racial sport and to reject cultural activities which seek to promote the fragmentation of South Africa along racial and ethnic lines.

A spokesman said the organization was "non-sectarian, comprising people from all the political movements fighting for change in South Africa".

- The CTCC welcomed the release on Wednesday of a St Joseph's College teacher, Mr Gavin Rossiter, who was held at Pollsmoor Prison for two weeks after his detention by security police at Wynberg Magistrate's Court on September 11.

But it noted "with disgust the continued and unwarranted detention of fellow teachers including Yusuf Adams, Trevor Oosterwyk, Vincent Marais, Riedwaan Hendricks and Nabil Swart" and called for their immediate release.

- The 139-member Paarl Teachers Union announced its establishment last week at a meeting held at the Roman Catholic Church hall in Paarl. The members are from schools in the area as well as Wellington and Paarl's black township, Mbekweni.

CAPE TIMES 28/9/85

Mkhize freed from detention

119 Staff Reporter
THE Joint Rent Action Committee publicity secretary and UDF activist, Mr Ian Siphon Mkhize, was released from police detention on Thursday after being held for more than a week.

Mr Mkhize, of Ham-

banathi township, was detained in Cape Town under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. No charges were brought against him.

Mr Ronnie Khoza was also released on Thursday after being in detention for more than four weeks. He is a member of a UDF affiliate, the Newcastle Youth League.

A senior member of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr Praveen Gordon, was released in Durban yesterday after 30 days in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The Transvaal chairman of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, Mr B Moholo, and two organizers stationed in Sasolburg, Mr T Ntshane and Mr B Ntshahali, were unconditionally released from detention on Thursday.

Mystery over SA exile

MYSTERY surrounds the whereabouts of an exiled South African, who had obtained Botswana citizenship, after he was allegedly handed over to South African authorities last week.

Botswana Immigration officials escorted Mr Gabriel Setlhoke to the South African border on September 19 after he was deprived of his permanent Botswana citizenship early this month.

Mr Setlhoke's property and other belongings have been forwarded to his mother, Mrs Grace Setlhoke, who lives in Meadowlands, Soweto.

The South African Police have denied that the Botswana authorities handed Mr Setlhoke over to them.

Mr Setlhoke (29), a former refugee in Botswana, was naturalised in that country in 1983 after he left South Africa in 1981.

He was deprived of his permanent citi-

zenship by the Botswana Ministry of Home Affairs earlier this month and detained while arrangements were being made to transport his belongings to his former Soweto home.

The Botswana Press Agency reported that the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr Augustine Pontsho, said Mr Setlhoke would not have problems returning to his country of birth.

In terms of South African law, however, any person who becomes naturalised in another country automatically loses his South African citizenship.

Meanwhile Mr Setlhoke's mother is frantic since receiving the first batch of Mr Setlhoke's belongings this week. She was however not available for comment yesterday. A neighbour said Mrs Setlhoke was worried about her son's whereabouts.

27/9/85

Sowetan

UDF won't go underground

CAPL Temp 27/7/85 (27/7/85) 111

Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front would not go underground and even if it was banned the mass of South Africans would still support its ideas, Mr Trevor Manuel, a UDF executive member who is in hiding, said yesterday in an interview.

He also said the recent talks between businessmen and the ANC in

Zambia was "one of the most significant initiatives" to have taken place recently and predicted that the international pressure on South Africa would escalate.

Mr Manuel is one of six members of the UDF national executive in hiding because they fear detention.

In an interview he said that to take the UDF un-

derground would be playing into the hands of the State.

"People have become less and less scared and more willing to challenge apartheid legislation.

"The whole notion of defiance and civil disobedience has grown up along with that."

Recent actions by the police and the South

African Defence Force had resulted in "radicalization" of vast sections of the community.

"We have a situation where as a product of having been beaten up by the police or their kids shot by the police, more and more people are actually prepared to be more directly involved in organization. Those things will live on."

By Hannes de Wet

The arguments advanced by the Government and others to claim that the United Democratic Front (UDF) is a front for the African National Congress (ANC) are not always valid, a University of Potchefstroom publication says.

"It should instead be said that the ANC, the UDF and all the other black organisations are promoting the aims of a broad social movement," writes Mr Douw Cronje, a post-graduate student in political science, in the latest edition of *Oenskou*.

Oenskou is the magazine of UP's Institute for Political and Africa Studies.

Mr Cronje says there are undoubtedly ties between the ANC and the UDF. But these links can be seen from another perspective — that the different black political groups form part of a broad social movement.

This movement is trying to bring about funda-

Flaws in arguments linking ANC and UDF pointed out

mental change in the existing Government and social system through a variety of actions.

It embraces formal associations as well as informal participation. As such, the movement is not an organised group, although organised groups such as the UDF and the ANC are an important part of it.

Mr Cronje says a system of generalised convictions is one of the most notable characteristics of the movement.

Mr Cronje offers "different perspectives" to the four main arguments generally used to demonstrate a link between the UDF and the ANC.

● **First argument:** Many former ANC leaders are playing a leadership role

in the UDF. It is also significant that about a third of the UDF's patrons are serving life sentences for having been involved with ANC activities.

Mr Cronje: The former ANC members who are existing UDF leaders probably still subscribe to the ANC's viewpoints.

"The linking of individuals (in this context) to a specific organisation is, in a certain sense, narrow-minded. Once this is done, it becomes difficult to explain or to understand cross-cutting loyalties.

"There are individuals who are promoting UDF aims without belonging to the ANC. Then there are UDF members who are harbouring ANC terrorists.

"In these circumstances it is not a question of double loyalties but a matter of subscribing to the generalised convictions of the social movement."

● **Second argument:** The UDF and the ANC are ideologically closely linked. Both belong to the "Charterist family" (subscribing to the ideals of the Freedom Charter).

Mr Cronje: An ideological connection between the UDF and the ANC would be simply logical within the context of the broad social movement.

"A study of the different organisations' viewpoints would show that there are more agreements than disagreements. Even though they might argue among themselves, they all have

a common enemy.

"All of them find the Government, the homelands system, the Group Areas Act, influx control and many aspects of the present system unacceptable.

"All the black political groups — even those within the present political structures — are working for change."

● **Third argument:** There cannot be much doubt that virtually all UDF followers are sympathisers or supporters of the ANC. ANC slogans and ANC songs are heard at UDF meetings.

Mr Cronje: The fact that all black political groupings are part of the broad social movement explains why supporters of the UDF are also loyal to the ANC.

"It has become difficult to differentiate between loyalty to the broad movement and loyalty to a specific organisation.

"Terms such as 'comrade' and 'struggle' have become symbols of the movement and can no longer be seen as necessarily belonging to a specific organisation."

● **Fourth argument:** The UDF is promoting the aims of the ANC through its activities. The ANC has often voiced its satisfaction with UDF activities.

Mr Cronje: It is not in all cases correct to say that the UDF is promoting the aims of the ANC. It should rather be said that the ANC, the UDF and all the other black organisations are promoting the aims of the broad social movement.

It should be noted that the UDF consists of hundreds of smaller groups. Each of these has members taking part in protest actions over a wide spectrum.

Sacos attacks rebel cricketers

Staff Reporter

THE coming Australian rebel cricket tour was openly defiant and displayed "callous insensitivity to the present resistance of the oppressed", the South African Council on Sport said at the weekend.

The declaration was one of six resolutions passed yesterday at the end of Sacos's two-day conference in Cravenby Estate.

The conference:

- Warned against a national convention.

- Reaffirmed its complete rejection of all "rebel and mercenary sports tours of South Africa" and said the cricket tour, scheduled to start on November 22, was in open defiance of the wishes of the Australian and international sport community.

- Condemned the state of emergency.

The resolution said the "invasion of residential areas and schools and the brutality displayed by the so-called

security forces is a true reflection of the fascist nature of South African society and is a further attempt to disrupt our lives and our sport".

The resolution also:

- Dismissed the government's support for the idea of creating an independent body to represent sporting interests in this country as "another ploy in its attempts to sell multinational sports to the oppressed".

- Supported the call for a consumer boycott.

On the resolution concerning a national convention, delegates said that even though Sacos was a sports organization it still had a contribution to make in the "liberatory movement".

A national convention, they argued, would be used by "big business to stake their interest in this country".

"The major reason is in effect to circumvent ... is in effect designed to deflect our struggle. The only direction the liberation movement should adopt is to rely on our resources," said one delegate.



Marshals carry the coffin of Ntomboxolo Mboniswa shoulder-high during her funeral at Mdantsane yesterday.

Funeral crowd dispersed

DEPACH
MDANTSANE — A crowd of more than 4 000 at a combined funeral here yesterday were told by Ciskei Police to disperse from Dickson Dyani Higher Primary School in Zone 9.

33/09/83
The funeral was for Tembinkosi Bottoman, 17, and Ntomboxolo Mboniswa, 15.

Tembinkosi was shot dead at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital after he threatened nurses and patients with what was later discovered to have been a toy pistol.

Ntomboxolo was shot dead during an incident of unrest at Egerton.

Both deaths occurred two weeks ago.

The crowd had converged on the school when Ciskei Police told them that the joint funeral could not be attended by more than 100 mourners. — DDR.

A closer look at Biko's work

THERE are very good reasons why, in any liberation struggle, those who would liberate themselves, emulate the very thing from which they would be liberated, which stands in their path, or which they regard as their enemy.

Take the women's lib movement, or our own Afrikaners — though they do not accept those who went before, and today reject their own front-runners, such as Hertzog and Louis Botha.

This has happened in our case as well; and the fact that this process becomes counter-productive later was recognised by Steve Biko, and he therefore took steps to bring about the necessary change in thinking.

WATERSHED

The year 1969 was indeed a watershed in the liberation struggle. This was the year he led the breakaway from Nusas and, formed SASO.

The question of "working within the system" exercised the mind of Mandela, although he had not condemned it outright.

STEVEN Bantu Biko died eight years ago. GEORGE SHUTTLEWORTH looks at three aspects of his work — his 'black consciousness' philosophy, his complete rejection of "working inside the system" and his work in the fields of spiritual and material development.

Biko saw fit to take this matter up as well, and eventually found himself in what we can at best refer to as a personality clash with Buthelezi.

The fact is that when a person or a group of persons, decides to work within the system, they can at the worst, be seen as simply like a fly, flying straight into a spider's web. The fact that it need not be so, is absolutely true; but equally true is the fact that it could indeed later turn out to be so.

The precise nature of the dangers of such actions, and of how to obviate them, whether adopted as a liberatory strategy, or simply to earn a living, or somewhere in-between, needs to be analysed and spelled out very carefully. Biko

was quite right in expressing his reservations, even if some say he went too far in rejecting this more and more completely as time went on.

What is exceedingly important at this stage, is to point out very clearly that anyone working within the system is in danger, certainly, of being devoured in a moral sense. He would in fact, be in danger of being "subverted", and if completely subverted, he would be precisely as the fly.

There is a brighter side however, and that is, that in its way, persons with the ideals of the struggle in the fore-front of their minds; who work at close quarters with the spider; have quite an effect on the latter. The oppressors do not have the same confidence in their so-called principles, as we have in ours. They are even more vulnerable than we, in this respect.

Then again we should take the analogy of the person who catches some or other disease, in mild form, and then is consequently completely immune to the more virulent variety. In the same vein, we have those who are fortunate enough to be born with immunity to such a disease. Very recently of course, relatively speaking, mankind has learned to vaccinate or

innoculate himself, against diseases. In the case of subversion, all three would apply; but I think we make far too little use of, the latter possibility. Of the first two named, I have seen many examples in my dealings with Inkatha members; and tragically and dangerously for the struggle, there are those who have caught the subversion disease badly.

QUALIFIED

Nearest my own heart, is what Biko achieved in the field of human development. This is because as a qualified Civil Engineer, with some years of practice behind me, I find my greatest opportunities in the struggle, here.

For some years prior to Biko coming upon the scene, "welfare" had been identified as being far from ideal as a strategy for combatting poverty, deprivation and unemployment. "Self help" was not invented by Biko, but his genius was that he realised that it formed part and parcel of the total process of liberation. Furthermore, liberation is not an event, but a process.

These things Biko saw in their clarity, and he proceeded to associate himself, his fellows and followers; with programmes development;

both in rural agriculture, and in urban cottage industries. He drew upon the most advanced writings on these subjects, such as by Paulo Freire.

Biko also saw that man's political aspirations, were by no means divorced from his spirituality. He did not shrink from (as a layman), advancing his ideas openly to black theologians; from whom he obtained a great deal of encouragement. That all this would advance the liberatory process and not delay it, as simpler minds sometimes aver, he fully understood. The simpler mind looks only to the day when the flags are exchanged; but does not realise that (as we all observe taking place in Zimbabwe), the process goes on for many years after that. Advancing the one event, may delay the finality; whereas advancing the process, may seem to delay that one event, but will certainly advance also the final; which is in the long run what matters.

That the authorities saw all the above, is clear from the fact, that they systematically smashed virtually everything that Biko's movement had accomplished in the field of human development. This has been a terrible setback for the struggle, because the momentum has never really picked up again.

This work is now terribly fragmented, and much beset with jealousies and other factors, which inhibit it drastically. It needed a Biko, and the authorities duly saw to it, that such a person there would not be.

21/9/85

Unrest Cape roads closed

CAPE TOWN — All the access roads to the townships of Guguletu, Nyanga and Old and New Crossroads in the Cape Peninsula have been closed to traffic after stone-throwing erupted and burning tyres were put in the streets.

The police situation report yesterday reported incidents of arson, petrol-bombing and stone-throwing which occurred on Thursday night in areas of Natal, Port Natal, Eastern Province, Western Province, the Northern Cape and Witwatersrand.

"In Athlone in the

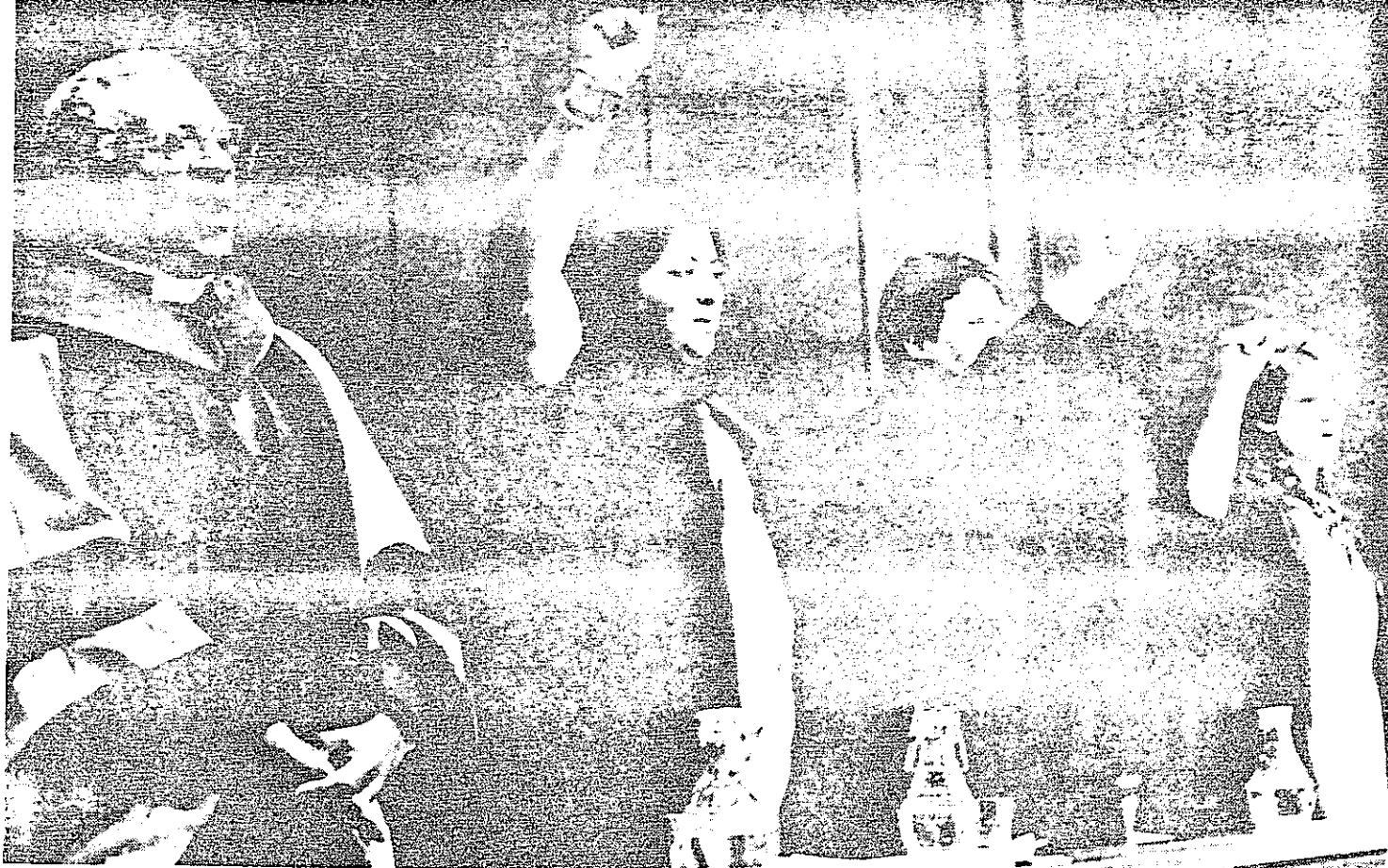
Western Province, seven males were arrested when police dispersed a mob who were attempting to erect road barricades in the area.

DISPATCH

"In the coloured residential area of Elsiesriver, two males were arrested for stoning police and private vehicles. In Soweto, four males were arrested in two incidents of stone throwing involving private and delivery vehicles.

"In Ikageng near Potchefstroom, police arrested a male on a charge of public violence and in similar incidents two males were arrested in Mohlakeng near Randfontein and Bishop Lavis in the Western Province.

In the black residential area of Sandbult near Burgersdorp, an SAP member was slightly injured by stone throwers while dispersing a mob." — Sapa



From left: Bishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs. Priscilla Jana and Academic Freedom Committee members Mr. Etienne Marais and Miss Liz Walker, sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Education system 'appalling', Tutu

STAR
20/9/85

By Susan Fleming,
Education Reporter

South Africa was in a sad state of affairs because of its "appalling" education system, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said last night.

He told a packed Great Hall at the Richard Feetham Memorial lecture at Witwatersrand University the system taught people "what" to think rather than "how" to think.

"It is designed to produce docile, unquestioning creatures who could not say 'boo' to a

goose. They are taught the best way to survive is by toeing the line, not rocking the boat. It is not designed to develop that embarrassing thing, a questioning mind that will be ready to pose the awkward question: 'But why?,' he said.

White South Africans were unaware of the daily problems facing people living in the townships. "What do whites know about teargas, police dogs and Casspirs rumbling through the streets of their suburbs. About rubber bullets which kill three-year-olds," Bishop Tutu said.

South Africa also seemed obsessed with law and order, while the real causes of the unrest were ignored. "We are too prone to think we have dealt with the problem of unrest by blaming it all on the universal scapegoat, the agitator, and thinking we have done all that really needs to be done through the might of the State," he said.

Discussing citizenship, Bishop Tutu described himself as being "as South African as biltong".

"But, until recently I have had to use a travel document which describes my nationality

as indefeminable at present.

"And now we hear that the Government will restore our birthright, our South African citizenship. They have found out that we are South Africans, as if it were a major scientific discovery," he said.

Many people were overawed when someone in authority stood up to speak and Bishop Tutu questioned why the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, had not been asked to resign after the "Cabinda affair".

"He tells us that South Africa has not been assisting the MNR in Mozambique and then irrefutable evidence shows that this has been taking place. The same Minister, without one word of apology for misleading the public, stands up to say the opposite of what he had declared so solemnly to be the case. Again there was no uproar," he said.

Bishop Tutu said it was bizarre that his son, Trevor, had been detained under the emergency regulations because he swore at a policeman.

"I ask you how does swearing at the police constitute a threat to the security of the State? After 14 days in Diepkloof jail, Trevor has not changed his views. Does he still remain a threat to the security of the State?"

CAP 20/9/85

Rector defies ban on march

By TONY WEAVER

OVER 2 000 University of the Western Cape students and staff members yesterday gave the rector, Professor Richard van der Ross, a standing ovation after he led an attempt to march on Bellville police station in defiance of an order banning the protest.

Prof Van der Ross, the rector-designate, Professor Jakes Gerwel, the vice-rector, Professor Jaap du Rand, and the Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry, Professor Jairum Reddy, led the march.

They had intended to march to the Bellville police station to demand the release of student chaplain, Dr Allan Boesak, SRC president, Mr Llewellyn McMaster, SRC secretary Mr Russel McGregor, economics lecturer and UDF executive member, Mr Graeme Bloch, and two students, Mr Desmond Africa and Mr Steven Sabango.

An hour before the march, the Chief Magistrate of Bellville issued an order that the march would be illegal. After consultation with student leaders, Dr Van der Ross decided to go ahead.

'Confronted by Casspirs, Buffels'

At the gates in Modderdam Road, academic staff, non-academic staff and students, were confronted by three police Casspirs and four army Buffels, with a further three Buffels parked out of sight.

One of the Casspirs moved out and blocked the march, and Captain C G Van Schalkwyk announced over a loudspeaker that the march was illegal and asked the marchers to "please disperse".

At 1.20pm he gave the marchers five minutes to disperse and also warned the large contingent of local and foreign television crews and journalists: "You media people — if you do not leave the area you will be taken from this place to another place."

Professor Van der Ross walked over to consult briefly with Captain Van Schalkwyk, complimented him on his handling of the situation and requested the marchers to disperse.

Standing ovation for Van der Ross

This they did, returning to the main hall. As Professor Van der Ross entered, flanked by Professor Gerwel and Professor Du Rand, he was given a standing ovation by the marchers.

He told the students that "today you have given me the opportunity to reaffirm my faith in the young people of South Africa".

"Today I can put your hands safely in the hands of my successor."

Professor Gerwel said even if he had no formal inauguration as rector he would "regard today as a fitting inauguration for taking up my post".



egation (from left)
Mr Roger Hulley
y the welts on the
z of Valhalla Park
beaten by police.

The rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, leads the march to Bellville police station yesterday. With him is Professor Jakes Gerwel (left) and Professor Jairum Reddy.



er Ross negotiates with Captain C G van Schalkwyk outside the university gates yesterday afternoon.

Picture: Tony Weaver

Splitting heirs

The disruption of the Steve Biko Foundation launch by rebels of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), with the blessing of Azapo president Ishmael Mkhabela and his team, has rocked the black consciousness movement (BCM).

The immediate effect of the disruption has been Azapo's cancellation of the Biko Foundation launch, thereby taking it out of the hands of the original organisers, Biko's co-founders of the BCM, Saths Cooper, Muntu Myeza and others. A new launch date will be announced "in due course," says Mkhabela, who, only a day before the event, put out a statement announcing its postponement "due to unforeseen circumstances."

The affair is only the tip of the iceberg. It is clear all is not well in the BCM and, although it is being downplayed by Azapo, a split is looming between the Old Guard and the new young leadership. It threatens to divide the BC-socialist umbrella body, the National Forum, as well. But it is hard to detect any ideological rift.

The abortive launch of the Steve Biko Foundation was held at a low-key banquet in

a restaurant in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, on September 12, eight years to the day after Biko's death in detention. The invited gathering was multiracial, even though Azapo maintains a "blacks only" membership policy. It included liberals and a fair enough sample leftwards. The foundation, which was planned to advance the community's cultural and educational interests, is, after all, meant to be "national." Or so the original organisers felt.

Cooper, an Azapo stalwart and convenor of the National Forum, has indirectly been ticked off by Azapo. The organisers, Azapo now says, "overstepped their mandate," which was a feasibility study of the foundation only. A statement issued afterwards by publicity secretary Imran Moosa says: "Azapo regrets that an extremely delicate and worthy project has, to say the least, been grossly mismanaged and mishandled... The Biko Trust (*sic*) shall be reconciled to its intended lofty ideals associated with the names of Steve Biko, Mapetla Mohapi, Onkgopotse Tiro and other unsung martyrs of the Azanian revolution."

This turn in events was sparked halfway through the meal-and-proceedings of the disrupted launch, which included a dramatised poem on the black struggle. Introductory remarks had been made by an old BC hand, Strini Moodley, who was to be the foundation's first chairperson. He said: "We have failed to live up to the ideals of Steve Biko" and that the foundation would work for "true liberation." But Strini's remark "we witness today an internecine warfare spread across

the ghettos... that has nothing to do with the liberation struggle," was to have an ironic twist to it.

Just as another early comrade of Biko's, Dr Nchauke Mokoape, (who was imprisoned after the Saso-BPC trial in 1976) was about to say a few words, Azasm intervened in the shape of its youthful chairman of the Soweto branch of Azapo, Lendeni Gumbe. He and Azapo southern Transvaal executive member Nick Tucker, plus a few Azasm members, denounced the event as a great insult to Biko's memory.

Nearly hysterical, one of them shouted repeatedly: "We declare this meeting closed." The gathering was stunned. This was a revolt from within the ranks. It will be interesting to see what the repercussions are. ■

Tambo formed UDF, court told

THE United Democratic Front had been formed at African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo's command, as a movement with underground structures for national liberation, the State alleged yesterday.

As the trial at which 16 UDF activists are charged with treason resumed in the College Road Supreme Court in Maritzburg, the State said it would proceed against the accused on charges of treason,

19/9/85
SOWETAN
Correspondent

alternatively terrorism and fulfilling the objects of a banned organisation, and would withdraw the charges of participating in terroristic activities against some of the accused — Mr Ephraim Nkondo, Mr Archibald Gumede, Mr Paul David, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, Mr Sisa Njikelana, Mr Samuel Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

Charge

A charge of furthering the objects of communism which had been levelled against six of the accused was also withdrawn. They were: Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Mr George Sewpershad, Mr Morgan Naidoo, Mr Paul David, Mr Cassim Saloojee and Dr Essop Jassat.

Charges of furthering the objects of communism and/or the ANC were withdrawn against all accused except Mr Curtis Nkondo, Mr Aubrey Mokoena and Mr

Archibald Gumede, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Frank Chikane, Mr Ebrahim Saloojee and Prof Ismail Mohammed.

The State referred to Mr Oliver Tambo's statement that the UDF was participating in the revolutionary struggle.

However, the State did not know when and where and how each of the accused allegedly became part of an underground structure.

The State will attempt to prove that the UDF had underground structures and intended to further the ANC's policy and objectives.

This included mass action and mobilisation of the people and popularisation of the leaders of the ANC.

Before Mr Justice Milne were: Mr Mawalan Ramgobin (52), Mr Chanderto Sewpershad (43), Mr Moorooogh Jayahapathy Naidoo (53), Dr Essop Essack Jassat (52), Dr Dundubela Aubrey Mokoena (52), Mr Ephraim Curtis Mkondo (56), Mr Archibald Joseph Gumede (70), Mr Devadas Paul David (40), Mrs Albertina Sisulu (66), Rev Frank Chikane (34), Mr Cassim Saloojee (49), Professor Ismail Mohammed (54), and four members of the SA Allied Workers' Union, Mr Sisa Njikelani (29), Mr Sam Kikine (36), Mr Isaac Ngcobo (36) and the national chairman, Mr Thozamile Gqweta.

Most blacks want sanctions, poll shows

THE conventional wisdom of black attitudes to disinvestment has been fundamentally challenged by the second poll in recent weeks to show that more than three-quarters of blacks favour sanctions to end apartheid.

The most recent survey, conducted by Mark Orkin of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) in conjunction with the Institute for Black Research (IBR), revealed that 73 percent of urban blacks favour some form of disinvestment.

It coincides with the recent London Sunday Times Markinor poll which found that 77 percent of urban blacks supported sanctions to get rid of the apartheid system.

The Case-IBR survey raises disturbing questions about the media debate on black attitudes to disinvestment and offers significant insights into the political affiliations of urban blacks.

It shows, for instance, that more than three-quarters of those surveyed support socialism, 80 percent hold out for a non-racial, unitary democracy and 90 percent still believe in genuine negotiations between the government and true leaders of the people.

Other key findings to emerge from the survey were:

- Respondents were given a choice of listing the leader or organisation

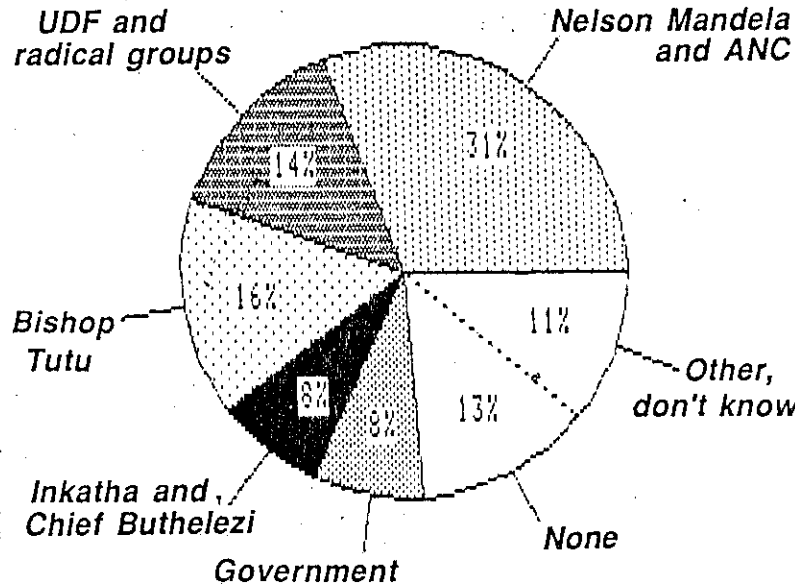
Some 18 months ago, a much-quoted poll by Professor Laurence Schlemmer indicated that only a quarter of blacks favoured disinvestment. But a new survey, released this week, indicates that some 75 percent want sanctions. Have black attitudes changed so radically in 18 months?

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports

they looked to most frequently to solve their grievances. The most popular choices were the ANC and Nelson Mandela (31 percent), followed by Bishop Desmond Tutu (16 percent) and the UDF and other radical groupings with 14 percent. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha had the support of 8 percent and the government 8 percent.

- 36 percent of urban blacks believed in the armed struggle and 28 percent believed attacks on blacks working within the system was an acceptable strategy for political change. Most blacks - 66 percent - regarded direct action such as strikes and boycotts of white businesses as justified.

- The majority of blacks in all groups, including Inkatha supporters, believed in the socialist pattern where workers would have a say in the running of businesses and a share in



Which organisations and leaders command black support

the ownership and profits.

- 73 percent of urban blacks favoured some form of disinvestment, 49 percent opting for conditional disinvestment and 24 percent urging total disinvestment with 26 percent opposing disinvestment.

In Professor Lawrence Schlemmer's much-quoted first survey 18 months ago, he found that only a quarter of workers surveyed in

three metropolitan areas favoured disinvestment.

As the debate on disinvestment within the black community has been stifled by security legislation this finding was seized upon by the media as an indication of what blacks really thought about the issue. It became the conventional wisdom.

Louis Nel, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, told

a press conference last week those who would hurt from economic sanctions would "clearly" be the black people of South Africa.

He said: "This is common knowledge and has already been amply underlined, most effectively by blacks themselves".

In Schlemmer's second survey, conducted at the end of last year, 26 percent of production workers and 14 percent of all adults thought disinvestment a good thing.

At first glance, the discrepancies between Orkin and Schlemmer cast a question mark against sociological surveys of this kind.

Asked this question at a conference this week, Schlemmer said it would be silly to assume that no change in popular thinking had occurred since his first survey 18 months ago.

In addition, he said, the earlier surveys - including his two, two by the Human Sciences Research Council and one by a newspaper - had used a "very stark" basis for questioning.

They had posed a strict "either/or" framework for questioning - complete withdrawal of direct investment versus complete support for investment - whereas the later surveys had given respondents three choices.

Finally, said Schlemmer, his first survey had found 26 percent in favour of total sanctions, a figure

Finally, said Schlemmer, his first survey had found 26 percent in favour of total sanctions, a figure which could be reconciled with Orkin's figure of 24 percent urging total disinvestment.

But both of Schlemmer's surveys did have a third "conditional" option, a fact which was not highlighted in the press reports. In the first and most frequently quoted survey, 44 percent of respondents attached conditions to US investment in South Africa, with only a minority of 47 percent unconditionally favouring investment.

Orkin says his survey, and that of the London Sunday Times, were consistent with what any newspaperman talking to blacks outside KwaZulu would know was blacks' thinking on disinvestment.

He says in the earlier surveys the issue of sanctions was asked in isolation from the policies of the political organisations and leaders which the people supported. He says the questions were tendentiously posed as two extremes, driving blacks into or other camp where they did not wish to be.

"Schlemmer himself did ask a three-way question and found 44 percent favouring conditional investment. This question doesn't seem to have caught the imagination of the media in the same way as the "either/or" question which conceptually mutilated the respondent's opinions."

"What worries me is the damage allowed to be done until now by denying in the debate what was for many wage earners an eminently rational position to consider."

Orkin says that in the past year the whole issue of disinvestment has been extensively debated and it is his guess, comparing his figures to Schlemmer's, that some of those who previously advocated investment have moved into the conditional camp and some of those previously in the conditional camp have moved over to the total disinvestment camp.

Trotskyists attack ANC

(11A) W. Mail 19/9/85
By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

THE Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT) of the African National Congress — a Trotskyist off-shoot of the ANC — has attacked calls to take the violence into white areas.

The MWT — whose mainly white leaders were expelled from the ANC — yesterday deplored the ANC's "mad call for the indiscriminate killing of whites" and appealed to the ANC leadership to repudiate the broadcast immediately.

The MWT statement was in response to a radio broadcast by the ANC's Radio Freedom from Addis Ababa last week in which members were urged to let whites feel the "flames of revolution" by taking the battle "right into their homes, into their kitchens and bedrooms."

Attacks on the white motorists in the Eastern Cape and on the homes of whites in the Cape Peninsula were "counter-productive" and playing into the hands of the SA government.

Recalling how the "disastrous methods" of Poqo had contributed to the "crushing" of the underground

movement by reaction at that time, MWT urged the ANC not to repeat "those desperate and futile acts of violence against ordinary white people."

"Blind acts of frustration" would only weaken the movement and strengthen white reaction, the statement said.

The MWT said there was no shortcut possible in South Africa. Power could not be seized immediately or in the short-term.

Only the uniting of blacks into a powerful mass movement around the black working class and embarking on "well-planned actions and campaigns" would succeed in overthrowing the system.

"It is time for the ANC leadership to rethink fundamentally its policy, strategy and tactics for the liberation struggle in South Africa," the MWT said.

(11A) (220) B-Day 17/9/85

Boycotts bring blacks and whites together

PROFESSOR Peter Vale, director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, said that in these times of conflict and despair the boycotts have brought black and white together "to talk around fundamental issues".

Black leaders realise that consumer boycotts offer a means to "engage the local power structures in debate on important issues", and white businessmen have in some cases "learnt quickly to negotiate as equals" he says.

The boycotts have swept from the Cape Peninsula to Natal and the Reef — and they continue to spread — with union leaders in Johannesburg last week calling on shoppers to boycott black councillor's businesses, while in Natal, Fosu is seeking to extend the boycott beyond Maritzburg.

The withdrawal of black buying power has had its effect, just as National Party-sponsored consumer boycotts of Indian-owned businesses, aimed at promoting Afrikaner businesses, did in the 1940s.

The boycotts have been sparked by a variety of issues.

Demands include the lifting of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of police and army from the townships, the freeing of all detainees and the granting of full political rights.

But there have also been local demands, with Vale citing the case of Adelaide, where black people insisted their cattle be allowed to graze on the town's common land.

Vale also said that because United Democratic Front affiliates were structured the same way they had the capacity to mobilise support around issues peculiar to the area as well as on a broader level.

In some cases boycotts have been suspended as sympathetic authorities have responded sincerely to black grievances, while in other cases the response has been harsher as the authorities have attempted to crush the boycotts.

Vale said boycott successes can be measured in two ways: the support they get, and whether satisfactory negotiations take place with white authorities to end them.

While consumer boycotts are damaging countless white businesses around the country, there have been positive results — most importantly the genuine negotiations taking place between black leaders and white businessmen, writes PETER WALLINGTON.

The Port Elizabeth boycott, which started on July 15, has been almost 100% effective since day one. Says local Chamber of Commerce president Tony Gilson: "Although there are some signs that a few blacks are shopping again, there does not appear to be a real crack in the boycott."

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) surveyed 43 of the affected shops soon after the boycott began. They found that two had already closed their doors, while 18 had seen their turnover drop from between 80% to 100%.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, cautioned that boycotts could only be effective if used judiciously and for a specific period.

He said that open-ended boycotts were difficult to monitor, and that they ran the risk of collapsing into "black on black confrontations".

Other problems included the necessity of encouraging, or intimidating, people to follow the boycott through, especially in the face of the fact that township prices were invariably higher.

Motlana said shopowners were being encouraged to keep prices down, and that moves were afoot to get them to buy in bulk.

But the chaotic state of many townships hasn't helped.

A Johannesburg driver, who lives in Soweto, said it was all very well saying don't buy from white shops, "but thugs burn and loot delivery vehicles as they enter Soweto. So where are am I supposed to buy food for my children?"

The Development Bank of Southern Africa's John Bloomfield wrote recently that business was a "risk/re-

turn ratio", and warned of the possible consequences should a "blanket" boycott of white businesses be effected.

"The threshold may well be crossed sooner than boycotters realise when white businesses just pack up and go. Black business at present would certainly not be able to fill the gap."

He pointed out that Africa was testimony to the fact that it does not take long to run a country down. "SA boycotters should be thankful they still have shops to boycott."

In terms of strategy, Vale said, it was irrelevant if intimidation took place because the boycotts were working, and that that is what was important.

This meant negotiation was imperative, but Vale said this had been handicapped by the state of emergency and security force involvement.

The PE boycott was last week extended for eight weeks because demands had not been met, and a white trader blamed government's refusal to talk to recognised leaders as the reason.

Added Gilson: "It is a problem trying to talk to people who are in detention or who fear being detained."

There is also the spectre of security force involvement. Vale said they were not equipped to deal with the problem and tended to "clutter-up" negotiations between boycott leaders and businessmen.

Possibly the most successful example of negotiation politics at work — Port Alfred — was nearly ruined, he said, when the security police arrested community leader Gugele Nkwinti. However businessmen intervened and Nkwinti was released.

Gilson agreed that security action alone would not end the boycotts but added that the boycotts should not be seen in isolation. "To find a lasting solution we have to get to the root of the problem, and that can only be done by talking to people."

Vale sees the official response to black demands in the months ahead as crucial, and said that this response would set the pattern for further negotiation.

Eastern Cape pointing out the path

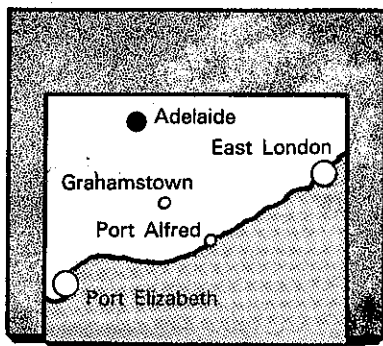
IF IT is true to say the Eastern Cape has led the way as far as unrest is concerned, then it is also true that towns in the area are leading the way in negotiating with recognised black leaders.

According to the mayor of Adelaide, Pieter Rademeyer, there has been no unrest for many months and consumer boycotts have been suspended.

Rademeyer attributed this to the negotiations he initiated with black leaders earlier this year, and said that relations between black and white have never been better.

After the initial meetings Rademeyer and his town council took a list of grievances to the East Cape Administration Board. "And we put our case in no uncertain terms," he said.

The list included a lack of grazing land for blacks, the lack of water points and a request for electricity.



There were also requests for the township to be upgraded — with more housing and better sports facilities.

The Board had been asked to speed up work on the new township to help alleviate the chronic housing shortage.

The town council, together with the Development Board, had applied for

R27 000 from government for an emergency job relief programme. The council and the black community have also applied for R1m to upgrade facilities in the township.

They have also taken up with the Department of Education and Training the matter of grassing the school sports fields, and will ask the SA Rugby Board for help in grassing community sports fields.

Rademeyer said they are now awaiting a response from the Board on their quotes to perform certain functions for the township.

Once this came, Rademeyer said he would call a meeting with black leaders to work out details. But he stressed the meetings were called for people to negotiate, not to be told what to do.

He said his council was right behind him, and that his only problem was the lack of elected leaders.

75% ^{11A}

stayed
home

UDF

CP Correspondent

A NUMBER of Cape Town factories were operating with less than 30% of their staff during this week's two-day stayaway.

The UDF announced on Wednesday that the stay-away had been 75% successful.

Prominent businessman Colin McCarthy said: "Some factories have a 70% absentee rate and others just over 10%."

By Wednesday the stayaway was on average 50% successful, he said.

This is in spite of confusion over two separate stayaway pamphlets, one calling for a Tuesday/Wednesday stay at home, and the other, backed by nine trade unions and the UDF, for action on Wednesday and Thursday.

Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association chairman Johnson Mpumkupasaid about 50 migrant workers who went to work on Wednesday clashed with youths on the way home - the only incident of violence in the two-day stayaway.

Bread, milk and newspaper delivery were disrupted in many parts of Cape Town during the stay-away. There no taxis in the townships as taxi drivers had taken a decision to refuse to transport workers.

Giving blacks citizenship is no favour — UDF

CIA STAR 14/9/85
Citizenship and political power are inseparable and such things as the right to land, property and full South African nationality "are non-negotiable and can never be seen as a favour from the master's table", says the United Democratic Front.

Responding to President's Council proposals that influx control be scrapped and Government promises that homeland residents will regain their South African citizenship, UDF acting publicity secretary Mr M Morobe asked:

"What is the use of giving us uniform identity documents and 'dual' citizenship without full political expression?"

"Why talk about far-reaching changes in South Africa and at the same time imprison those who demand and fight for genuine change?"

Nothing short of full political power for the disenfranchised majority would have any meaning to the people of South Africa, Mr Morobe said.

"The majority of oppressed South Africans have long ceased yearning for inclusion into the system — our task is to change that system."

He insisted that all the changes proposed were to take place within the framework of separate development. "The military, the police, the legislature and — above all — the economy will remain in the perpetual control of the white minority."

Mr Morobe predicted that Mr PW Botha would soon be forced to come to terms with the fact that there would be no peace while the African National Congress and other organisations remained banned and leaders were kept in jail.

CP a power to be reckoned with

11A

B. Day 13/9/85

BUSINESSMEN and industrial relations practitioners have been told the Communist Party is an authentic element in the political life of many South Africans.

Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said South African communists had a "long and exciting history".

He was addressing a recent conference on "Labour Horizons" at the Sandton Sun Hotel.

Lodge said that before its banning in 1950, the Communist Party was a significant political force with about 5 000 highly dedicated members, enjoying a commanding position in a huge black trade union federation.

It had won municipal elections in all the main urban centres and was about to win parliamentary representation.

He said that of the 30 people recently elected to the national executive committee of the African National Congress, 13 could reasonably be assumed to be members of the CP.

"But it would be wrong to conceive of them acting as a radical wing within the congress leadership.

Lodge said the CP's association

Own Correspondent

with the cause of national liberation as well as the pervasive anti-capitalist sentiment in black politics had bolstered its command of public support.

"As the flags at the funeral in Cradock demonstrated, for many South Africans the Communist Party is an authentic element in their indigenous political life."

Lodge said the government's choice today was either a retreat into an economically sterile barricaded society or major alterations to the distribution of power and wealth.

"But the unrest is not the work of an organised conspiracy; the tensions and expectations which provoked it continue to electrify the townships, even if the most experienced activists are in confinement.

"It may be the case that with the removal of organised leadership, the movement may have become less easy to identify and anticipate as its more violent fringes assume a central role.

"By the time the authorities are ready to negotiate, it may be difficult to find anyone to negotiate with."

Apartheid calendar

WITH THE EROSION of Verwoerdian policy wrought by the Government's moves for reform it is of interest to recall important dates in South Africa's calendar of apartheid:

- 119
- 13/9/85
- Mercury
- 1948 — National Party government takes power committed to introducing race segregation: the apartheid policy.
- 1949 — Marriage between whites and other races barred under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.
- 1950 — Group Areas Act racially zones the country.
- Population Registration Act defines white, coloured, Indian and black people.
 - Immorality Amendment Act extends to all blacks a 1927 bar on sex between whites and Africans.
 - Suppression of Communism Act passed and South African Communist Party declared illegal.
- 1952 — Blacks required to carry passes, reference documents that are considered discriminatory and lead to years of revolt. The new Act codified various previous requirements for passes.
- 1953 — Separate Amenities Act allows for racial segregation of all public facilities including transport, post offices, benches, restaurants and toilets.
- 1955 — Government plans to remove all blacks from western Cape which is to become coloured-labour preference area.
- 1956/61 — Treason trial of 156 anti-apartheid campaigners: all acquitted.
- 1959 — Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act sets scene for tribal homelands for blacks.
- 1960 — Police kill 69 blacks protesting against pass laws in what becomes known as Massacre of Sharpeville, a black township south of Johannesburg.
- State of emergency, political leaders silenced under unique South African punishment known as banning, which bars people from speaking publicly or being quoted.
 - African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress banned: They go underground and begin guerilla struggle that continues today.
- 1964 — South Africa barred from Olympics over apartheid.
- Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela jailed.
- 1968 — Bar on mixed-race political parties under Prohibition of Political Interference Act.
- Coloured representation in Parliament, which was by white MPs, ended.
 - South Africa bars England cricket-team member Basil d'Oliveira, a former South African coloured. Tour cancelled.
- 1976 — Soweto black township near Johannesburg erupts in riots: 575 die nation-wide as unrest spreads.
- 1977 — Black-consciousness movement banned and its leader, Steve Biko, dies in police detention. United Nations imposes arms embargo that is in place today.
- 1979 — Blacks allowed to form trade unions on same basis as whites.
- 1984 — Rioting begins in Atteridgeville township over school-related apartheid grievances. It gains momentum with the inauguration of a new central-government system giving a junior role in the white-controlled Parliament to Indians and coloureds but formally excluding blacks.
- Black Bishop Desmond Tutu, a leading anti-apartheid campaigner, wins Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1985 — Government scraps coloured preference area in western Cape; promises freehold rights for blacks who at present have 99-year leaseholds; accepts in principle that urban blacks are permanent feature of South Africa.
- Ban on mixed-marriages and sex across colour line lifted.
 - Riots death toll reaches 600.
 - Government sets state of emergency in unrest areas and rounds up hundreds.
 - Foreign banks cut credit lines to South Africa amid fears about country's stability.
 - Government freezes debt repayments for four months and curbs capital flight. — (Sapa-Reuter)

W. Hunt
12/9/85

East London

11A



Mourners gather around the graveside as the 18 bodies are lowered into the ground. Pictures by WENDY SCHWEGMANN (AFP)

there were signs up at many garages and shops: "No staff. Closed."

Among whites, nobody talks about anything but the boycott now. And they are talking about talking.

The City Council, the Chamber of Commerce and the local Member of Parliament — Nats, Progs and NRP supporters alike — all want to negotiate with black leaders about the boycott.

"We are in contact with individuals in the United Democratic Front about the boycott. We are cautiously optimistic that it could be lifted soon."

"The UDF has made its point. Now we need to sort things out, to sit down and draw up an agenda of things we need to do," said a key member of the local Chamber of Commerce, Harold Winealls.

He is a liberal member of the Chamber, but his view is echoed by the more conservative acting president, Brian Walker. "What we

were national demands — such as the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the Emergency — and it was not in their power to release them.

UDF leaders have rejected this. "They hide behind this," Tshwete said in an interview. "They say they can't deal with political demands, but we know they can. It is them that PW Botha spoke to when he visited here last week, not us."

Part of the problem is that many of the white leaders will brook no suggestion that the "real" black leaders may not be moderates.

Depones, the MP, is prepared to say that the black local authority may not have the support of the majority. However, it is the only elected group

and does have some following, he said.

"At the funeral, the UDF were saying they wanted nothing less than the keys to Union Building. I don't think they have the support or status for that," he said.

But if they did? "They haven't. Any solution has to ensure the security of all concerned and you can't do that by handing over the government to a radical faction," he said.

The situation is worsened by the fact that the entire UDF local leadership is in hiding. Local spokesman Andrew Hendricks is lying low and is difficult to find.

Tshwete gave police the slip last week when they came to detain him. He has been on the run since then.

But the real problem is that the boycott leaders say it is too late to talk.

"I was committed to keeping the doors open and when I left prison, that was the attitude of Mandela.

"Now the situation has changed very much dramatically. PW is the mother of a situation where people want to close the doors and say, 'War to the finish'," Tshwete said.

Part of the reason for his militancy is the national clampdown on the UDF, and the fact that he and his colleagues are in hiding. "The work of the UDF is not going to cease.

"We are not going to abandon the Front. We will go underground and the struggle will take on a new complexion.

"There is no way out. When you are in a new terrain, you have to adapt and find new ways to operate," he said.

East London is caught at the frontier of a national struggle. Both sides readily say that the boycott is really about national political goals and cannot be solved at a local level.

So while the local white leaders may have decided to talk, the UDF is looking beyond them to a national goal. They are no longer interested in talking about local improvements.

Suspended over the main East London road, Oxford Street, is a sign that reads: "Give the gift of life. Give blood."

So far 18 black people have been buried as a result of the unrest. One of them was an 18-month-old child.

Two whites were killed after their car was stopped and burnt by a crowd leaving the Duncan Village funeral.

Tshwete thinks the bloodshed is not likely to end now. "If the government remains intransigent and police continue to behave like this, there is every likelihood of the unrest spilling into white areas," he said.

"It will be a ghastly situation if it develops, but it is likely now."

Down at the beach hotel, the homeless councillors



Mourners gather around the graveside as the 18 bodies are lowered into the ground. Pictures by WENDY SCHWEGMANN (AFP)

there were signs up at many garages and shops: "No staff. Closed."

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"The UDF has made its point. Now we need to sort things out, to sit down and draw up an agenda of things we need to do," said a key member of the local Chamber of Commerce, Harold Winealls.

He is a liberal member of the Chamber, but his view is echoed by the more conservative acting president, Brian Walker: "What we are trying to do is to identify the leaders of the boycott committee and try to get them to sit down and talk to us. But we can't find the leaders to get them to talk to us."

Why he could not find them soon became clear. When I mentioned the name Steve Tshwete, Walker asked me who he was.

"The regional president of the UDF," I answered.

"Do you think you could arrange for me to talk to him?" he asked.

Even the local MP, National Party verligte Piet Depontes, said he wanted to talk to "real" leaders: "Changes must be made in conjunction with the local people. We are trying to get the real representatives of the people to come to the fore," he said.

So eager are the white local authorities to talk that they have suddenly met the key local demands of the boycott committee. On one day last week, they announced that hawkers would no longer be harassed and Duncan Village, threatened for decades with forced removal, would be allowed to remain.

The other demands, they argued,

were national demands — such as the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the Emergency — and it was not in their power to release them.

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Down at the beach hotel, the homeless councillors

THE black local authority councillors of Duncan Village, East London, have taken refuge in the city's beachfront hotels.

All had their houses burnt when unrest broke out in the township three weeks ago.

They transferred to the beachfront — at government expense — and have not been back to Duncan Village since then.

They have moved slowly from hotel to hotel, followed by their spouses and children.

"The trouble started after the Mxenge funeral (in King Williams Town). Boys from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Fort Beaufort came along with our boys," according to the mayor, Mabel Ndaka.

"That night they tried to burn the beerhall and the rent office.

"I went on duty the next day, but someone called me at work during the day to say they were stoning my house. Ten minutes later they phoned me to say my house was on fire. I haven't been back since then," she said.

"I wondered why (they burnt my

"I was committed to keeping the doors open and when I left prison, that was the attitude of Mandela.

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house)? Nobody came to us to say we must resign or anything. We just saw fire."

Ndaka is adamant that this will not make her resign. "I am going to stay on the community council. The majority of people support us, but they live in fear.

"I am waiting for the people who elected me to say I must resign," she said.

"It is heartbreaking to see what I have worked for for 24 years just go up in flames.

"It is heartbreaking for my children to see that the hatred is so much. They actually saw the house burning," she said.

Some say her house was burnt after she refused permission for a meeting to be held. She, however, is keen for the culprits to be caught.

"It is going to take time to bring change to this place. We can bring change from the council, but if these elements are arrested and brought to justice, it will be better."

Meanwhile she, her colleagues and their families will stay alongside the holidaymakers indefinitely.

with Moscow and Harare connections.

Azapo leaders

W. Mtshali 12/1/85
meet EEC (11A)

THERE are murmurings of discontent in Black Consciousness circles following a meeting between a high-powered delegation from the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and three European Economic Community foreign ministers last Sunday.

Azapo's president Ishmael Mkhabela and vice president George Wauchope held talks with Luxembourg's Jacques Poos, the Netherlands' Hans van den Broek and Italy's Giulio Andreotti in the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria.

The 45-minute meeting took place only hours after the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) — in a joint meeting with the Azapo Central Committee — expressed its displeasure at the proposed encounter.

And it has been reliably learnt that Azasm and other Azapo formations are planning to purge the organisation of what they term "liberals

MR TREVOR TUTU

'Ugly system' releases Trevor

MR TREVOR Tutu, son of Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday described two weeks he spent in detention without trial under Pretoria's emergency powers as an uplifting experience.

Mr Tutu, a 29-year-old advertising executive, was released on Monday. He was jailed when he shouted abuse at police while 92 Soweto school pupils, some as young as eight years of age, were appearing in court for boycotting classes.

"Apart from the actual tedium it was actually an uplifting experience," he told reporters while with his mother and father last night. "When I was called for interrogation my knees were slightly weaker than I would have liked them to be."

Warders

He said he shared a cell with 37 others for most of his period of detention. "The warders were very, very good to us in general," he said. "The other prisoners were extremely supportive . . . they passed us certain things which we weren't allowed — cigarettes, newspapers, extra food."

His mother, Mrs Leah Tutu, said she was angry about the arrest of her son, while Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Prelate of Johannesburg, said he was exceedingly proud of him for being able to stand up "to the disgusting features of an ugly system" — Sapa-
Reuter

Unrest: 70 people arrested

PRETORIA — Police made a total of 70 arrests throughout the country yesterday in a series of incidents in which buses, police vehicles and delivery vehicles were stoned, according to an unrest situation report issued by the police last night.

Two people received injuries in police action.

In Clermont near Pinetown an unidenti-

fied man was set alight by a mob of youths.

In KwaMashu the home of a United Democratic Front member was petrol bombed.

A man was arrested in Mlungisi, Queenstown on Monday night after a police vehicle was stoned.

In Nyanga a creche building was gutted and a primary school damaged in separate petrol

bomb attacks yesterday.

At Mitchell's Plain police arrested six stone-throwing youths of whom two were 10 and 11 years of age. All were later released into the custody of their parents.

In Huhudi in the northern Cape, nine people were arrested for public violence.

In the Galeshewe township of Kimberley, a number of people

stoned a delivery van.

In the same township, a group of people stoned a bus, which resulted in the arrest of one youth.

Scores of pupils were arrested while they were marching towards Moroka police station in Soweto to demand the release of pupils who were arrested on Monday.

Throughout the day, the atmosphere was tense in the township,

with police patrolling the streets and dispersing pupils standing in groups at street corners.

Also in Soweto one man was slightly injured and one was arrested after a group of youths stoned police vehicles.

In Athlone in the Western Cape one man was arrested for possession of four petrol bombs.

● The South African

Teachers Association (Sata) yesterday condemned the closure of coloured schools and colleges in the Western Cape and urged the government to move towards "a fair and dignified society."

The organisation represents most white English-speaking teachers in the Cape.

Its president, Mr John Ince said: "Sata stands by its belief that apartheid cannot be part of a society which upholds equal educational opportunity as a basic right of all people." — Sapa

71A
11/09/85
DISPATCH

UDF joins call for work stayaway

Political Staff

CALLS for a two-day stayaway from work in Cape Town were made yesterday — and supported by several groups, including the United Democratic Front — but confusion arose over when it would take place.

However, last night it seemed that the call for a stayaway tomorrow and on Thursday had more widespread support.

The UDF interim organizer, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, who came out of hiding to address a press conference, said the front would support a stayaway tomorrow and on Thursday after it had become clear that it had widespread support.

Confusion arose after different anonymous pamphlets called for a stayaway on different days. One said the stayaway was to be today and tomorrow, another said it would be tomorrow

and Thursday.

Yesterday the secretary of the Mitchells Plain Centre Merchants' Association, Mr Alec McLeod, said members had decided to close their shops today and tomorrow.

A spokesman for the Western Cape Traders' Association said "we don't want to defeat our objectives in terms of the consumer boycott of white shops and have therefore decided to open our shops as usual but close from 1pm to 4pm on the days of the stayaway in solidarity with the people".

In another statement yesterday, eight trade unions said they were "aware of calls being made for a stayaway from work".

A report-back meeting would be held today to "discuss the possible support for a stayaway tomorrow", a trade union spokesman said.

The union statement

was issued in the name of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), General Workers' Union, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu), Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Pawawu) and the Retail and Allied Workers' Union.

Three of the unions involved in yesterday's discussions are affiliates of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) — NUTW, Naawu and Pawawu.

A spokesman for the eight said they had met briefly yesterday to discuss the calls. It had been decided that the matter would be discussed with union members "concerning the possible support for a stayaway on Wednesday September 11," the spokesman said.

A spokesman for Fosatu said the call for a stayaway had to be discussed with members.

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said several pamphlets calling for a stayaway had been distributed in Bellville yesterday and that the matter was being investigated.

Tutu's son: Jail was an uplifting experience

Mr Trevor Tutu, son of Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, today described the two weeks he spent in detention, without trial, emergency power regulations as "an uplifting experience".

Mr Tutu, a 29-year-old advertising executive, was released on Sunday. He was jailed when he shouted at police while 92 Soweto school pupils were appearing in court for boycotting classes.

"Apart from the actual tedium it was actually an uplifting experience," he told reporters last night.

"When I was called for interrogation my knees were slightly weaker than I would have liked them to be."

SHARED A CELL

He said he had shared a cell with 87 others for most of the time and other prisoners had been supportive, supplying items such as cigarettes. "The warders were very, very good to us in general," he said.

His mother, Mrs Leah Tutu, said she was angry about the arrest of her son, while Bishop Tutu, the Anglican prelate of Johannesburg, said he was exceedingly proud of him for being able to stand up "to the disgusting features of an ugly system".

Mrs Tutu said it had been a "great relief" when her son was released.

"We were in town when he telephoned us from our Soweto house and said: 'Hi mom, I'm home.' I could not believe it, it was wonderful to hear his voice," she said.

Azapo (11A)

attacked

Political Reporter

A GANG of blacks yesterday attacked a bus load of Azanian People's Organisation members and supporters in Imbali township, Pietermaritzburg, injuring the driver and two passengers, an Azapo spokesman said.

The passengers fled and scattered through the township.

Earlier yesterday afternoon, Azapo supporters had attended a meeting at the Edendale Lay Centre, commemorating the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

At the meeting, speakers sharply criticised Inkatha.

Two shot dead in Guguletu

CAPE TOWN — Police confirmed yesterday that two people were shot dead in Guguletu on Saturday evening when violence erupted after the mass funeral service for nine people who were killed during the recent unrest in the Peninsula's townships.

The police said the two dead people were aged 19 and 20.

More than 15 000 people attended the funeral service at the Guguletu Stadium and scores more joined in during the march to the cemetery.

Police maintained a low profile as the orderly procession of nearly 20 000 mourners walked through the streets of Guguletu, interrupted only by the continuous drone of a reconnaissance helicopter from above.

A police spokesman said after the funeral up to 3 000 people rampaged through Guguletu, hurling petrol bombs and stones at large contingents of army and police.

He said security forces replied with shotguns, rubber bullets and teargas.

An electrical sub-station and a sewer

pump station in Zwide were petrol-bombed and extensively damaged last week and some parts of the Port Elizabeth township are still without electricity.

DISPATCH

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said last night there had been no incidents of serious unrest for the period from 6am to 6pm yesterday. — Sapa. 09/09/85

1985

Att Times 7/9/85

BSA KA

Boesak's plea for restraint

Political Reporter

THE detained patron of the UDF, Dr Allan Boesak, has urged students to restrain themselves in a bid to curb the loss of life, his wife Dorothy said yesterday.

Mrs Boesak, who saw her husband for an hour on Thursday, said he told people "to remain strong and never give up hope".

"He would not want to see the loss of any more

lives and urges the students to restrain themselves in order not to be exposed to further violence," Mrs Boesak said.

"Allan is OK," said Mrs Boesak, adding that she and the children missed him very much. "His congregation and the entire country feel his absence very deeply," she said.

He was being held in a single cell with no reading material except a Bible, she said. He had

been examined by a district surgeon and seen by a magistrate and a priest.

"We are praying that other families will be allowed to visit their loved ones in detention and for the release of all detainees and political prisoners."

The meeting took place in the office at police headquarters in Pretoria where she was told that only personal and family matters may be discussed.

● Four student Christian organizations have called for the immediate release of Dr Boesak and have blamed escalating violence on government policies.

The separate statements were issued by the Association for Christian Students of Southern Africa, Koinonia Theological Students Association, the Ned Geref Sendingkerk Peninsula Youth Association and the students of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk Bellville congregation (who are at the University of the Western Cape, Bellville Teachers' Training College and Peninsula Technikon).

The Bellville students extended their sympathy and prayers to Mrs Boesak, saying: "Be assured, we stand by you just as Dr Boesak stands by us."

DISPATCH

09/09/85

11A

BOY, girl shot in Mdantsane unrest

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A boy and a girl were shot dead, 56 youths were arrested and four buildings were petrol-bombed in Mdantsane on Thursday night.

Lieutenant Mavuso Ngwendu, the Ciskei police liaison officer, said a group of 300 youths held an illegal gathering near a sewerage works in Zone 9 at 9 pm on Thursday.

When the police surrounded the group, petrol bombs and stones were thrown at the police. The police retaliated by opening fire and a 14-year-old girl was fatally wounded.

Lieut Ngwendu said the police arrested 52 youths and confiscated petrol bombs, 20-litre petrol containers, and stones.

He said it appeared the group intended to attack pre-planned targets.

The dead girl was identified by Mr Goodwin Mboniswa, of Zone 9, Mdantsane, as his daughter Ntomboxdo.

Lieut Ngwendu said in another incident on Thursday night, a policeman's house was surrounded by a group of about 150 youths in zone 12, Mdantsane.

The owner of the house, Lieutenant Bomvana Mankayi, was woken by footsteps in his yard.

When he went outside he found the group in his yard. There was a container with petrol next to the house and the whole yard was doused with petrol, Lieut Ngwendu said.

Lieut Mankayi, who is stationed at Bisho police headquarters, opened fire with his service firearm and fatally wounded a boy.

Arsonists attacked the Zone 8 home of an inspector of education, Mr D. T. Matebese, and four people were arrested.

Also on Thursday Hlaziya inservice training centre in Zone 4, Shed Masholohu Primary School in Zone 11 and a beerhall in zone 4 were damaged when rioters attacked them with petrol bombs, Lieut Ngwendu said.

Lieut Ngwendu warned children not to heed instructions from others to attend illegal gatherings.

If such gatherings ended in confrontations with the police, the younger children were the first to get hurt — sometimes fatally.

Mr Mboniswa said yesterday his daughter was taken away from his home by a group of youths to attend a meeting.

He said he agreed to let her go when threats to her life were made if she did not attend.

In East London's black townships, two schools were extensively damaged by petrol bombs on Thursday night.

A spokesman for the police public relations office in Pretoria said two petrol bombs were thrown at Ebenezer Majozi Secondary School. One did not ignite but the other exploded, causing damage estimated at R700.

The fire was quickly extinguished, the spokesman said. No arrests were made.

In Cambridge township, the Jongilanga Primary School, completed only three weeks ago, was completely destroyed when it was set alight for the second time since violence erupted in the area.

An 85-year-old Duncan Village resident, Mr Ben Magengqe of Sandile Ward, said three petrol bombs were thrown at his house on Thursday evening. One failed to explode.

Mr Magengqe said he believed his house was attacked because he had once been a ward headman serving under the community council.

He said he had resigned from the post at the beginning of the year and had joined the Duncan Village Residents' Association.

"The fact that I did not attend the funeral of unrest victims might have encouraged my attackers to think that I was still working for the community council," he said.

He said his children did attend the funeral but he could not because of ill-health.

2
BUSINESS DAY, Friday, September 6 1986

Boesak affair published at Star's own risk, rules council

THE STAR's front page and subsequent reports on Allan Boesak's affair with Melanie Scott and the so-called "dirty tricks campaign" by the Security Police was published at *The Star's* own risk, the Media Council said in Cape Town yesterday.

Harvey Tyson, editor of *The Star*, had asked the council to express itself on whether or not this article should have been published. He said the issue involved the ethics of newspapers and, equally important, was the question of sources; whether or not such sources should be used, the accuracy of the report and the relationships of the Press and the Security Police.

After lengthy discussions some council members were in favour of a committee inquiry into the whole

issue, while others supported a statement, drawn up by Ton Vosloo, Nasionale Pers MD.

The issue was put to the vote and Vosloo's statement was accepted as the official stand.

The full text of the statement is:

"Newspapers publish reports at their own risk. All actions thereafter stem out of this decision to accept this risk.

"*The Star* exposed itself to various actions by the police and Dr Boesak. The police had the option to prosecute *The Star* under police legislation or to lodge a complaint through the Media Council."

The council rejected a constitutional committee recommendation to reduce the size of the council by

four members (two media and two public representatives) and decided to maintain the status quo.

It took note of a letter by the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ) requesting the council to ensure that public representation on the council reflected as wide a cross-section of the SA society as possible.

It decided to appoint an executive committee — comprising the chairman, alternate chairman, and three representatives each from the media and public — to streamline the council's functions.

The council accepted a monopolies committee finding that the agreement between the Argus group and South African Associated Newspapers, which aimed at the rationalisation of publishing and distribution

facilities, would not affect the independence of the newspapers.

"It was not a move towards a monopoly; it was an arrangement made in the context of special circumstances and it was clear it would operate only at service level," the committee said.

Judge L de V van Winsen, council chairman, said discussions with the SABC to become a member of the council were continuing.

"The first steps have been taken and it is encouraging."

It was decided to grant the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) observer status at the council's next meeting. — Sapa.

further attempted to muddy the waters by insisting that the decision whether or not to participate had not yet been taken and called for a vote on the issue.

But party leader Van Zyl Slabbert put his foot down firmly. He said the decision to participate had been taken way back in 1983 when the PFP made the decision to enter the tricameral Parliament. "We are already there," he said. "For me participation is not an issue. What we have to decide is how we do it. We have to remain sensitive to people's feelings."

In the end the congress went back to the original resolution, sponsored by Johannesburg North, which was unambiguous on participation but charged the party leadership with being sensitive to the attitudes of the community and to take account of practical problems before taking any final decisions.

In spite of the inherent danger of the PFP falling between two stools in seeking to promote reform both within Parliament and without, there can be little doubt that if it did manage to become the majority party in the lower houses, government would have a major problem in legislation on its hands. As MP for Greytown, Pierre Cronje, graphically points out the PFP had opposed 19 discriminatory Bills in Parliament during the previous session to the National People's Party's two and the Labour Party's one.

No doubt government, as the majority party in the white chamber and the State President as the final arbiter, would continue to bulldoze legislation through. But electoral progress by the PFP in the lower houses would certainly make a mockery of government-styled consensus politics. ■

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

No end in sight

Black consumer power, once tipped as the key to growth in SA, is increasingly proving to be a potent political weapon, especially in the eastern Cape.

At least some recession-ridden eastern Cape traders have buckled under the additional burden of the black consumer boycott which has affected towns and cities in the region since May. However, in some towns, efforts on the part of the business communities and concerned citizens have successfully opened lines of communication with black communities who, until recently, have been a source of, to most whites, incomprehensible demands.

But there is evidence that there are also strong-arm efforts to end the boycotts. In the Tembisa township, near Kempton Park, police closed seven black shops last week in terms of emergency regulations and detained a number of shopkeepers.

The police have the power to take such action if they consider the continuation of a business to be promoting or prolonging a boycott of other businesses.

It was the first confirmed action of this

sort by the police, although there have been unconfirmed reports that black shopkeepers in other parts of the country, particularly the eastern Cape, have been detained in an apparent effort to break boycotts.

The sources alleged that police were stopping trucks from delivering to certain shops. The closures and detentions were confirmed by a police spokesman in Pretoria.

Port Alfred is the town that has been most successful in establishing communication between businessmen and black communities. The boycott of businesses in the town was halted shortly after the Port Alfred Employers' Committee started meeting with black community leaders in June. Other towns have followed their example in setting up loosely-constituted committees of concerned citizens who meet with community organisations.

Even so, the meetings and contact have been severely complicated or, as has happened in Grahamstown, suspended because of the State of Emergency, the continued detentions, and banning of meetings. In Grahamstown the third boycott this year started on Monday, September 2.

In Port Elizabeth, where a two-month boycott is now in its seventh week, it seems that the boycott could continue indefinitely. Efforts to communicate have clearly been thwarted by the institution of the State of Emergency which led to the detention of some of the boycott organisers and prompted others to keep a very low profile.

Hope of reopening the very tentative discussions started before the emergency in July. They flared last week when the local boycott leaders announced they were prepared to talk to businessmen, provided Law and Order Minister, Louis le Grange, gave the assurance that they would not be arrested.

"Obviously we have no power to grant such immunity," says Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, "but we are pursuing every possible way of ending the boycott." The chamber, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, and some affected businesses have set up a committee to deal with the boycott and establish communication with the boycott organisers.

Gilson has no accurate statistics on the impact of the boycott but says simply that there are few businesses with substantial black clientele which could survive extended boycotts: "Some have closed down, others are determined to sit it out."

He sees no simple solution to the boycott. "It is a manifestation of a much wider problem. Black people have a very real desire to participate in the affairs of SA. We recognise that and we believe that there will be no end to the current situation until we can bring about full participation and a system of no discrimination."

The boycott leaders have stated that the boycott, originally scheduled to end on September 15, could continue indefinitely because of the lack of response to their demands, and because Le Grange had failed to

negotiate with the "real" black leaders following the State of Emergency.

A bit more optimistic of a breakthrough at a local level is the secretary of a newly-formed Cradock committee set up to open communication with the black community of the town. The group succeeded in an approach to the magistrate to allow a public meeting to take place in Ilingelihle, the large dusty township south of the town. A committee of five was elected to have discussions with the organisation tentatively called the Cradock Employers' Federation, and the first meeting between the federation and the committee of five took place last week.

Says the secretary, Faith Collett: "Our idea is to set up lines of communication. It is a totally open-ended thing and we are still in the very early stages.

Comments Steve Birt, chairman of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce, which has been holding discussions with the boycott organisers — the Grahamstown Burial Action Committee — for some time: "The boycott is successful in that it has focused the awareness of the white community on the problems faced by blacks." ■

THE MEDIA

The empty screen

The SABC came under fire this week for its coverage of unrest — particularly in Cape Town where some of the worst violence the city has ever seen was virtually ignored.

The main news on "white" TV1 has given only brief official details of Cape Town's turmoil and shown only snatches of action.

The PFP's media spokesman, David Dalling, said if there was, in fact, an official policy to down-play the current unrest on TV, then it was working extremely well. "Journalists who are watching unrest around the country on a day-to-day basis are amazed at how the SABC downplays or fails to report incidents," he said. The SABC seemed to forget that by not reporting incidents SA's problems would not go away. "All that will happen is that South Africans will not be properly informed to make decisions about issues that affect their lives," Dalling added.

While much of the world is watching events in SA unfold on their TV screens every night, South African TV viewers are, generally, poorly informed, verbally and visually, about what is happening. This situation was emphasised by the Cape Town unrest, which was happening in the full view and with the knowledge of most white residents, but was given hardly any coverage by the SABC.

After seeing for themselves what was going on, many Capetonians were shocked by just how little the SABC was telling the rest of SA. The SABC's comments on complaints about unrest coverage were requested, but had not been received at the time of going to press. ■

ERNIE WENTZEL

Living in Noddyland



Ernie Wentzel, a prominent liberal, reacts to Martin Legassick's article in the *FM* last week on a workers' democracy.

Martin Legassick is a South African exile; an historian by trade but a Marxist evangelist by inclination. In Legassick's writings his gospel is proclaimed in all its verkrampste glory and with the fervour and passion which only a former bourgeois sinner turned prophet can display.

Legassick's argument goes something like this:

- The sole source of unrest in SA is the system of monopoly capitalism under which the capitalists have used whites to defend and maintain the cheap labour system;
- Capitalism has failed even the privileged whites with its inflation and high interest rates, impoverishing the white middle class and with declining earnings for the white working class;
- Capitalism cannot be reformed and is failing even in advanced industrial countries;
- The only political answer is one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA; any form of federalism or any constitutional concern for minorities will drive whites together into a reactionary camp leading to civil war;
- Coupled with the political solution must be an economic system in which the working class takes the commanding heights of production into the ownership of the State. By the end of the article (as the enthusiasm of the pen takes him) this becomes "ownership of the means of production in the hands of the people as a whole";
- Such a society will ensure the economic well-being of South Africans; and
- There is a progressive movement of black workers and youths which is calling upon whites to join with it in the creation of this society.

That SA is in a crisis politically and economically is self-evident. That the Botha government has not given the slightest hint of comprehending the situation, let alone solving it, is equally self-evident. That apartheid is both wicked and foolish is also beyond serious debate.

What licence this all gives to the hard left; at last a society so appalling that one can promote a Marxist solution without embarrassment.

The great power of the argument is its beguiling simplicity and the power it has to make of all who adopt it instant intellectuals, untrammelled in their fervour by any complications, be they economic, social or politi-

cal.

According to Legassick's argument, the ruling class is big business and its National Party Government. The increasing panic in the business community and its repeated appeals to the Botha government to face the situation as it really is and to negotiate a political solution with all South Africans, including those in prison, makes it hard to maintain this fiction. Indeed, the progress of the SA economy for the past decade prior to the present recession has been brought to an end by government's obdurate refusal to appreciate that a political solution has got to be found in which all South Africans participate in decision-making, and that nothing less will do. Is it seriously in doubt that if such a political accommodation had been found in SA the economic progress of the country would have continued and that major factor foreign capital would have been introduced into the economy? Even to ask such questions, of course, is heresy to a Marxist.

It is a salutary contrast to compare the writings of Legassick with those, for example, of Norman Bromberger at Natal University or Charles Simpkins at UCT. Both

The only way out lies in the working class organising to take the commanding heights of production into the ownership of the State, under their own democratic control and management, and with a democratic plan for producing on the basis of need, not of profit — and at the same time joining together with workers in a struggle against capitalism internationally. — Martin Legassick (*FM* August 30)

are keenly concerned to establish the facts of the performance of the economy. Both of them explore the limits of the possible and neither of them is hidebound by an assumed solution. Neither is a mere technician of the economy and its mysteries; each of them is a highly moral man, with a sense of outrage at poverty and a determination to propose ways of eliminating it as a priority by the establishment of a SA where that would be possible and would be done.

Quite what in practical terms the "commanding heights of production" is as opposed to "the means of production" it is hard to be precisely sure. There are those (like Raymond Suttner) who believe in a Noddyland where anything more complicated than a barber shop is in the hands of the State. More sceptical observers believe that the State might manage to run a barber shop, but nothing more complicated than that should be entrusted to it in the field of commerce.

To get the means of production or even its commanding heights into the hands of the

State could only be done without compensation. That this would be the end of Western investment would not deter Legassick. What Legassick is promoting is a society which will attract no foreign capital from Western countries at all. It will have to generate its capital internally or alternatively receive it by way of hand-outs from the Communist bloc — a poor prospect.

Legassick, in fact, envisages a complete break with Western influence and a South African workers' state which will join together with workers elsewhere in a struggle against capitalism internationally.

There are many young people who believe that a Marxist economic system will wave its magic wand and there will be jobs for all. What is more probable is the creation of a society under the control of a party bureaucracy in which there will be an equality of poverty and miserable living (save perhaps for the party faithful).

Are there examples of other societies which would inspire some confidence in Legassick's ideas? Even if we assume for the moment that some argument can be made that the advanced industrial countries are in some way failing — and it is difficult to believe that if you travel in Japan, Europe or North America — what of the so-called socialist countries? After nearly 60 years of following the paths of righteousness, the Soviet Union remains a backward country technologically with a failed agricultural system and a repressive regime.

If the people of Eastern Europe had a choice in democratic elections would they continue their present system?

One of the most important give-aways in these arguments is the rigid insistence on one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA. This is coupled with the statement that this is true democracy. Certainly not parliamentary democracy because the running of the kind of society that Legassick promotes in a parliamentary democracy is a contradiction in terms. No, indeed, the call for centralisation arises from the need for authoritarian power in the hands of a new Pretoria.

What a dismal prospect. Far from there being any chance of whites joining in this struggle one is pleased that Legassick has promoted his views so candidly both to blacks and whites. A reflection on a future society run by the Legassicks of this world is enough, one would hope, to cause a joining together of all sane people black and white and to oppose it with every vigour that they can muster.

There must be a new SA. Let it be a democracy in reality as in name, with concern to deal fairly with the fruits of its enterprise and a determination to make sure that there is enterprise so that there will be fruits.

IN MY
OPINION

11A

UDF detentions, ban on Cosas condemned

CAPT. TIER 63 5/9/85 (11A) (11A) (11A)
Staff Reporters

THE acting organizer of the UDF, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, condemned the detention of five of its members as "part of the State onslaught on the UDF".

"We warn the government that these detentions will not deter our people from their march to freedom and to free ourselves from oppression.

"We warn the government that continued state repression and police brutality will only increase the militant mood amongst the masses," he said.

● Meanwhile, Nusas has called for a national two-day protest from today at all its affiliated campuses to "express outrage" at the banning of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) last week.

"The two-day protest has been called to emphasize our support for the demands of black students," said Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry.

● The Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) has condemned the detention of its members Mr Trevor Oosterwyk and Mr Riedewaan Hendricks.

"We demand the immediate and unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners, and call for the immediate unbanning of the Cosas."

● The Civil Rights League called for the withdrawal of all charges arising from the unrest, condemning "the criminalization of effective forms of extra-parliamentary opposition", and for the immediate release of political prisoners and detainees.

CAPC 11/1/85 3/9/85
ZAB (11A) SA

March on Pollsmoor: 59 in court

By ANDRE KOOPMAN
THE Bellville and Wynberg Magistrate's Courts were packed yesterday when 59 people appeared in connection with clashes last Wednesday during a planned march to deliver a message of support to Mr Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison.

Eleven people appeared in nine separate hearings in the Bellville Magistrate's Court in connection with clashes between police, residents, students and pupils in Bellville South last week, after hundreds of students marching to deliver a message of support to Mrs Dorothy Boesak, were dispersed by police.

Stonings

The 11 people appeared on charges of public violence and with interfering with the SAP and others charged with maintaining law and order.

A 14-year-old youth, two 16-year-olds and two 17-year-olds were released into the custody of their parents.

The State alleges that Mr Adriaan Erasmus, 24, of Almada Street, Bellville South, burned objects unknown to the State in a public road. Bail of R250 was granted.

Adriaan Cleophas, 20, of Osborne Street, whom the State alleges threw stones at police vehicles at Bellville South on August 29, was granted bail of R250.

Mr Jan Heugh, 38, and Mr Godfrey Bam, both of Nick Kearns Street, allegedly threw stones at police vehicles on August 28 in Bellville South. Bail of R250 each was granted.

Mr Brian Daniels, 22, of Eendrag Street, and Mr Errol van Rensburg, 30, of Dekvriet Street, allegedly burned tyres in Bellville South. They were granted bail of R200 each.

All the cases were postponed to September 20.

At the Wynberg Court, 48 people appeared in connection with the cases of unrest last week. In the Regional Court,

four youths aged between 14 and 16 were released in the custody of their parents. Mr Henry Le Roux, 20, Mr Robert Koopman, 24, Mr Enver Gordon, 23, Mr Anthony Gordon, 18, were granted bail of R150. The case was adjourned to October 4.

Mrs Elizabeth Thomas, 53, said she had been beaten by soldiers in her home. She and Mrs Denise Jonkers, 22, both of Mitchells Plain, were granted bail of R100. The hearing was adjourned to September 16.

Mr William Goliath, 27, Mr George Fritz, 19, and Mr Allie Adams, 18, all of Mitchells Plain, were granted bail of R100 each. The hearing was remanded to September 16.

Mr Dirk Daniels, 32, of Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, was granted bail of R150.

The charge against Mr Andrew du Preez, 23, of Beacon Valley, Mitchells Plain, was withdrawn in absentia as he is in Victoria Hospital.

16 youths

In another trial, a 13-year-old, a 14-year-old and a 17-year-old were released into the custody of their parents. Mr Neville Africa, 21, Mr Charles Maigas, 28, and Mr Desmond Karstens, 19, all of Manenberg, were granted bail of R150 each.

In the Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday, 16 youths younger than 17 were released into the custody of their parents.

Mr Kamaldien Davids, 23, Mr Igshaan Arendse, 20, Mr Salie Johnson, 20, Mr Abubaker, 19, and Mr Igshaan Arendse, 22, all of Manenberg, were released on bail.

Mr S K E Liebenberg was the magistrate. Mrs C Teuteberg prosecuted.

A University of Cape Town student, Miss Sideda Davids, was granted bail of R250 when she appeared in connection with a march at UCT last Wednesday. The hearing was adjourned to November 1.

Mr P D Theron was the magistrate. Ms N Nel appeared for the State. Mr Y Ebrahim represented Ms Davids.

Teachers slam apartheid evil

Cape Times 2/9/85
Political Reporter (114)

THE Representative Council of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association yesterday declared its support for the struggle "against the evil of apartheid" and called on teachers to donate one day's salary towards aiding unrest victims.

In a statement backed unanimously by an emergency meeting of the council attended by over 500 teachers from 56 regions, the CTPA said it "fully identifies with the underlying struggle against the evil policy of apartheid and emphatically condemns the devastating effect that it has on our community and more especially our children".

● The Staff Association of the University of the Western Cape has called for the release of all political prisoners, return of exiles and a guarantee that "unmanipulated talks" would be held with authentic leaders.

Professor Jannie Malan, chairman of the staff association which represents about 350 members of UWC staff, said in a statement:

"It is common knowledge that the root cause of the shocking state of unrest is the terrible injustice of apartheid. This has been stressed by a profusion of statements and appeals from within South Africa and from abroad. Attempts to defend the status quo have almost completely disappeared."

The statement also called for the end of brutality against defenceless people, with ensuing deaths and injuries, and appealed for talks to begin "within days, if not within hours".

● The students and staff of the Hewat College of Education in Athlone also condemned "police brutality" against peaceful demonstrators this week and the banning of Cosas.

"A major cause of our situation is racial discrimination, economic exploitation and its effect on education.

"We reiterate our unwavering belief in a non-racial educational system in a democratic society."

● A resolution deploring "the brutal and inhuman action" of police in detaining Dr Allan Boesak, students and clergymen was overwhelmingly accepted by the newly formed Paarl Teachers' Liaison Committee at its inaugural meeting last week.

The meeting was attended by about 300 teachers and lecturers from the Mbekweni and Wellington teachers' training colleges.

A resolution adopted at the meeting condemned "the attitude of the State towards the present unrest situation in the country" and called for the unconditional release of Dr Boesak, student leaders, clergymen and "other active members in our struggle towards a non-racial, democratic society".

Cosas: Each one taught one

★ SEE
★ PAGE
★ TWO

FOODS BLOCK SUPPLY

CP Reporters
11A
1/9/85

SEVERAL Tembisa businessmen have been detained and delivery trucks to black stores in the area have been allegedly barred by the SADF and police to obstruct the consumer boycott in the area.

City Press has identified five of the businessmen who were detained. They are: Moses Mnguni, Naboth Khoza, Jerry Morakile, Vuyisile Siyathula and Ambrose Dlangamandla. But as many as 11 are believed to be in detention.

Drivers of the delivery trucks say they were prevented from delivering food to the township and then assaulted by cops who stopped them.

But a spokesman for the cops said he considered the allegation that the police were trying to obstruct the boycott "ridiculous".

"As long as there is no contravention of the law, the police will not act. The SA Police will however, not hesitate to act against persons who contravene any law or commit an offence."

He added that any person or employer who considered police action illegal or wrongful could lodge an affidavit at the nearest police station.

"Only after such a complaint has been lodged, can the police launch an investigation," said the police.

City Press reporters saw a fleet of delivery trucks outside the township where businessmen were collecting their daily supplies of bread, milk, paraffin and other essential commodities.

"It seems most of the supplies we are denied are the basic foodstuff, milk and bread etc," said one of the businessmen, who asked not to be named.

According to another Tembisa businessman, the detentions follow a number of "interviews" the police held with top businessmen. The businessmen were called for "interviews" by the police on Monday, after a meeting between the boycott committee and local businessmen last Thursday.

The businessmen had pledged to comply with the consumer boycott committee's demands.

Tshwete pops up at EL funeral

80 000
at
Cape
funeral

11A
C. Press
8/9/85

THE UDF'S Border branch chairman Steve Tshwete stunned everybody at the mass funeral in Duncan Village when he emerged from hiding to tell the gathering not to shed tears, but to rededicate themselves to the struggle.

Mr Tshwete disappeared mysteriously from his Peelton home more than 10 days ago after a visit by two men claiming to be South African security cops.

Mr Tshwete said the time for a national convention was past and called on the SA Government to step down and hand over power to Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the people.

"Our oppressors must know the fires had burnt long enough in the townships," he told mourners

He warned that the unrest would move out of the townships.

He also scoffed at allegations by the Government that the UDF was an ANC front.

Sacos president Frank van der Horst said moves for a national convention had come too late because it would not end apartheid but would rather entrench it.

He called for the abolition of pass laws, Group Areas Act, influx control, detention without trial, management committees and community councils.

"The workers have the power and this is being proved with the consumer boycott.



TSHWETE
Stunned funeral

THE MASS funeral at Duncan Village of 17 adults and a 16-month-old boy at the Lujiza cemetery at Eziphunzana will long be remembered as the biggest in the Eastern Cape - about 80 000 people turned up.

Banners of various UDF affiliates fluttered in the wind while the coffins were draped in the UDF colours.

Two Kwazakele men - Tyololo Mtyabeli and Siphon Mxoozi - were accused by an angry group of being informers.

A tyre was placed around Mr Mtyabeli's neck, and only the intervention of church ministers saved him.

They were kept on the rostrum for the rest of the mass service.

As mourners dispersed, a house outside the cemetery was also set alight.

Meanwhile, police confirmed that two white men from Cambridge, East London, died after the funeral.

Cops said Piet Cordier of Dominion Street died in a burning car and his brother-in-law, At Scholtz, died of stab wounds after their car was stopped by a crowd returning from the funeral on their way to Mdantsane.

According to other reports, however, eyewitnesses claim the men were attacked after the car drove into mourners.

Two other men - J Struwig and H van Niekerk - are recovering in Frere Hospital.

"PW Botha only has the power to turn his army on us.

"All the profits they make are going into the pockets of a few whites and it is this profit system which enslaves us.

"We don't want the homelands system," he said.

BLACK POLITICS

1985

OCTOBER MONTH



Bishop Tutu ... to meet Mrs Thatcher.

PC a toothless bulldog, says Tutu

(17A) The Star Bureau STAR
LONDON — Bishop Desmond Tutu will tell Mrs Margaret Thatcher when they meet this week that there is no morality in her refusal to impose sanctions on South Africa. 1/10/85

And he said of Mr P W Botha's latest offer to allow blacks on to the President's Council: "You do not reform the apartheid Frankenstein — you get rid of it."

Interviewed on BBC television this week, Bishop Tutu said: "I would hope that British people will realise that your greatness has not been so much because of your empire, but because of your moral leadership of the world."

"I am sorry that you seem to have abandoned that high moral ground —

but you can still regain it."

Bishop Tutu is due in London this week at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury to attend a preparatory meeting for the 1988 Lambeth Conference.

He will be seeing Mrs Thatcher on Thursday and will also meet Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock. He is to have a private meeting with banned ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Bishop Tutu was apparently offended that Mrs Thatcher could not find time to meet him the last time he was in the United Kingdom, in the same year that she met Mr Botha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He told television viewers that he would tell Mrs Thatcher that the "last

chance for peaceful change in South Africa is surely the intervention of the international community through political, diplomatic and economic pressure".

He said the President's Council was a "toothless bulldog" and "a talking shop". He would not serve on it and he did not think Chief Buthelezi or any other blacks would.

President Botha's offer was made "probably more to the outside world than to blacks".

He said: "I think he is aware of the boob he made in his so-called Rubicon Speech in Durban — had he perhaps made some of the points then that were included in his Port Elizabeth speech, the world would have been far more receptive."

'I can't believe that I'm free'

MR BENJAMIN "London" Ramotse (60), who was released at the weekend after spending 15 years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the banned ANC, cannot believe he is now a free man. 11A

"During the 15 years I spent behind bars on Robben Island, I used to dream of being with my children playing with them. Now that I am here I have not yet come to terms with the fact that I am at home with them. Sowetan

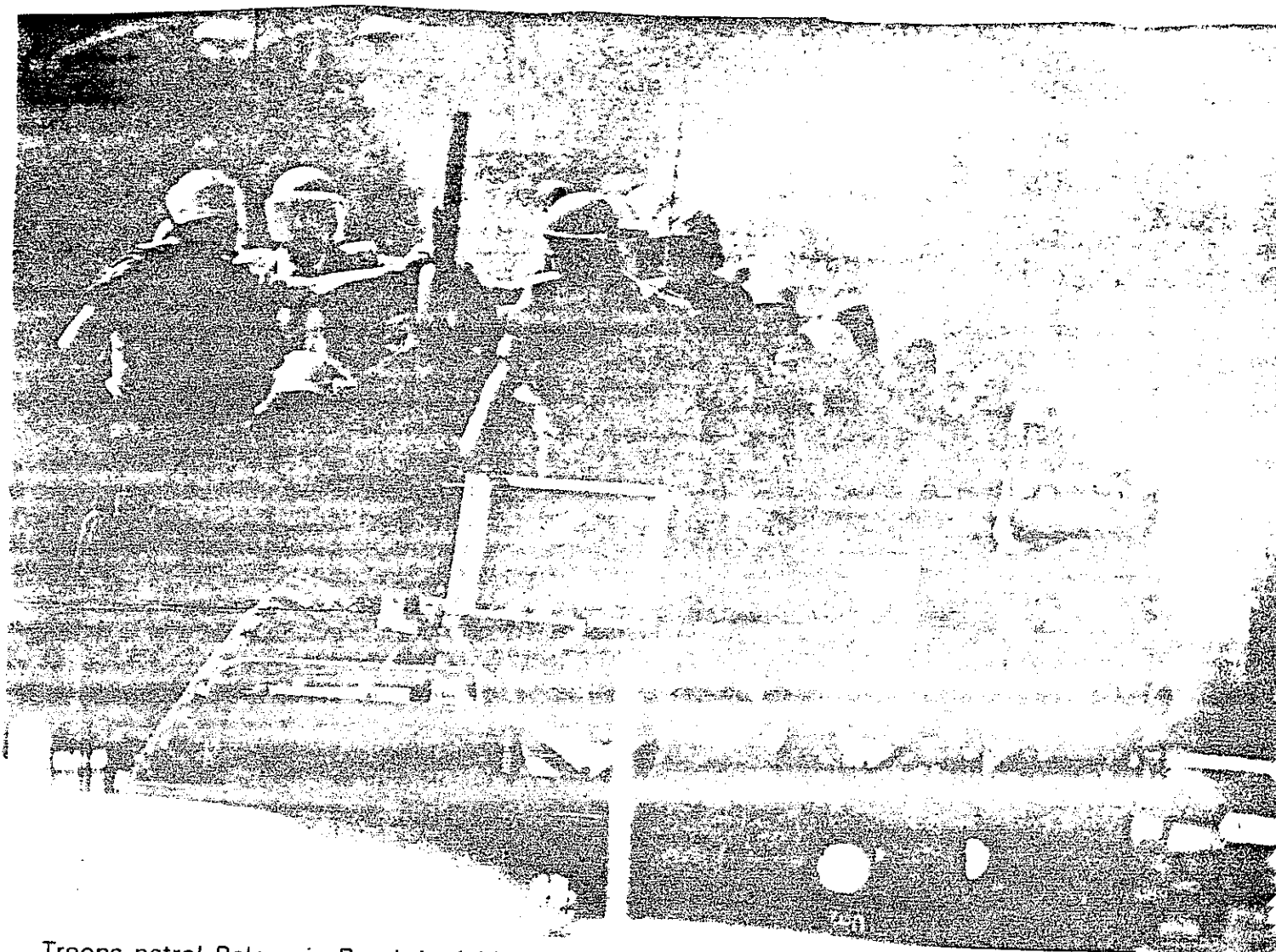
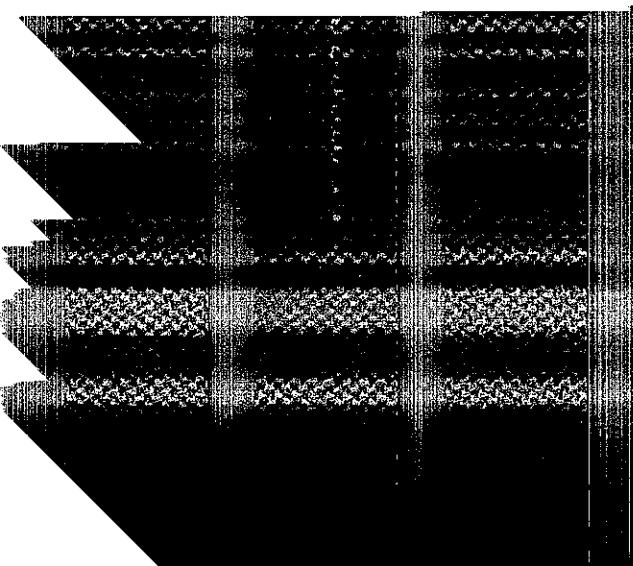
"To me it is still a dream and I am even afraid of going to sleep because I fear I will dream of them and wake up behind bars," Mr Ramotse says with a wry smile on his face.

Mr Ramotse was sentenced in August 1970 after he was caught by the South African Police in conjunction with the then Rhodesian police in the Nata game reserve in Botswana in 1967. 1/10/85

"They took me to Rhodesia where I spent four to six weeks there before I came to Pretoria to spend two years before I was sentenced," he said.

Mr Ramotse added that he was still "sorting" himself out and trying to get used to outside life. But "the struggle continues", he says.

"I have given everything to the struggle — my youth, my energy my everything. To turn back would be irrelevant. The struggle continues," he said.



Troops patrol Belgravia Road, in Athlone, yesterday afternoon as a truck carrying chickens burns in the
 ● More pictures, page 11
 Cape Times Newscol

X
 CAPE Times 17/10/85 16

UK outraged by shootings



Members of the railways police special task force take up positions on the back of a truck in Belgravia Road, Athlone, on Tuesday afternoon. Two youths and a child were confirmed killed and at least 11 injured after being shot at from the truck.

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Outrage swept Britain yesterday over the fatal shooting of two youths and a child in Athlone on Tuesday.

Opposition politicians and anti-apartheid organizations united in their condemnation of what was termed "a repugnant spectacle".

The shooting of the three by policemen hiding in crates on the back of a railway truck dominated television news bulletins. The graphic horror of the fatal shooting was beamed to millions of viewers in Britain.

Last night's news bulletins dwelt on continued police and army action in Athlone yesterday afternoon. More pictures of dead and injured people being carried from the streets were shown.

Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Donald Anderson, described Tuesday evening's shooting as "horrific".

He said: "Sadly we have become used to the day-by-day killings but nevertheless, this shooting was of a particularly gruesome variety."

Yesterday afternoon the shooting of the three was the main item on the news on Independent Television.

The television film, shot by a CBS

network crew, showed the railway truck with several wooden boxes cruising past a group of schoolchildren standing on the pavement.

The truck returned to the scene later and as it approached the children, it came under a hail of rocks and other objects. Some of the missiles shattered the windscreen.

Suddenly the wooden crates popped open and five or six policemen got up, opening fire with pump-action shotguns. Mayhem followed, with people screaming in agony and fear as they ran away. Two bodies of youths lying dead were shown.

Several people injured by the bullets were shown being helped away by bystanders.

A mother wept as she carried the limp body of her daughter from a house to a waiting ambulance.

BBC Radio broadcast interviews with pupils and teachers outside an Athlone school yesterday morning.

A teacher said they had closed the school early as a sign of sympathy with the families of those killed on Tuesday evening.

● Athlone shootings rock Commonwealth, page 4

● 'Brutal' Athlone killings appal, page 2

Friday, October 11, 1985

Mercury

Winnie Mandela nominated for 1985 Nobel Peace Prize

OSLO—Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, is one of 99 nominees for the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize, the winner of which will be announced here today.

Others include President Ronald Reagan, the Pope, New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange and Jewish author Elie Wiesel. Mercury

No clear favourite has emerged but front runners are expected to in-

clude Mr Wiesel and Mr Lange, for his resistance to nuclear weapons.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee, which awards the prize, keeps its deliberations secret, but the candidates' names are often leaked to the media ahead of the announcement. Former Italian President Sandro Pertini is a possible winner.

Austrian Herman Gmeiner, the man behind

the SOS homes for children around the world, and the International Scout movement are also candidates for the prize.

Other candidates are Argentinian President Raul Alfonsin, nominated for restoring democracy, and the Central American republic of Costa Rica, proposed by its President, Mr Luis Alberto Monge, for not having armed forces. — (Sapa-Reuter)

Miners demand fund probe

11/10/85 London Bureau (17)

BRITAIN'S National Union of Mineworkers is demanding an inquiry into how R17 million of their sequestrated funds were invested in South African interests.

Outraged union leaders have demanded an urgent meeting with the Receiver, Mr M J Arnold, responsible for handling the funds sequestrated during last year's miners' strike.

Mercury
Casino closes for day

Unemployment ^{mercury} 11/10/85 or just 'wickedness'? ⁽¹⁷⁾

'THIS CAN'T be England,' a police officer shouted at the height of a riot as shots rang out and a colleague was hacked to death last weekend. But it was.

The sight of mobs of masked youths burning and looting, of helmeted police crouching behind riot shields, of entire neighbourhoods engulfed in flames, has become a familiar sight in Britain recently.

The latest wave of rioting began last month in a poor, mainly-black district of Birmingham and has swept through similar areas in Liverpool and north and south London.

The appearance of guns in the hands of rioters during last Sunday night's rampage in Tottenham, north London, and the murder of a policeman — he was attacked by 50 youths wielding machetes and knives — has added a new and menacing dimension.

The riots, apparently touched off by black resentment over police actions in the areas, have provoked a bitter political row. The opposition Labour Party and most community leaders have 'blamed unemployment and social deprivation for the violence, an explanation vehemently rejected by the government of Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Ruling Conservative Party chairman Mr Norman Tebbit put the trouble down to 'human wickedness' and accused

Labour of exacerbating the situation by encouraging lack of respect for the police force and the law.

But social workers and community leaders speak of the bitterness and alienation of young blacks condemned to apparently endless unemployment in decaying inner-city slums.

'Young blacks feel totally isolated. They are unemployed, they feel rejected by society,' said Mr David Webb, former police commander in Birmingham's Handsworth district which was devastated by riots last month.

His words were echoed by Canon Charles Walker, chairman of a police-community liaison committee in Brixton, south London.

'The failure of the Government to make a positive assault on bad housing and unemployment has created smouldering resentment,' he said last month after police had arrested 220 people in a night of burning, looting and two rapes.

The district last year had 15 340 dwellings declared unfit for human habitation and a third of households are said to be living on or below the official poverty line.

Many local council leaders, even in some traditionally Conservative and prosperous rural

areas, complain bitterly about Mrs Thatcher's tight monetarist anti-inflation policies.

As the Conservatives began their annual conference this week Mrs Thatcher was under mounting pressure to spend more to reduce unemployment, which last month hit a new record of 3.34 million — 13.8 percent of the work-force.

A recent public-opinion poll found that a majority of the public, including 40 percent of Conservative voters, now believe that reducing un-

The result, he said, was a mass-exodus of disillusioned residents. When rioting shook 20 British cities in 1981 the Government reluctantly established an independent inquiry under Lord Scarman, a senior judge, to probe the causes of the violence.

In his report Lord Scarman painted a grim picture of inner-city life and recommended positive discrimination in favour of Britain's two million black and Asian citizens to prevent the 'poison of racial disad-

Alan Elsner LONDON

employment is more important than controlling inflation.

One commentator, Frances Williams, writing this week in the pro-Conservative Daily Telegraph, said the riots had further undermined Mrs Thatcher's economic doctrine by drawing attention to the plight of the cities.

'All around cracked pavements, potholed streets and crumbling public buildings reinforce the impression of continuing economic decline,' she wrote.

But tearing down crumbling buildings does not always provide the answer. The Broadwater Farm Estate, where the worst of the Tottenham rioting took place, was built only 14 years ago.

A warren of 1 100 apartments in squat, grey concrete blocks linked by walkways, the development won design awards when it was completed but quickly degenerated into an urban 'black spot'.

Plagued by structural defects and leaky roofs its narrow, unlit stairways provided an ideal environment for criminals, according to local public-works director Mr Mike Jones.

vantage' from spreading.

'Born, bred and often alienated in areas of severe deprivation, marked by environmental decay, the young black people of Brixton make their lives on the streets and in seedy, commercially run clubs,' Lord Scarman wrote.

Community leaders said the report spawned a plethora of committees but no government action.

Today, radical black leaders complain that not one of the 650 members of Parliament is black and compare themselves to South African blacks fighting to overthrow apartheid.

'Britain's inner cities, with their poverty, bad housing and unemployment are fast becoming firmly established black English townships, policed by insensitive, racist, hostile, heavy-handed white law officers,' said Mr Paul Stephenson, chairman of a West Indian association in Bristol, west England.

One young black in Tottenham, who admitted taking part in the rioting, told reporters: 'We can do it like in South Africa.' (Sapa-Reuter)

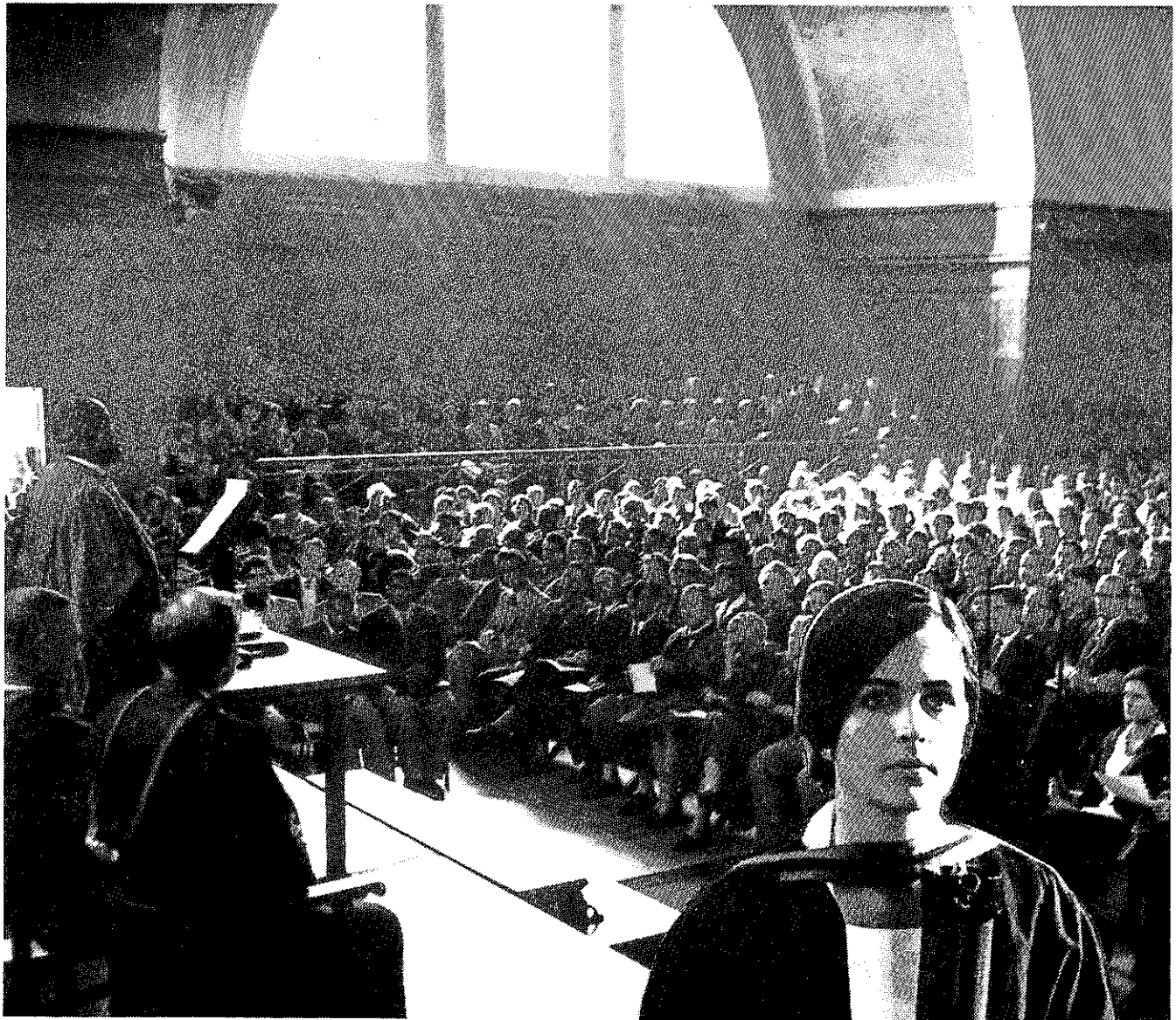
UCT NEWS

ECONOMICS



Vol 12 No 10 November 1985

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Academic freedom has taken another blow with the recent banning of the UDF symposium to have been hosted jointly on campus by the Lecturers' Association and the SRC from November 12 to 14. Historic photos show (top) Professor Z K Matthews delivering the annual TB Davie Lecture in 1961 and (inset) 1968 head woman student Amber Carroll with the extinguished torch symbolizing the curtailment of academic freedom.

(photos: The Argus and Cape Times)

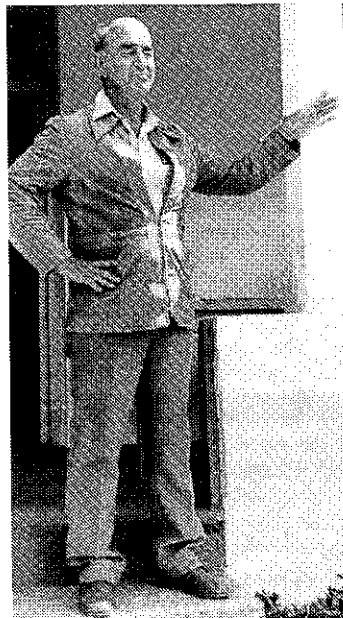
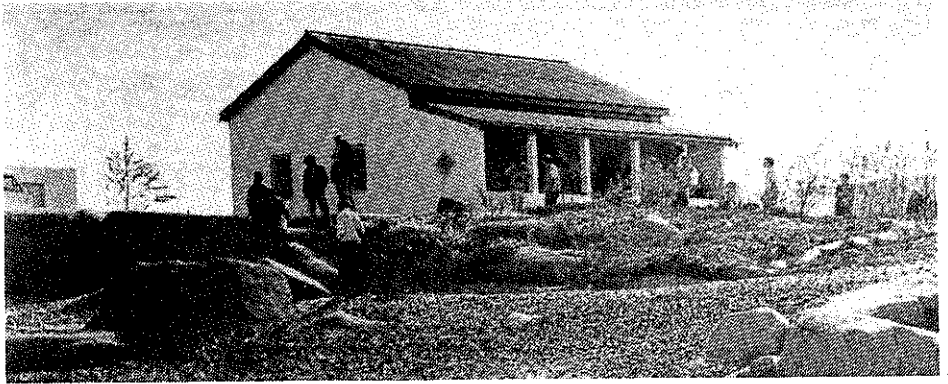
Fitztitude turns 25

SEABIRDS, sunshine, seabreezes, a cruise on Langebaan Lagoon, and a superb buffet lunch laid on by the ladies of the FitzPatrick Institute, characterized the official opening of the Fitztitude's field station on Marcus Island on October 23.

The occasion formed part of the 25th anniversary celebrations of the Percy FitzPatrick Institute of African Ornithology, affectionately known among its staff and students as the "Fitztitude", and was attended by a number of invited guests.

The Institute was founded and endowed by the Percy FitzPatrick Memorial Trust in 1960. But the first steps were taken more than two years earlier by FitzPatrick's daughter, Dr Cicely Niven, and her husband, who felt there should be an African institution devoted to the study of birds. In 1958 they called a meeting of leading South African ornithologists, museum and university personnel on behalf of the Trust, which approved a constitution registering the Institute as a non-profit company affiliated to UCT and supported by an initial endowment from the Trust.

The first director, appointed in 1960, was Professor J M Winterbottom. On his retirement in 1971 Professor W Roy Siegfried became director and in 1973 the University took over the Institute, making it a division within the Zoology department.



Clockwise from top: Part of the FitzPatrick Institute's newly renovated Caltex Field Station on Marcus Island; Mr Keith Bewick, public relations executive of Caltex opens the newly restored Bob Rand House, the main building on the island; Dr Cicely Niven avoiding the sun; Mr Bob Rand after whom the building was named. (Photos: E van Ryssen)

Visitors to UCT

Education

Professor Wolfgang Brezinka of the University of Konstanz visited the department from November 11 to 14.

Electrical and Electronic Engineering

Dr J W L de Villiers, executive chairman of the Atomic Energy Board of the S A L T D, and Bernard Price Memorial Lecturer for 1985, together with Mr D. Howe, president of the SA Institute of Electrical Engineers, visited the department in September. Dr de Villiers gave an illustrated talk on atomic energy to under- and postgraduate students and staff.

Dr M A Slonin of the University of Beersheba, Israel, visited the department on October 2 and gave a talk to staff and postgraduate students on *Fourier analysis of discontinuous functions*.

Dr A Ludloff of the AEG-Telefunken Research Laboratories, Ulm, West Germany, will give a course on modern radar systems and radar signal

From its modest beginnings 25 years ago the FitzPatrick Institute has grown into the largest ornithological research centre in the southern hemisphere, which this year has 25 students registered for MSc and PhD degrees. Members are participating in national and international research projects and research is sponsored by the CSIR, SA Nature Foundation, Endangered Wildlife Trust, Caltex, National Parks Board and the National Geographic Society, among others.

processing to MSc and Diploma students from November 4 to 29. He has also been invited by the CSIR to conduct a seminar in Pretoria from December 2 to 4.

Mathematics

Professor Shmuel Avital of the department of Education in Science at the Haifa Technion, Israel, visited the department from October 21 to 25. He delivered two lectures: *Recent studies in mathematical education* and *The relevance of the historical development of mathematics to modern mathematics instruction*.

Other visitors during October were Dr M Pachter and Dr Y Yavin, both from the CSIR, and Professor G F Roach from the

University of Strathclyde.

Occupational Therapy

Mrs M E Smith, currently a research occupational therapist at the University of Edinburgh's Research Studies Unit, paid an unexpected visit to the department on October 9. The Unit's work on the prevalence of hand injuries in the Edinburgh area and including an assessment of hand function is due for publication and Mrs Smith is involved in a new study of the longterm consequences of head injury. From 1974 to 1979 she was one of a team of four, led by Dr W M Garraway, who participated in a stroke rehabilitation study.

Ornithology

Sexual barriers are falling in the

South Atlantic. A husband-and-wife team, Dr R W and Dr S Furness, from the zoology department at the University of Glasgow, joined the Percy FitzPatrick Institute of African Ornithology research group on Gough Island in October and November. They are studying aspects of Subantarctic Skua biology and the levels of heavy metals in seabirds. As far as is known, Sue Furness is the first woman scientist to visit Gough Island.

Otolaryngology

Five senior ENT specialists from London visited the department on October 21 when they attended a professorial ward round and a seminar presented by departmental registrars.

Donor shortage not the only problem

IF A kidney transplant fails, the organ is removed and the patient placed on a dialysis machine until another grafting operation is convenient, says Professor John Terblanche, head of the department of Surgery at UCT.

"But if a liver transplant fails, death within a very short time is almost inevitable. For this reason the world's most successful liver surgeon in Pittsburgh, USA, maintains an aggressive monitoring and re-grafting programme, as well as an extremely efficient network involved solely in finding suitable donors. He or one of his team is able, at a moment's notice, to fly anywhere in the US to remove a donor liver and return to do the implant," Professor Terblanche says.

"Even heart transplants are technically simpler than liver grafts. The heart performs one basic function of pumping blood throughout the body. The liver is the largest gland in the body, of great importance in both carbohydrate and protein metabolism, secreting bile and various enzymes to do these jobs. No artificial liver has yet been produced which can undertake all these functions even for a short time. And if a liver dies, very poisonous cells are released into the patient's body."

Connecting an implanted heart to the major blood vessels is complex but relatively simpler than the delicate and complicated hook-ups required in a liver transplant. Moreover, a heart can be transported and stored for up to 24 hours after removal from a donor's body (a specialized pump was developed in UCT's Cardio-Thoracic Surgery department for this purpose). A donor liver should ideally be transplanted within about eight hours.

CHILDREN

In children, especially toddlers, these technical difficulties are compounded by the problem of finding a suitable donor. Large livers cannot be implanted into small bodies, therefore the donor must be a child of similar age and blood group, the cause of whose death has been such that no liver damage has resulted.

In Britain in 1984, only 11 out of 225 livers offered for transplant were from children under one year old, and these offers came from the whole of the British Isles and Western Europe. In South Africa the chances of finding a suitable child donor of any organ are slim indeed.

There are emotive issues at stake too. Not all parents are willing to have their dead child's organs removed. And in South Africa there is the added complication of cultural differences where, for example, many Blacks do not believe that parts of a dead body should be removed.

Professor Terblanche points out that the ethics of transplanting organs into a child too young to understand all the implications are

Giving a patient a new liver is technically the most complicated of all the transplant operations currently being performed throughout the world, says Professor John Terblanche, Professor of Surgery and co-director with Professor Ralph Kirsch of the UCT/MRC Liver Research Group. Interest in liver transplants is running high in South Africa at present, with one child already in the United States (at the time of going to press still awaiting a donor) and several more known to need the same treatment. UCT News editor Elizabeth van Ryssen reports.

debatable and should be discussed very fully with the child's parents.

"Only recently, with the development of the new immunosuppressive drug Cyclosporine, has a suitable alternative been found to the corticosteroids which produced growth retardation in children," he says.

"But not everyone can tolerate this drug which can produce unpleasant and even dangerous side effects. And a patient undergoing a transplant operation is committed to a lifelong dependence on immunosuppressive drugs unless and until an alternative method of preventing tissue rejection is found.

"Because these drugs suppress the body's natural immune system, the person is vulnerable to all sorts of minor infections. Even a simple virus infection may become a dangerous illness in these circumstances."

The drain on resources is heavy. The cost of developing the very sophisticated techniques needed for transplant surgery has to be weighed up carefully against the needs of health care in a country like South Africa. In the United States it has been estimated that if all patients needing kidney and other organ grafts were transplanted, even that country's medical resources would be exhausted within a very short time. The head of the Pittsburgh liver programme is willing to take only one foreign patient for every 10 Americans needing liver transplants

because of expense, limited facilities and difficulty in finding donors.

"Yet I've no doubt that liver transplantation has come of age. It's moved from the purely experimental stage to where it is of clinical benefit to patients. There is no doubt in my mind that we need to develop centres of excellence in medicine in this country. Without these there would be little or no medical progress at all," Professor Terblanche says.

INDICATIONS

What are the indications for liver transplantation? Malignant diseases (21 percent), non-alcoholic cirrhosis (41 percent) and children with biliary atresia (16 percent) accounted for most of the 819 transplants performed worldwide from 1963 to 1984.

Biliary atresia is a condition in which the bile ducts progressively degenerate, causing cirrhosis of the liver which continues, unless curbed, until liver failure and ultimately death occur. It is often first diagnosed as infant jaundice. Once a correct diagnosis is made it may be possible to replace the diseased bile ducts with portions of the bowel to drain bile from the liver, but often the cirrhosis progresses to the stage where only a liver transplant may be life-saving. The cause of biliary atresia is not understood but is thought to be because of a viral



Professor Terblanche

infection in the infant before birth. "Worldwide, more than 127 patients with this disease have been transplanted. Before 1980 the one-year survival rate was 15 percent and by 1984 this figure had improved to a predicted 85 percent. In the Pittsburgh programme between 1981 and 1983, 70 percent survived for one year but between 20 and 30 percent had undergone a second or even a third transplant."

The fact that a patient may survive for one year with a new liver does not mean longterm survival is certain. About half of the patients alive and well in 1979 after one year, survived for two or more years but, says Professor Terblanche, very few of them are alive today. The procedure has not been performed for long enough to be able to assess the percentage of truly long-term survivors that can be expected.

SERVICE

Professor Terblanche, with Professor Ralph Kirsch, jointly heads the UCT/MRC Liver Research Unit established in 1973 to investigate aspects of liver disease but research actually began in 1968. One important finding was that certain malignant diseases of the liver, for which transplantation had been routinely performed overseas, were more amenable to other forms of treatment. In 1968 a child was admitted for transplant but a year later died without a suitable donor having been found in South Africa.

If, says Professor Terblanche, the plight of South African children being sent to the USA for liver transplants creates an awareness among the public of the need for organ donations, and brings in funds to develop local liver transplant units, they will have done medicine in this country a service.

A tool

"Research in universities in less developed countries is a fundamental tool for identifying the nature and origin of the most critical issues."

- Pierluigi Malesane, *Cooperazione* (49/50/51), 1985

Liver Research in South Africa

ESTABLISHMENT of a national liver research fund to be coordinated by the SA Medical Research Council has been announced by the Minister of Health. Its aim is to promote research into liver transplantation in South Africa so that patients need no longer be sent overseas for this treatment.

And in Cape Town the Chris Barnard Fund has announced that they are investigating the possibility of funding specialist study at an overseas liver transplant unit for a South African surgeon who, on his return to South Africa, would be able to lead a transplant unit specializing in liver grafts.

UCT and the University of Witwatersrand's medical schools already have units, funded by the Medical Research Council, investigating aspects of liver transplantation. A small number of liver transplants, albeit unsuccessful, have been performed at both centres. Existing units cannot offer a dedicated facility for this service at present because of limited resources and other calls on specialists' time.

Professor John Terblanche, head of the department of Surgery at UCT, said a qualified surgeon in his department has been accepted onto the world's most successful liver transplant programme in Pittsburgh, USA, for about two years' specialist training starting mid-1986.

The excellence of courage

If Liberals have been denied the satisfaction of power, they have found something else: the excellence of courage under pressure, the great strengths of friendships formed in their struggle and the heightened awareness of moral existence. All these testify to a constructive political practice with means well-proportioned to ends. There is no reason why they should not be found in political groupings which successfully attain power; one certainly ought not to make a cult of powerlessness as such. But they will only be found if power is pursued in a principled way; that is to say, a way which is underpinned by a moral vision. Humility consists in just this: chosen subjection of the self to a moral vision.

— Charles Simkins (1985).



Charles Simkins

IT HAS long been the case that the influence of liberal ideas has been greater than the political power of liberalism. But liberal thinking has not disappeared from the South African scene – and it may just be the answer to the present political conundrum.

So argues UCT Senior lecturer in Economics, Dr Charles Simkins, in a series of six politically incisive and thought-provoking papers on South Africa today amid a crisis of both socio-political and socio-economic dimension, the end of which is not even in sight.

This suggestion, he says, is embodied in the specialist work of organisations founded on liberal principles, such as the *Black Sash* and the *Legal Resources Centre*. And a limited range of general liberal ideas has found considerable acceptance in the last 15 years.

Nonetheless, the loss of a political centre around which liberal thought could crystallize and develop has led to a considerable loss of definition in the articulation of general liberal principles applied to South African conditions.

LIBERAL PREDICTIONS

And Simkins suggests that the political way forward would seem to be through the emergence of a coalition of groupings which can agree on a fundamental set of liberal principles.

“One derives no pleasure from saying so, but the truth of liberal predictions, that illiberal policies would lead to a progressive collapse of South African social institutions into a chaos impervious to reason, is becoming steadily more apparent,” says Simkins.

And he points out that those who feel confident that the trouble can be confined to areas inhabited by blacks do not realise how vulnerable they are – crippling stayaways from work, mass strikes, disruption of foreign investment and trade, boycotts of all kinds and a serious decline in public safety are all perfectly possible.

“The descent into chaos, the terror of which is etched into every South African psyche, is now more of a possibility than it has ever been . . . if one believes that the descent is inevitable, then a public discussion of liberal principles has no point . . .

From the brave and battered past of the South African Liberal Party, which boasted such voices as that of celebrated author and political commentator Allan Paton, comes a call for the reconstruction of principles now all but forgotten in the course of violence and counter-violence between oppressor and oppressed. School of Economics Senior Lecturer Dr Charles Simkins (now on a Fellowship to Princeton University in the United States) devoted six Extra-Mural Studies Lectures to the possibility of such a revival in the present political conundrum. Eugene Hugo reviews some of his arguments.

one’s sole preoccupation is survival.”

But Dr Simkins premises his lectures on the view that the inevitability of further descent is not demonstrated.

He believes that the majority of South Africans are not past all reason and that they have longed for, and continue to long for, a fair and reasonable order.

The context in which a new order is being created is one in which power is shifting from white to black and he points out T’ueville’s comment that no time is more dangerous for a bad government than when it tries to reform its ways.

In this environment Simkins believes that more than any time in the past, liberals have the potential to interest a mass audience and that this potential is likely to grow.

And he believes that as the process of economic development brings new opportunities – with South Africa becoming the first African country to join the league of advanced industrial countries – a high degree of mobility will create an interest in at least a certain class of liberal principles.

Simkins also believes that if South Africa’s potential for economic development is realized, if the expression becomes richer of the country’s rich and diverse cultural heritage, and if the region’s political conflicts are resolved sufficiently, South Africa could become “something quite special” in the international community.

“This uniqueness would have both a moral and political dimension and would be the basis for considerable respect.”

Have critics of South African Liberalism damaged it so badly as to render reconstruction impossible?

Liberal principles have been under attack not only from Afrikaner Nationalism but also from Black Consciousness and Marxism, says Simkins.

And he suggests that there should be an influential liberal response, which he styles “pragmatic liberalism”,

to Afrikaner Nationalism.

The South African Liberal has to counter two main allegations:

- that liberalism is a second-line defence (after crudely racist ideology) of white cultural and political dominance.
- that liberalism is a first-line defence of a capitalist system marked by great inequality.

Any successful defence of South African liberalism, says Simkins, must include a demonstration that these two propositions are false.

And he states that Liberals must realise that they themselves are oppressed if they are true liberals and therefore they must fight for their own freedom and not that of the nebulous “they” with whom they can hardly claim identification.

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

Simkins, in his lecture series, takes liberals through what should be their response to the various facets of South African society, reaffirms a belief in the free enterprise system, questions how a “redress of wrongs” in the educational and social system should be addressed and looks to the future – including the issue of reverse discrimination at universities.

At the same time Dr Simkins outlines a number of constitutional principles which are “candidates” for Liberal support:

- There shall be universal franchise at all levels of government.
- There shall be three levels of government: national, regional and local.
- South Africa shall be reorganized

into a new set of regions.

- Local and regional councils shall be elected on a single-member constituency basis by single transferable vote.

- Members of Parliament will be elected by multiple transferable vote with regions as constituencies. Each region shall have a number of members of parliament proportional to its number of registered voters.

- There shall be a council of State composed of half of regional councillors and half of citizens holding no other public office, chosen by parliament in the first instance but thereafter replaced on death or resignation by the council itself. The Council shall choose from its own members, a State President for a fixed term (say four years). The State President will be Head of State; he will exercise ceremonial functions and be chairman of the Council of State. The Council will arbitrate in deadlocks over the composition of regional executives or over exercise of the minority veto in Parliament.

- There shall be a constitution and a justiciable Bill of Rights.

- There shall be a right of suspensive veto and appeal for arbitration in Parliament.

- The budget shall be handled jointly by parliament and regional councils. There shall be uniform taxation across the regions and moneys voted to the regions shall be based on common norms and standards governing entitlements to State expenditure.

“The elements proposed can be adjusted in various ways, but it is doubtful whether these adjustments could produce, from a Liberal point of view, much improvement over the proposals as they stand,” states Simkins.

Tomorrow is now

“We face the future fortified only with the lessons we have learned from the past. It is today that we must create the world of the future . . . in a very real sense, tomorrow is now.”

— Eleanor Roosevelt

A splendid light has dawned



Beams that heal

NINETY years ago, in The War of the Worlds, Martians equipped with laser-like death rays visited Earth. The American Star Wars programme aims to defend the West with lasers which could knock out enemy missiles in space. But lasers don't only kill, they can cure as well. Surgeons around the world use them to perform delicate operations with far less trauma than follows conventional surgery. UCT News editor Elizabeth van Ryssen reviews their use at Medical School.

LASERS have great potential in heart surgery, in the opinion of Professor Bruno Reichart, Chris Barnard Professor of Cardiothoracic Surgery.

Members of his department have recently used a YAG-laser to remove growths in the tracheas of two patients. One was a tumour, the other a constriction following a tracheostomy 10 years ago. Similar operations to remove benign and malignant tumours of the trachea, bronchi and oesophagus have been performed successfully in the United States.

Professor Reichart is involved in negotiations to obtain a YAG-laser for his department, which will be used in a research programme to remove blockages, caused by a buildup of calcium and fats, in arteries. In this machine, the beam travels along a very fine optical fibre which can be manipulated in body cavities and blood vessels. Similar research is being conducted overseas, but not yet in South Africa.

"The coronary arterial bypass operation has become standard procedure when blockages in one or more of these arteries result in heart attacks and threaten life," Professor Reichart said.

FUTURE

"A laser-beam catheter threaded into the artery could be used to clear the obstructions without the need to replace the blocked section.

"There are two problems: the laser beam could cause blood clots, and there is a risk of puncturing the artery wall when viewing it through a catheter.

"Ultimately, the aim in this kind of operation would be to insert the laser into the artery through a catheter in the chest wall, doing away with the need for major surgery. But this is looking quite far into the future, Professor Reichart said.

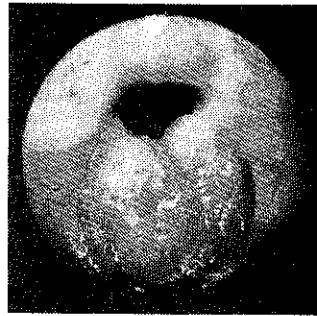
"Also in the future, it may be possible to use a laser for anti-arrhythmic surgery in extreme cases when large sections of the heart are involved. At present, when certain life-threatening arrhythmias (irregular beats) of the heart occur, we try to treat them medically."

The laser Professor Reichart hopes to obtain for his department is made in Germany by a company involved in aircraft and weapons production and is a good example of the medical spin-off obtained from research into the use of lasers as weapons and in space.

Lasers, though of a different kind, have been used in other departments at Groote Schuur Hospital and

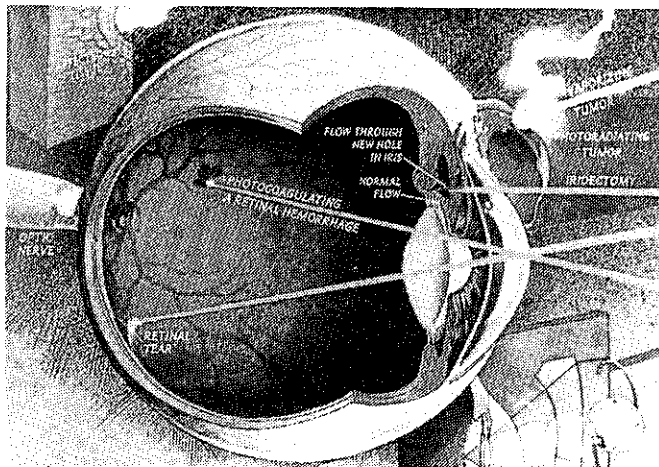
Medical School for several years. Ophthalmology got their first, an argon (blue-green) laser in 1979 and have recently replaced it with a newer model. Unlike the YAG-laser, this machine's beam cannot be transmitted along a glass fibre.

The department treats a number of eye defects, particularly common in diabetic patients. Several, such as retinopathy, central macular problems and certain types of macular degeneration, involve bleeding into the



Juvenile papillomatosis - a growth of tissue obstructing a child's trachea - before (left) and after laser surgery.

(photos by Dr C A J Prescott, Otolaryngology department, Red Cross Children's Hospital)



back of the eye. Because the laser beam is so fine it can be used to "spot weld" leaking blood vessels, mend detached retinas and tears in the retina as well as destroy unwanted tissue to maintain central vision.

In treating glaucoma, a condition in which pressure builds up inside the eye when the normal outflow of aqueous fluid is blocked, a new outflow can be created by using a laser beam to perform an iridectomy - burn a hole through the iris, allowing the fluid to escape.

The carbon dioxide laser in the Obstetrics and Gynaecology department is used mainly in treating cervical and vulval lesions - pre-malignant diseases formerly treated

by conventional surgery under general anaesthetic - and genital warts.

Other departments have made use of the CO2 laser from time to time. Ear, nose and throat specialists, for example, have used it to remove airway obstructions in children, where conventional surgical methods would have produced more swelling and discomfort.

This laser has also been used experimentally to remove keloids, large growths occurring in scar tissue caused by burns.

There is no doubt that laser surgery is far less traumatic for patients than surgery with a knife. The high energy of the beam vaporizes the tissue at which it is

Graphic presentation of how lasers are used in eye surgery.

(From National Geographic, March 1984).

Putting over the M\$age

MS: "Have you heard, they have rewritten *Mother Goose* to eliminate sexism?"

MCP: "It won't sound the same."

MS: "What won't?"

MCP: "*Goose Person.*"

directed, so that it quite literally "goes up in smoke".

The beam can be used so precisely, even on single cells, that damage to surrounding tissue and subsequent patient discomfort are minimal. Very often procedures can be performed under local anaesthetic, or if general anaesthetic is used hospitalization is usually only necessary until the patient is fully conscious. And because the laser seals most small blood vessels, bleeding is considerably reduced.

"The number of things medical lasers can do is past imagining," in the words of the head of America's largest laser-surgery research laboratory.

Harnessing light as a tool

"DON'T undervalue the laser. It harnesses light, a basic form of energy. We harnessed energy in another way once, and started the industrial revolution." - (John Asmus, chief laser scientist, Maxwell Laboratories, San Diego).

(An excellent article on Lasers appeared in *National Geographic* in March 1984).

Think of a glass tube filled with, for example, neon and helium gases, with ends sealed by flat parallel mirrors, one fully reflective and the other partially transparent. Centred

inside this tube is a cathode which radiates electrons when energized by electricity. These excite the helium atoms which collide with their neon neighbours, agitating their electrons.

The electrons almost at once fall back to their less energetic order, in the process freeing a tiny burst of surplus energy - a photon, the basic unit of light. Trapped between the mirrors in the tube, these bounce back and forth, striking still more neon atoms and releasing more photons which synchronize themselves until the energy is so intense

that they burst through the laser's partially transparent mirror as a needle of light, the purest and most concentrated ever seen. This light is almost exclusively of one wavelength, with all waves travelling in one direction, increasing their power to pass on energy and information.

Other gases such as carbon dioxide and argon, and crystals such as ruby and yttrium-aluminum-garnet (YAG) are used in lasers, producing light of different wavelengths each with its own capacities as a tool for man.

—Academics on the move—

Applied Mathematics

Members of the department arranged a workshop of relativity theory and its application to the study of cosmology on October 25. This formed part of the 65th birthday celebrations of Professor W B Bonnor, Visiting Professor in the department and formerly head of the Mathematics department at Queen Elizabeth College, University of London.

Papers were presented by relativity theorists from the main centres in South Africa as well as by visitors from England and the United States of America.

At a formal dinner earlier in the year a Festschrift published by the Cambridge University Press in honour of Professor Bonnor's work was presented to him.

Botany

Dr John Bolton attended the second international Phycological Congress in Copenhagen from August 4 to 10, where he presented a paper on *Marine phylogeography of the Benguela upwelling region of southern Africa* as part of an invited symposium on *Modern aspects of algal biogeography*. He also discussed southern African *Ecklonia* species in a workshop on brown algal taxonomy, and visited the universities of Groningen and Amsterdam, and the British Museum to discuss seaweed distributions.

Community Health

Professor J Klopper attended a Gluckman Symposium in Johannesburg on October 24 at which he presented two papers from the department. He also participated in discussions with heads of Community Health departments at other medical schools on the problems of postgraduate training in Community Health.

At the first South African congress on Acoustics in Pretoria from October 2 to 4, Mr A W Jongens of the Central Acoustics Laboratory, department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, presented a paper on behalf of Dr J T Mets, senior lecturer in Occupational Health in the department of Community Medicine. Its title was *Audiometry as a screening method for incipient hearing loss*.

Cultural History of Western Europe

Dr P J Salazar will attend an international conference in Toulouse, France, from November 21 to 23 and deliver a paper on *Emblematic images and scientific rhetoric in the 17th century*. The theme of the conference, organized jointly by the French National Centre for Scientific Research and the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Toulouse, is *Les imaginaires dans les sciences et les arts*.

Diagnostic Radiology

Professor B J Cremin, associate professor of paediatric radiology at the Red Cross Children's Hospital and a radiological member of the International Skeletal Society, attended both the closed and open sessions of their annual general meeting in Edinburgh in October. He presented invited papers on uncommon bone infections and the

prenatal diagnosis of lethal bone dysplasias.

Economic History

Dr Maureen Tayal attended a conference on Indentured Labour at the University of Durban-Westville during October and presented a paper *Indentured Indians and politics, 1890-1913 - a reappraisal*.

Dr David Kaplan addressed the South African Institute of Electrical Engineers meeting on "The social impact of automation" in Johannesburg on October 17. His topic was *The social impact and origins of microelectronic technology: a challenge to the South African engineer*. The paper has been submitted to the Institute for possible publication.

Dr Kaplan and Professor M Rodd, Professor of Electronics at Wits, were interviewed for the SABC programmes *Audiomix* and *University of the Air* on the likely implications of microelectronic automation in the South African context.

Education

Professor Michael Ashley, head of the department, delivered a speech entitled *The alternative South African tradition* at the annual prize-giving at Rustenburg Girls High School on October 22.

Dr David Donald was invited to deliver a series of seminars to the M Ed in Educational Psychology students at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, on October 18 and 19.

Several staff members attended the Kenton Conference at Froggy Pond from October 25 to 28, hosted this year by the University of the Western Cape. Papers were presented by Professor Ashley (*Tradition, skills and equality: current themes in South African education*) and Peter Kallaway (*Sociology of education in South Africa*).

Electrical and Electronic Engineering

Professor J F Bell, Research Leader of the Council for Mineral Technology Group, and his co-authors have received the Westinghouse Prize for 1984 for the best paper on any metal-finishing subject awarded by the Institute of Metal Finishing in Birmingham, England. The title of the paper was *The design and application of a decrement 'Q' meter as a non-destructive adhesion test for coatings*. One of Professor Bell's co-authors accepted the prize at the annual general meeting and luncheon at Birmingham's National Exhibition Centre.

English

Eva Hunter will present a paper on Doris Lessing at the annual Modern Languages Association conference in Chicago from December 27 to 30, 1986.

Fine Art

Mr Stanley Pinker who has taught for many years at the Michaelis School of Fine Art, recently won the coveted Gold Medal and cash prize at the Cape Town Triennial exhibition which opened at the SA National Gallery on September 18.

Human Genetics

Professor P Beighton has returned

to Cape Town after a series of overseas academic visits which included an address to the International Skeletal Society in Edinburgh, participating in a dysmorphology meeting at the Hospital for Sick Children in London, and attending a symposium on molecular biology and collaborative research into inherited connective tissue disorders at the University of Sheffield.

Dr Jack Goldblatt and Dr Ingrid Winship participated in the congress of the American Society of Human Genetics at Salt Lake City last month and visited other academic centres in the United States and Britain.

Medicine

Professor R E Kirsch was elected president of the South African Gastroenterology Society at their conference in Bloemfontein in September.

At the recent SA Pulmonology Society Congress in Rustenburg from October 13 to 17, papers were presented by Professor S Benatar, Drs E D Bateman, Ainslie, S J Louw, S C Morrison, Hayhurst, Raine and P A Willcox and Mr Fourie from the department's Respiratory Unit.

Organic Chemistry

Professor A M Stephen recently attended the eighth international symposium on Glycoconjugates in Houston, Texas, where he presented a poster entitled *Structural subunits of glycoproteins in exudates from Acacia sources*. He also attended a short international conference on the molecular biology of complex carbohydrates at Texas A & M University and in England he met Dr E B Rathbone of Tate and Lyle R & D and officials concerned with a similar programme seeking natural sweetening agents from South African plants.

At the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Maryland, Professor Stephen visited Dr G M L Cragg, formerly associate professor in organic chemistry at UCT, to discuss participation in the screening of organic compounds as potential anti-cancer drugs.

Associate Professor T A Modro attended the 30th international congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry in Manchester, England, from September 8 to 13 and presented a poster on *Structural effects in phosphates*. He also visited the chemistry departments of several British universities where he presented seminars on his research in organophosphorus chemistry and held talks with staff members and postgraduate students.

Ornithology

Barry Watkins of the Percy FitzPatrick Institute of African Ornithology was appointed senior scientist for the 41st voyage of the research vessel *SA Agulhas* and during October/November led a five-person team from the FitzPatrick Institute to Gough Island in the South Atlantic to study albatrosses, shearwaters and petrels. Fieldwork involved using helicopters, inflatable dinghies and Wellington boots, to get around the wet and rugged coastline and

mountains of the island.

Orthopaedic Surgery

Dr Martin Singer, head of the Hand Unit, delivered the prestige Francois P Fouché Lecture to the congress of the South African Orthopaedic Association in Durban during September. His topic was *Club Foot revisited*. The annual lecture is held under the auspices of the College of Medicine of South Africa.

Dr Reith Goldschmidt was installed at the same congress as president of the South African Orthopaedic Association.

Dr Robert Boome read a paper to the annual meeting of the South African Society for Surgery of the Hand.

During September Dr Desmond Dall attended and read papers to the British Orthopaedic Association autumn meeting and the International Hip Society meeting at the Centre for Hip Surgery, Wrightington.

Otolaryngology

Nine papers authored by members of the department were presented at the national congress of the SA Society of Otorhinolaryngology in Cape Town from October 14 to 18. They were Professor S L Sellers, Drs J Reyneke, C J A Prescott, Mathews, De Haan, Malan and Solomons and Mrs S Rohm. Professor Sellers also chaired a session and Dr Prescott showed a locally-made video.

Paediatrics and Child Health

Professor M A Kibel and Dr M Jacobs attended the conference *Priorities in Paediatrics* in Rustenburg from October 16 to 18. Dr Jacobs presented a paper entitled *Children and the civil unrest* and Professor Kibel *Lead levels in newspaper vendors*.

Physiology

Staff and postgraduate students presented 15 papers and posters at the meeting of the Physiology Society of Southern Africa in Pretoria from October 2 to 4. Mr Henry Markram, an Honours student, was a co-winner of the prestige C H Wyndham prize for the best paper read by a postgraduate student.

Professor P Belonje was elected President of the Society at its AGM which formed part of the conference proceedings.

Political Studies

Dr Simon Baynham, lecturer, attended the first international conference on *Security - a national strategy* in Johannesburg from November 11 to 13. He presented research work on the security forces and riot control to the panel on *The South African Police - their role during internal unrest*.

Radiotherapy Professor R Sealy attended the conference on *Chemical modifiers of cancer treatment* in Clearwater, Florida, from October 20 to 24 and presented two invited papers. While in the United States he lectured in the department of Radiation Therapy at the Hahnemann Hospital, Philadelphia; the National Cancer Institute at Bethesda, Maryland, and was a Visiting

to page 8

One of the Cape's outstanding theatre personalities and head of the UCT Drama Department from 1946 until her retirement in 1971, **Professor Rosalie van der Gucht**, died on October 31. She was 78.

As a teacher, Professor van der Gucht was loved and respected by her students. In her 25 years as head of the Drama department, she must have trained more actors, actresses and directors, many of whom have since become household names, than anyone else in the country.

She was well-known to Cape Town's theatre audiences at the



In memoriam

Little Theatre, Nico Malan and The Baxter, and further afield, as a producer and director and one of her most highly acclaimed productions was *Beecham*, starring Michael Atkinson, at The Baxter. She left acting in 1957, but made a special appearance as the nurse in Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* at The Baxter in 1982.

In 1957 Professor van der Gucht was granted a Carnegie Scholarship and visited numerous university drama departments

in the United States. She made several study tours to England, one under the auspices of the British Council. She was chairman and national chairman of the Executive of the South African Guild of Speech and Drama Teachers and was made a life vice-president.

Mr J Jacobus, who died on October 14, aged 53, was building supervisor of the Engineering Complex for a number of years before his

recent transfer to the supervisorship of the Arts Block.

He joined the University in 1969 and worked in the Mathematics department, the Beattie Building, and as assistant supervisor in the Arts Block.

In a tribute members of the department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering described Mr Jacobus as "always courteous, obliging and efficient".

"He had a ready smile and even-tempered disposition. He let nobody know that he was ill; he endured his terminal illness with Spartan courage."

Mr Jacobus is survived by his wife and three children.

Staff appointed

Dean of Science

Professor Cliff Moran, distinguished South African entomologist and currently Dean of Science and Professor of Entomology at Rhodes University, will take up his appointment as fulltime Dean of Science on January 1.

He succeeds Professor Robin Cherry who has been Dean since the beginning of 1983. Professor Cherry has elected to return to fulltime teaching and research in the Physics Department.

Professor Moran's main research interests have been the biological control of insect pests and weeds, agricultural entomology, applied ecology and insect/plant relationships. He has lectured on many zoological and entomological topics and supervised 26 postgraduate students.

At Rhodes, where he joined the staff in 1961, he has had considerable

administrative experience as a member of the University Council, the Senate Executive Committee and the University Staffing Committee, as well as chairman of the Science Faculty Board, the Electron Microscopy Steering Committee and the Capital Equipment Committee.

Professor Moran has served on several CSIR bodies including the Foundation for Research and Development and received a substantial CSIR research grant and was phased into the new scheme at the beginning of 1985.

He is a member of the Royal Entomological Society of London, the International Association for Ecology, the British Ecological Society, the International Organization for Biological Control, the South African Weed Sciences Society, and the Linnean Society of London. He has authored or co-

authored 53 research publications and a book. A second book is in preparation. He was editor of the Journal of the Entomological Society of Southern Africa from 1973 to 1980 and president of the Society from 1980 to 1983.

Anatomy

Professor W J Els has been appointed Associate Professor in the Histology and Cell Biology Unit within the Anatomy department.

He is a graduate in Zoology and Physiology of the University of Stellenbosch, and obtained a DSc (Zoology) from his alma mater in 1975. He also holds a MS in Physiology from the University of Illinois. Since 1967 he has been on the staff of the Physiology department of the University of the North, of which he became head in 1975. He has been a visiting researcher and a teaching and research assistant at the Royal Postgraduate Medical School, University of London and at the University of Illinois.

By training and interest Professor Els is a cellular biologist and is at present responsible for three major research-oriented laboratories: microtomy and histochemistry; radio-isotope; and electrophysiological laboratory. He is currently making use of a cellular and molecular approach to investigate renal physiology and epithelial transport.

Dr M Henneberg, lecturer in anthropology at the University of Texas, Austin, has been appointed senior lecturer in Anatomy. He is a graduate of the University of Poland, from whom he obtained a DSc in 1981.

He taught at the A Mickiewicz University and the Jagiellonian University in Poland before joining the staff of the University of Texas, which he had visited as a lecturer in 1978.

His background includes teaching experience in gross anatomy and human morphology with special emphasis on osteology. His current research interests are: hominid brain evolution and biological grounds for recent human variability in intelligence; demography and population genetics; and the biology of prehistoric populations, including paleopathology.

Dr Susan H Kidson, lecturer in the Witwatersrand University's Zoology department since 1980,

will take up her appointment as senior lecturer in the Histology and Cell Biology Unit on January 1.

As methodology lecturer, she has been responsible for teaching in the Education department as well as in Zoology. In addition to her MSc in developmental biology (with distinction) and BSc (Honours) in Zoology, she obtained the Transvaal Teachers Higher Diploma in 1974. She submitted a PhD thesis in developmental biology in April 1985, on *The control of melanin synthesis during oogenesis in Xenopus laevis*.

Hebrew Studies

Mr M Shain, assistant lecturer in History at UCT since 1983, will take up his appointment as lecturer in Hebrew Studies (Jewish History) on January 1. He is currently completing doctoral studies and the title of his thesis is *Images of the Jew in SA society, 1870-1945*.

Mr Shain taught History at Herzlia High School from 1974 to 1980, when he was head of the department. He joined UCT in 1981 on a two-year fellowship at the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research and was involved with a project focusing on Cape Town Jews who grew up in Cape Town. As a member of the History department he has run a course and provided academic support for disadvantaged students and been a student advisor in the Arts Faculty.

Mineralogy and Geology

Dr A P le Roex, Antarctic senior research officer in the department since 1984 and research officer from 1982, has been appointed lecturer from January 1, 1986. A graduate of Stellenbosch University, he completed postgraduate studies at UCT, including a PhD in Geochemistry in 1980 with a thesis entitled *Geochemistry and mineralogy of selected Atlantic Ocean basalts*.

He was a teaching assistant in geology and geochemistry while completing his doctoral studies and went to Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute as a postdoctoral fellow and a guest investigator in geology and geophysics until his return to UCT at the beginning of 1982.

Dr le Roex's main research interests are the geochemistry and petrogenesis of the ocean floor and ocean island basalts.

You and UCT News

I HAVE a message for the "elderly pensioner who joined UCT in 1936" and who wants his name to remain on the *UCT News* mailing list next year "and thereafter until notified by my executor of my final 'change of address'." With pleasure, sir. And may the final change be long delayed.

To everyone else who has not yet written to me about next year's mailing list, I also have a message: In January we will start compiling a completely new list of people to whom *UCT News* will be sent. If you want your name on that list and haven't already notified me, please write before the end of December otherwise your name will automatically be deleted.

To recap, each department in the University, will receive a departmental copy for filing and/or reading by interested staff members. No-one, whether staff or pensioner, will receive a personalized copy as has been the case in the past, unless specially requested. But executive officers, members of Council and Senate, Governors and Life Governors of the UCT Foundation, will continue to receive their own copies.

The external mailing list will be considerably expanded, to include donors, potential donors and friends of the University, both in South Africa and abroad, and members of the media.

Along with the change from a mainly internal newspaper to an external one will come a change in emphasis. No news of a purely domestic nature will be carried. Instead, in line with this outward thrust, a mixture of articles, photographs and interviews will present a blend and balance of academic excellence and community involvement, written with the external rather than internal reader in mind. This will not entail much of a change except that less space will be devoted to the "regular" columns - Academics on the Move, Visitors, Appointments, Obituaries, and so on - than in the past.

The *Monday Paper* has been developed to keep the internal readership informed about UCT on a weekly basis.

Making music

YOUNG people gain an appreciation of music through membership of a youth orchestra, even though only a handful will probably go on to become professional musicians.

This is the opinion of Noel Travers, director and founder of the UCT Junior String Orchestra, which celebrated its 10th anniversary this month.

"These young people will become discerning audience members at concerts," Mr Travers says. "Without a musically educated audience, professional musicians' performances will be more or less meaningless."

About one hundred young musicians, ranging in age from about six years to mid-teens, arrive in shifts every Saturday morning to practise as three individual orchestras, and then as a combined group. It usually takes several years for a new, young player to move through the C and B orchestras to the A orchestra which consists of the more experienced and advanced players.

"One of the reasons for establishing the Junior Orchestra was because we felt there was a vacuum in the musical education of youngsters who merely went to individual lessons and then home to practise. By joining an orchestra they would be able to share their musical enjoyment with their peers," Mr Travers says.

"Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect is that participation is not compulsory, all the children come voluntarily and willingly, from all parts of the Peninsula and further afield. Even in these difficult times young people still try to come regularly from the troubled areas, something we all greatly appreciate."



(photo: Ken Gooch)

Noël Travers conducts members of the UCT Junior String Orchestra at one of their Saturday morning rehearsals.



Young musicians excel

MUSIC students from the SA College of Music collected four of the top prizes in the Oude Meester music prizes for 1984.

UCT pianists came out tops with three out of four prizes awarded in this category. Two first prizes were awarded by the judges because of the exceptionally high standard of the competitors. Francois du Toit of UCT and John Rindel from

Wits each won R1000 in this category. Two more UCT pianists, Johannes Jacobs and Richard van Schoor, each received R200 as runners-up.

Matthew Reid, also of UCT, took first place with a R1000 award in the section for clarinet.

The chairman and overall adjudicator, David Tidboald, conductor of the Natal Philharmonic, said the standard was exceptionally high this year.

Summer School offers variety

TOPICAL courses addressing the present South African situation will be a feature of the 36th annual Summer School from January 20 to February 7 next year.

The Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, organizers of the popular series of lectures and short courses, hopes to attract about 8000 registrations for the more than 40 courses being offered.

The political scene will be covered in such courses as *Political Trials* (Associate Professor D M Davis); *Influx Control - what now?* (Sheena Duncan, Dr P Smit, Professor W Thomas and Professor W Esterhuise); *Understanding 1985 - a crisis examined* (Professor Colin Bundy and Professor Herman Giliomee) and *Ethics and Life* (Associate Professor C Villa-Vicencio).

The latter course, together with *Behind African Spirituality* (Professor G Setiloane), *Function and meaning in African art* (Ms S Klopper and Dr A Nettleton from Wits) and *English fiction and the Boer War* (Dr Michael Rice) are being offered in association with the Centre for African Studies as part of their 10th anniversary celebrations.

Notable overseas visitors include Hans Küng, the Catholic theologian from Tübingen who, together with Professor John de Gruchy, will lecture on *Contemporary issues in theology*. Dr R J Adie of the British Antarctic Survey at Cambridge will lecture on Antarctica and Professor Menashe Hal-El from Jerusalem will offer a series on historical and biblical geography of the Holy Land.

Among the intensive limited courses are *Method of acting*, an introduction to programming personal computers, a multi-media approach to art, scriptwriting for television and *Story and Story Telling*. The Professional Communication Unit will offer courses in interviewing techniques, producing staff and in-house magazines, and planning and delivering oral presentations.

Literature and philosophy are well represented, there is another series on medical and psychological topics for lay-people and two important courses on musical topics: *The German Lied* and a major course on Mozart illustrated by orchestra, soloists and instrumentalists, at The Baxter. The Sciences are represented by a series on *Halley's Comet* and *Elementary Chemistry is Fun*.

An unusual venture will be *Excavations at Paradise* where students will work on the site popularly known as Lady Anne Barnard's cottage. Linked with this 10-day dig will be laboratory sessions and a lecture series *Castle, town and country*. The whole is

coordinated by Dr Martin Hall and members of the Archaeology department. Other classical and archaeological topics include *South African Rock Art* (Professor J D Lewis-Williams), *Ancient Hellenic travellers* (Professor Lydia Baumbach) and *Alexander the Great* (Associate Professor John Atkinson).

A registration prospectus and further information is available from the Centre for Extra-Mural Studies, Old Admin Building, Lovers' Walk, Rondebosch. In most cases staff and students will be offered substantially reduced fees.

Staff on the move

... from page 6

Professor at the Massachusetts General Hospital and the Harvard Medical School.

Dr R P Abratt will attend a British Council course *Urological Cancer - an international symposium* in London from November 17 to 29.

Social Work

An article by Dr Gary Lowe was published in *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, Vol 1 No 4, October 1985. It dealt with the question whether or not American social work education was relevant to South African social work education.

Mr Lionel Louw was guest speaker at the annual general meeting of Child Welfare in Paarl on September 27 and at the AGM of Stepping Stone, also in Paarl, on October 5.

Dr M Tshabalala, Mr D Nghatsane, Mr C Snell and Mr Louw attended the launching of the Forum for Black Social Work Education in Pretoria on September 11 and 12. Dr Tshabalala and Mr Nghatsane

also attended the 40th annual conference of the South African Black Social Workers Association in Pretoria from September 12 to 15.

Dr Tshabalala participated in the mini-symposium *Perspectives on postgraduate education in an African context* on October 31 at UCT. Other speakers included Dr E Bertelsen, Professor W Gevers, Dr C White and Professor G Ellis.

UCT NEWS STAFF

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DEADLINES

The next issue of UCT News will appear on March 1, 1986. All items for this issue must reach the Editor, UCT News, Welgelegen, not later than February 12, 1986.

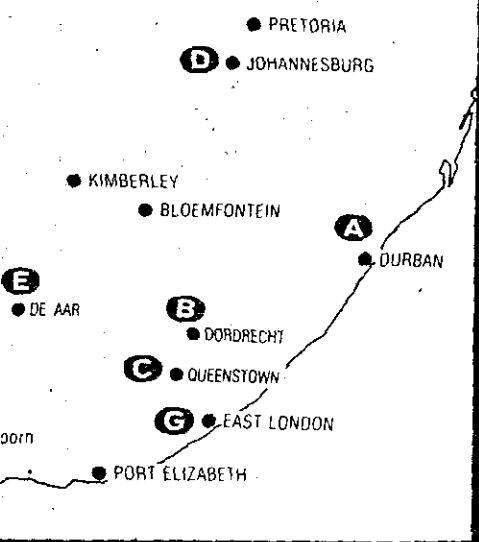
University of Cape Town
Printing Department

CAPT TINTS 1/10/85

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been issued by police for the period ending 7pm yesterday.

- A** In Umhlati near Durban, a police patrol dispersing a crowd with tearsmoke discovered the body of a black man who had been stabbed to death and whose body had then been set alight.
- E** In Dordrecht a black man was slightly wounded and detained after police dispersed stone-throwers with shotgun fire.
- C** In Queenstown, a police patrol discovered two charred bodies.
- D** In Soweto, a black man was lightly wounded and detained after police dispersed stone-throwers with birdshot and tearsmoke.
- B** In Nongakazi, police arrested a black man after police vehicles were stoned.
- F** In Wynberg, police arrested eight coloured people for an illegal procession.
- G** In Duncan Village East London, one black man was rescued by police when a group of other blacks tried to set him on fire. He is being treated in hospital.



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Aided policeman, shot

CAPT TINTS 1/10/85

11A

Staff Reporter

POLICE have arrested a 31-year-old man and recovered a firearm following an attack on an off-duty Guguletu policeman. A man who came to the policeman's aid was shot.

According to a police spokesman, the policeman was walking down NY6 in Guguletu on Saturday when two men grabbed him from behind and disarmed him.

A bystander came to his aid, scaring off the attackers who fired two

shots as they ran, hitting the bystander in the arm.

● In Worcester, Goudini Weg Primary School was gutted early yesterday morning when a classroom caught fire. The fire spread to the rest of the school.

● Veteran New Crossroads community councillor Mr Hubert Venfolo narrowly escaped injury when a hand-grenade, thrown at his home on Saturday night, exploded in the garden.

(NA) B-Day 2/10/85

Mixed reaction to Botha's PE speech

PRESIDENT P W Botha showed "total contempt" for the feeling and aspirations of blacks when he decided to include them in the President's Council, the United Democratic Front said yesterday.

Commenting on Botha's speech on Monday night in Port Elizabeth, a statement by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said: "Botha's Port Elizabeth speech is yet another indication that the Nationalist government has not learned the elementary principle of democracy, that is, not to prescribe solutions for us without our consent."

Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday that the value of a revamped President's Council with black members could still be salvaged if government were prepared to release leaders and negotiate with credible and accepted black leaders.

In a statement released in Cape Town, he said Botha's speech was "the most positive of the lot" and

should have been the first, on August 15, in Durban.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Durban yesterday that Botha's move towards including blacks in the President's Council was not a step towards power-sharing.

In a Press statement from Ulundi, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president described Botha's address as bitterly disappointing.

Soweto Civic Association chairman Nthato Motlana said yesterday that Botha gave blacks no hope for the future and his speech was "an absolute waste of time".

"Botha said too little and indicated virtually no reform," said Dan Vaughan, acting general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

"In the light of the fact that the majority of blacks want full participation in government, the President's offer of involvement in the President's Council is not much," he said.

— Sapa.

Appeal to Ciskei: stop disrupting unrest funerals

DISPATCH
C/10/01/01

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The East London Youth Congress yesterday called on the Ciskei Government to keep its police force under control and to prevent it from further disrupting funerals held for unrest victims.

In a statement, the congress secretary, Mr Samson Nube, said members of the congress had attended the funeral

of Mr Malusi Lumkwana on Saturday.

Mr Lumkwana was a member of the congress and lived in Zone 1 in Mdantsane.

"Ciskei police invaded the school premises where the funeral was held and started stamping on the mourners without provocation from them," the statement read.

"Those mourners who

were wearing khaki, as it is the East London Youth Congress's uniform, were chased away.

"Buses that were carrying mourners were emptied and people were repeatedly stampeded. Many people went to hospital with serious face and body injuries.

"We call on the Ciskei Government to control its police force and not to disrupt funerals without informing people about the gazetted instructions under which they operate," the statement ended.

The Ciskei police liaison officer, Lieutenant M. Ngwendu, said he could not comment on the statement.

He referred the statement to the NUI police station commander, Major Louis Nonhonho, for comment.

Maj Nonhonho could not be contacted yesterday.

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Mr Dennis Lehmann, president of the Institute of Personnel Management, with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Prof Jill Nattress, a University of Natal academic, at the opening of the IPM's conference in Durban yesterday.

Constitutional reform is 'only the first step'

11A 2/10/85
Mercury

Labour Reporter

KWAZULU'S Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that even if there was immediate constitutional reform which met black political aspirations, real reform would still have to come in the hearts and minds of people.

Addressing the Institute of Personnel Management's three-day conference in Durban, he said constitutional changes which black politics strived for would be the first steps in reform.

'If mining, commerce, industry and banking are to maximise the production of wealth by maximising productivity, per-

sonnel managers now will have to start thinking very much more urgently about the idiom of management in a post-liberated South Africa.

Demanding

'The reform process will be a long and demanding one and unless the period after radical constitutional changes is characterised by continued achievement-orientated reform, we could possibly end up in a vicious cycle of changing constitutional models which will be symptomatic of the inability of South African society to adapt and succeed.'

Chief Buthelezi said la-

bour and management had to face the future together.

Hitting out at the banned African National Congress, the Chief Minister and Inkatha president said the violence which erupted in the townships was not authorised by the ANC mission in exile.

Bandwagon

'They are simply jumping on a bandwagon of death and claiming an eminence on lost lives of children and black corpses. The ANC mission in exile threatens to do that which they could not do and yet people trot off to Lusaka to give it an im-

portance it does not have,' he said.

Violence was not going to author radical change in South Africa. 'It will escalate without helping to rid us of the status quo.

'Whereas the armed struggle is further from succeeding than it has ever been before, the politics of negotiation is nearer succeeding than has ever been the case before.

'I do not believe that the Government is destroying one holy Verwoerdian cow after the other because it has been intimidated into doing so by violence,' he added.

Leaders reject Botha's 'reforms'

THUMBS DOWN

Sowe fan 11A 2/10/85

BY THEMBA MOLEFE

THE State President, Mr P W Botha's announcement on including blacks in a restructured government has been rejected as contemptible, bent on entrenching ethnicity and "an absolute waste of time" by major political groups.

Opening the National Party's Cape congress in Port Elizabeth on Monday night, Mr Botha said the NP was committed to the "principle of a united South Africa, one citizenship and universal franchise".

He also said he was willing to restructure the President's Council to include blacks.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday Mr Botha's "meaningless promises and the mouting of principles such as universal franchise, and common citizenship have long ceased to fool anybody."

Franchise

"When he speaks of universal franchise," Azapo said, "Mr Botha is speaking of the vote in one's 'own homeland' or 'ethnic chamber'."

"Azapo will not rest until power is in the hands of the owners of this land," the statement said.

The publicity office of the United Democratic Front (UDF) said Mr Botha's commitment to



DR MOTLANA



DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT

the inclusion of blacks in the President's Council showed contempt for the feelings and aspirations of "our people".

"We must remind Mr Botha that the President's Council has long been rejected by us and the inclusion of a few blacks will not confer any respectability on it.

Mr Botha's speech is yet another indication that the Nationalist Government has not learnt the elementary principles of democracy. "Once again he has

reiterated that the basic demand of our people — one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa — is not negotiable," the UDF said.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu and President of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said the move towards including blacks in the President's Council was not a step towards power sharing. He described Mr Botha's speech as "bitterly disappointing".

Chief Buthelezi said the President's Council was an integral part of the tricameral Parliament which blacks had rejected.

Power

The President of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nhato Motlana, said the President's speech gave blacks no hope for the future and was "an absolute waste of time".

"We do not want to participate in time-saving devices. We do not want involvement in the President's Council," Dr Motlana said.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said the idea of allowing blacks on to a "revamped President's Council would certainly have stirred the imagination a year ago. Now is a bit of too little, too late."

In a statement released in Cape Town, Dr Slabbert said the value of a revamped President's Council with black members could still be salvaged if the Government was prepared to release detained leaders and negotiate with credible and accepted black leaders on how to restructure the President's Council.

SOWETO 11/19 2/10/85

Violence no key to reform — Buthelezi

REFORM resulted from the pressure of economic progress rather than violence, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told delegates to the International Institute of Personnel Management convention in Durban yesterday.

He said it was not the politics of violence and confrontation which were bringing about changes and the abandonment of Verwoerdian apartheid.

"Reform is the inevitable consequence of economic progress in our country," he said.

He said it was now recognised that regional economic development must defy the boundaries of apartheid.

"In KwaZulu/Natal there is now a very widespread perception that black and white are inextricably interwoven in interest and in destiny.

"However, the South African Government twists and turns, they face very active pressure to move towards power-sharing between black and white."

Chief Buthelezi said that if fundamental reforms were introduced, personnel managers would face a formidable

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

task in taking part in a social revolution which few had thought about in any depth.

He said they must address the issue of developing black supervisors and managers who would not have to abandon their communities on the ladder to success.

Commerce and industry would have to become increasingly in-

involved in neighbourhood betterment schemes.

Chief Buthelezi said supervisors and managers would have to be drawn from people recruited from lower ranks.

"We are simply going to have to have rapid industrial growth if we are going to establish an orderly society."

Community affairs administrators' conference

Govt-ANC deadlock 'a tough one'

11A
Mercury 2/10/85

African Affairs Correspondent

SAN LAMEER—The African National Congress cannot be singled out for special treatment in negotiation about the constitutional position of blacks in South Africa, says the head of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Prof Michael Hough.

At the conference of the Institute of Administrators of Community Affairs here, Prof Hough said it would obviously be

necessary to include the broadest spectrum of the black population in such negotiations.

But for the Government to enter into formal talks with the ANC while that movement, or dominating factions in the movement, chose to continue the use of violence, was unacceptable to the authorities.

It was unlikely that this deadlock would be broken easily, especially if the ANC tried to intensify its military actions. There were indications that this

was the movement's intention, he said.

If ANC violence could be pre-empted by negotiations, a case for negotiation could be argued, even if the organisation was unwilling to renounce violence prior to the negotiations.

It is, however, also true that in such circumstances, negotiating with the ANC may be viewed by that organisation as giving "legitimacy" to its acts of violence.

Similarly, negotiating with the ANC could be viewed as supplying it

with leverage during negotiations to threaten intensification of violent activities if ANC political demands are not met, or used as propaganda by the ANC to "prove" that the whites are divided and "frightened" and are therefore talking to the organisation.'

Prof Hough said the ANC concept as far as constitutional negotiations were concerned centred on a 'blueprint' for majority rule.

It was obviously also envisaged that the Free-

dom Charter would serve as an important guideline in this regard.

Immediate

He said the precondition that apartheid should be 'dismantled' before the ANC would participate in any constitutional discussions implied that the organisation was not willing to take part in any talks relating to partial or gradual black political participation.

It was intent on negotiations only if they led to an immediate transfer of

power by the Government.

This had become evident recently when Nelson Mandela, the ANC's jailed leader, had rejected any idea of a national convention.

Since the 1970s, the ANC aim of a national convention had already become subordinated to the aim of a 'seizure of power'.

Prof Hough said political solutions were obviously preferable to military ones.

But the problem was

that the Government and the ANC would probably negotiate with each other voluntarily only from a position of strength, and then only on certain issues and under certain conditions.

Boycott moves

CAPE TOWN—Pupils and students at a rally at the University of the Western Cape yesterday decided to return to school today, but not to attend classes. Instead discussions will be held on whether to continue the class boycott or not. — (Sapa)

Privatisation is the route to follow, congress told

African Affairs Correspondent

SOUTH Africa should follow the route of privatisation and deregulation 'like it needed blood', the director of Economic Affairs of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr Arthur Hammond-Tooke, said yesterday.

Mr Hammond-Tooke,

the retention of influx control, minor political accommodation and a breakdown of law and order.

Mr Hammond-Tooke said the only path for South Africa lay in the reconstruction of the economy, making sure that the country became a little more efficient.

Now South Africa

Soldiers accused of killing businessman

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Two South African national servicemen have pleaded not guilty in the Supreme Court in Windhoek to murdering an Owambo businessman during military operations near the Namibia-Angola border earlier this year.

Mr David Reed and Mr Martin Cockeran, both 19, pleaded that they had acted impulsively and instinctively when they shot Mr Sebastiaan Lukas (40) in the Okatifo district on February 4. The soldiers said they had no intention of killing Mr Lukas.

According to medical evidence put before the court, Mr Lukas was shot a number of times and his heart and liver were shot to pieces. An investigating detective told the court he had found 31 spent cartridge cases at the scene of the killing but it was possible that more shots could have been fired as the investigation began only two days after the shooting.

Statements made by the two national servicemen to a magistrate in Tsumeb after their arrest were handed in to the court. In these Mr Reed and Mr Cockeran said they had arrested Mr Lukas, a bottle store owner, and made him squat. They had walked about five paces away from their captive, turned and fired.

A policeman said in evidence that the two soldiers had appeared calm when arrested and had co-operated in the police investigation.

Police raid seven homes

Police last week raided the homes of seven members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) in Zamdela township in the Vaal Triangle.

Azapo's Southern Transvaal region vice-chairman Mr Charles Mabitsela said police confiscated various articles during the raids but no arrests were made.

A police spokesman said police "can not answer all inquiries relating to routine investigations. We therefore do not see our way clear to even inquire whether the allegations are true or not".

Mr Mabitsela said police came to his home last Thursday and took 26 items from him. He said they also took R110 in cash which was in one of his notebooks and gave him a receipt for the money.

The others raided were Mr Thabo Kgaile, Mr Philip Radebe, Mr Solly Mohapi, Mr Johannes Ramodike, Mr Malefetsadi Thobela and Mr Kgomo Maluleke.

buried tomorrow. - Sapa-Reuter.

ANC and Swapo get WCC cash

11A

GENEVA - The World Council of Churches said yesterday it had granted R550 000 this year to three black guerilla and political movements opposing the South African Government.

Half of this total, drawn from the 300-member Geneva-based Council's controversial Special Fund to Combat Racism, went to Swapo, and the ANC received R190 000.

A grant of R80 000 went to the PAC to help set up a centre in Tanzania aimed at achieving self-reliance in food production and accommodating refugees from South Africa.

The grant to Swapo was for legal aid, information work, education and helping families of killed or imprisoned Namibians.

The grant to the ANC was for humanitarian work and publicity and information, the council said.

It allotted the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) R12 500 for organisational purposes.

A further R426 000 of annual grants from the fund were shared among 33 anti-racist groups in West Europe, United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and New Caledonia. - Sapa-Reuter.

Time to go to bed
22 deg C
maximum, 27 deg C

Human rights group gives support to Tutu

An international human rights group, led by American folk singer Joan Baez, has sent an open letter to the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, expressing support for him and others who "stand with" him.

Among the signatories are Mr Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity and 1983 Nobel Peace Laureate, Atlanta mayor Mr Andrew Young, the Rev Jesse Jackson and Soviet dissident Alexander Ginzburg.

The letter was written to "express our support for you and the thousands who stand with you in the face of the monstrous oppression, cruelty and violence of the South African State".

The letter also asked the South African Government to "lay down its arms and stop the bloodbath".

Appearing as an advertisement in several newspapers this week, the letter was signed by 15 people in such far-ranging countries as the United States, the Philippines, Argentina, Korea and West Germany.

UJA STAR 2/10/85

Style trims

CAPE TOWN — Caxton (Pty) Ltd yesterday said it had dismissed the Cape editor of *Style* magazine, Miss Pam Diamond, for "economic reasons".

Commenting on a complaint by Miss Diamond that she was retrenched without severance pay, a Caxton director, Mr Chris Booyens, said her contract specified a month's notice either way. — Sapa.

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Statements by alleged ANC men inadmissible

Statements made by two alleged members of the African National Congress to magistrates have been ruled inadmissible as evidence in their Rand Supreme Court trial.

Mr Justice F Kirk-Cohen yesterday ruled that statements made to magistrates by Mr Albanos Mathhare Lesotho (26) and Mr Kingsley Stephen Sithole (26) were not admissible. *STAR*

The two men, with Mr Matthews Dime Kekane (27), have pleaded not guilty to treason and several charges under the Internal Security Act and the Terrorism Act. *2/10/85*

In a lengthy judgment at the end of a six-week trial-within-a-trial, Mr Justice Kirk-Cohen ruled that the statement made by Mr Kekane was admissible as evidence during the trial.

The trial-within-a-trial was to decide whether statements made by the three men to magistrates were admissible as evidence.

It was alleged the statements were not made voluntarily.

The State had to prove that the statement by Mr Sithole was made freely while the onus was on the defence to prove that the statements of Mr Kekane and Mr Lesotho were not made freely.

Mr Justice Kirk-Cohen said the evidence seen as a whole seemed to demonstrate the statement made by Mr Kekane was made freely and voluntarily and without undue influence.

Concerning the statement of Mr Lesotho, the judge said: "On a balance of probabilities it has been established independently the statement was not made freely and voluntarily."

The judge said the State could not prove beyond reasonable doubt that Mr Sithole may have been influenced by a policeman — the policeman concerned died in a car crash before the trial began.

The hearing was postponed to October 16.

Tutu to

call for

pressure

11A Melanby

3/10/85

London Bureau

BISHOP Desmond Tutu will urge the British Prime Minister today to bring further pressure to bear on the South African Government to end apartheid.

He will tell Mrs Thatcher South Africa is on the brink of a massive catastrophe and only 'a miracle' or effective action by the international community can remove the country from the edge of the precipice.

Bishop Tutu spoke at an international Press conference at Westminster yesterday.

He said there were three Western leaders — Mrs Thatcher, President Reagan of the United States and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany — who were 'protecting' President Botha.

He added: 'Blacks will not be unfree forever and we will remember those who helped us. I hope they (the three leaders) will realise it is in their best interests to back the right horse.'

Bishop Tutu, who will also meet Labour leader Neil Kinnock, as well as the African National Congress president Oliver Tambo while he is in London, fielded a wide range of questions on the situation in South Africa.

Asked about the selective sanctions adopted against South Africa by countries such as Australia, Bishop Tutu said there was 'room for improvement'.

'Anything that signals to blacks that the world

community cares is important.'

South Africa, he said, was a 'crazy country'. He cautioned the world community not to 'write off' all whites and he paid tribute to organisations such as the Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign, white students and even some Afrikaners.

Bishop Tutu described President Botha as a 'courageous man' and laughingly added 'I don't think he will be happy at being praised by Bishop Tutu.'

Saying he wanted to turn around an English phrase, Bishop Tutu then said it was sad that Mr Botha did not have 'the conviction of his courage'.

He dismissed the move to invite blacks to serve on the President's Council, describing the body as a 'talk shop'.

Asked about the effect of sanctions on blacks, Bishop Tutu pointed to a recent survey in the London Sunday Times which showed that 77 percent of blacks interviewed supported sanctions as a means to end apartheid.

Another recent survey in South Africa, he said, had shown that 73 percent of blacks supported sanctions.

Referring to the recent unrest in British cities, Bishop Tutu said the main difference was that in Britain, people tried to find remedies for outbreaks of urban violence.

In South Africa, he said, the primary violence was that of apartheid.



London—Bishop Desmond Tutu (left) on his arrival at Heathrow Airport, with the Bishop of Kigezi, Uganda, Dr Festo Kivengere. They are here for a meeting of archbishops and bishops of the Anglican Communion. — (Reuter)

Buthelezi lashes out at the media

11A
~~11A~~

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, this week expressed concern about what he called the frightening degree of journalistic "ANC mania" causing certain of the news media to elevate the importance of the ANC mission in exile unrealistically.

He told the International Convention of Personnel Management here that this was symptomatic of the same underlying misconception which made people like leading industrialists Mr Gavin Relly and Mr Tony Bloom "trot off to Lusaka to sip tea with the mission in exile."

Chief Buthelezi said the mission in exile had declared an armed struggle in the mid sixties and now, 20 years later, were further away from an armed victory than ever. That was not a political statement but one of fact.

The long-continuing violence in the townships was seen by some as creating the demand that the ANC mission in exile should be taken more seriously than hitherto. The media had this year been characterised by speculative writing about negotiation with them.

Violence

"Churchmen have been running off to knock on their door, and President Kaunda judged the climate very nicely when he mooted the invitation which could not be refused to South African businessmen to meet informally with the ANC mission in exile."

Sowetan 3/10/85

Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he approved of the recent meeting in Zambia. What he found objectionable was a certain kind of comment and *journalese* relating to the meeting. Freelance journalist Alastair Sparks had written, for instance, that there could be no doubt about it that the ANC had the minds and hearts of the politically awakened people in the townships and that there "can be no viable deal that excludes it."

The Chief Minister said the violence in the townships was not authored by the ANC mission in exile: They were simply "jumping on a bandwagon of death and claiming eminence from the lost lives of children and black corpses."

They had lost face because President Samora Machel was not prepared to pay the high price of continued backing of their failure to win a war against South Africa. "They are now seeking to regain that face and to be acclaimed for the violence taking place in our country."

SA on edge of catastrophe, says Bishop

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Tough action against apartheid from the West was the last option for peace in South Africa, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, said in London yesterday.

The Bishop said that South Africa was on the edge of a massive catastrophe and "either a miracle or effective intervention from the international community" was needed to prevent it.

Economic and diplomatic pressure were the last options for peaceful opposition to apartheid, a system he described as an affront to human dignity.

Bishop Tutu arrived in Britain yesterday to attend a preparato-

ry meeting for the 1988 Lambeth Conference. He is due to meet Mrs Thatcher today and may also meet Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo.

At a Press conference yesterday, the bishop said he would not reveal in detail what he wanted to say to Mrs Thatcher, but he did say: "I will tell her that we need the kind of action that will end apartheid."

PROTECTORS

He described the leaders of Britain, the United States and West Germany as the "protectors of P W Botha" but added: "Maybe we can carry through to the international community a

realisation that we are dealing with issues of life and death."

Criticising the "unilaterally conceived" reforms of the Botha Government, the Bishop said: "Mr Botha is a courageous man — that praise coming from me is probably something like a kiss of death for him — but he is courageous. The trouble is that he does not have the convictions of his courage."

"We want the abandonment of apartheid, lifting of the state of emergency, release of political prisoners, return of exiles — and then we want to talk."

Asked about violence against the South African Government, Bishop Tutu said it was seldom recognised that the primary violence in South Africa was the

violence of apartheid.

"I also want to remind you that the ANC was a non-violent organisation from 1912 to 1960," he said, "but, after being ignored by the Government, it was faced with no other option."

He said that, if he met Mr Tambo, he would "talk to him like a compatriot who is leading the major political grouping of blacks".

"I always meet the ANC when I travel abroad and I always say so when I return. If I don't say so, then the Government does when it suits them."

The Bishop said: "Anyone is crazy who thinks he can shove the ANC to the side. If there is to be meaningful change, the ANC will be crucial to it."

The politics of half-a-loaf is better than no bread have become a thing of the past

There could be many whites who do not understand why blacks are rejecting an offer by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to be included in the President's Council.

Questions, such as: "Don't they ask to have a say in the decision-making machinery of this country?" could be asked in conversations of those who think Mr Botha's offer is the best deal that blacks could have expected.

Some could be thinking that blacks are fastidious and others, that they do not know what they want. Both are wrong.

The rejection of the President's Council when it was accepted had nothing to do with whether or not blacks were included in it.

It was rejected, because it made it clear that any Government-created institution, from community councils, bantustan governments, management committees and the like, were unacceptable to blacks.

Various types of campaigns have been launched in which voters and candidates were called upon to boycott the institutions and allow them to collapse.

Those who were already serving in them, were asked to resign. Some did and others refused. Some of those who refused, have paid heavily for their refusal. They have been stoned to death. And set alight.

The survivors are living in fear for their lives. Their houses are stoned. And sometimes petrol-bombed.

Willing

Mr Botha said: "I am willing to consider the structuring and functions of the President's Council to make provisions for their participation."

The UDF saw Mr Botha's stance as highly patronising. They said Mr Botha cause blacks did not think it was going to answer their political problems — a toothless

bulldog, as Bishop Desmond Tutu described it.

Azapo and the UDF Botha showed a total contempt for the feelings and aspirations of blacks.

They asked: "How can we prescribe solutions for us without our consent or our involvement?"

PFP leader, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, rightly said that any constitutional dispensation that is proposed unilaterally, will stand no chance of acceptance among blacks.

Proposals

The President's Council will only allow blacks to make proposals to the Government. The ultimate power will still reside in the white Government.

Mr Botha said any construction would have to take into account the multicultural nature of the population and that minorities would have to be protected.

It cannot be denied that there are many cultural and ethnic differences among the people of South Africa. These differences, though no cause of friction, have been exploited and in most cases, exaggerated in an attempt to split the

Why PW's offer is rejected

FOCUS

black nation.

The differences were used to create the bantustans which have now deprived blacks of their South African citizenship. Because of such an experience, blacks will not tolerate a constitution that will draw any ethnic, racial or cultural differences.

Blacks believe that in a democratic South Africa, everybody who owes his loyalty to Africa, will be accepted as an African and treated as such.

Problems

Mr Botha has spoken of units which will be recognised on a group basis and that each group will have autonomy on matters that affect only that unit.

By units, the Government means ethnic groups. Bantustans will still be operative and blacks will exercise their political rights there. This does not take blacks any further than they have always been.

But even if it were not for the shortfalls that are inherent in Mr Botha's constitutional dispensation, he would still face serious problems in trying to sell his deal to blacks.

Nowadays, blacks are no longer questioning what the Government does, they are questioning the Government's right to do it.

And whether rightly or wrongly, they do not consider themselves to be at the mercy of the Government to allow them to determine their future role in the politics of South Africa.

What they believe to be their right to self-determination, is what they are committed to defending, even at the cost of their own lives.

The politics of half-a-loaf is better than no bread have become a thing of the past.

Judging from what has been happening in South Africa since 1976, it would seem that the National Party Govern-

ment will never satisfy the political aspirations of blacks. Not even the PFP or any other white government.

There seems to be only one mandate that Mr Botha is sure to get from Azapo, UDF, ANC and the PAC — that is to call elections at which every South African will be eligible to vote and to stand as a candidate.



PW BOTHA.

BY SAM MABE

3/11/85
IIA
Sowetan
4/10/85

XX Adopt a political prisoner, says Tutu

11A

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Bishop Desmond Tutu has suggested to Christians in Britain eager to help black South Africans that they “adopt a political prisoner”.

STAR 3/10/85

Bishop Tutu, visiting Britain to attend a preparatory meeting on the Anglican Church's 1988 Lambeth Conference, was asked yesterday what Christians here should do about conditions in South Africa.

He said they should urge their Government to “take more effective action” to get South Africa to dismantle apartheid.

And they could take other action themselves.

“They can adopt a political prisoner. Communicate with them, write to their families,” he said.

XX “People here can write to them, pray for them. They can even give them money.”



The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu (centre), who arrived in London yesterday with (left) the Bishop of Lichfield, the Rt Rev Keith Sutton, and Canon Samuel van Culin, secretary-general of the Anglican Consultative Council.

ANC rejects Botha's 'internal reform' plans

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The ANC yesterday rejected any constitutional solution based on a "multi-cultural" South Africa in its first comment on President P W Botha's "internal reform" moves.

It is also its first comment since its leaders' September 13 meeting in Zambia with top SA businessmen.

In a statement from its Lusaka headquarters, the ANC said Botha's speech to the Nationalist Party's Cape congress in Port

Elizabeth only served to confirm his commitment to the perpetuation of the apartheid system.

Predicting continued intensification of violence within SA, the ANC said Botha's plans to appoint Africans to the President's Council to discuss their own af-

fairs was an attempt to give legitimacy to an "apartheid institution".

"It is clear that all he is prepared to negotiate about are meaningless amendments of the apartheid system," said the statement.

'Millions behind Inkatha'

3/10/85

11A

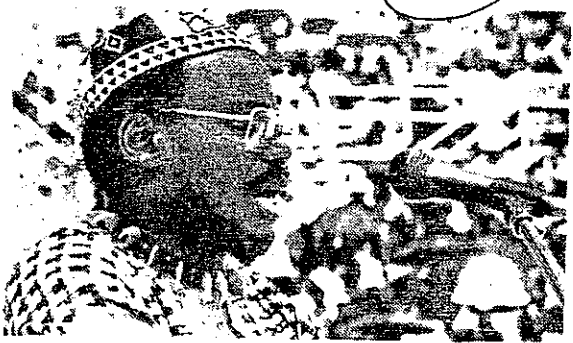
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi said at Ulundi yesterday that Inkatha was the largest black political organisation in South Africa's history.

Behind its more than a million paid-up and card-carrying members there were very substantial numbers of supporters and sympathisers.

Therefore, millions of black South Africans stood "four-square" behind him when he put forward the conditions under which real negotiations could get under way.

In addition, there was a great number of people, now embroiled in the politics of violence, who would abandon violence if there were any signs that the politics of negotiation would begin bearing fruit.

He made it clear that



CHIEF BUTHELEZI.

he was referring to real steps of reform, aimed at power-sharing between blacks and whites.

"Black South Africa is ready to support real reform," Chief Buthelezi said. "But black South Africans will die rather than live under the yoke of the new constitution

and grant, to whites, final decision-making powers in 87 percent of the country — over all its wealth and over its internal and external policies."

Chief Buthelezi said that big business had already told the Government that apartheid must be buried and it was now beginning to tell the Government that the country must move towards power sharing.

"The voice of the international business community must add to the weight of the arguments of South African businessmen, and I believe that a group like Unilever should do just this," he said.

MANUFACTURERS OF
MEN'S AND LADIES'
GENUINE LEATHER AND
SUEDE GARMENTS

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(U.A.)

The middle men

THE PROGS AND INKATHA STAKE OUT THE CENTRE

A year ago, the most vocal calls for a national convention came from the UDF. Today, with the UDF leaders either in detention or in hiding, the PFP and Inkatha have taken the initiative and staked their claim to the idea of dialogue
ANTON HARBER reports from the Convention Alliance meeting

THE plush Sandton Sun may at first glance seem an incongruous place to lay the ground for a future South Africa. In the quiet luxury of Johannesburg's newest hotel, one felt one was a long way from the rough and tumble of South African politics.

But in fact it was an appropriate place for the gathering of 150 people who took the first step towards forming a new Convention Alliance last Saturday.

On one level, the purpose of the meeting was to draw together South Africa's "moderates", those who still shared a vision of real but non-violent change towards a non-racial democracy.

The logic went like this: moderate, peace-loving South Africans were caught between escalating violence and counter-violence. They were increasingly under pressure to choose between the government and armed struggle; they could not sit on the fence.

Thus it was necessary to show there is a clear alternative to these choices; that there were still sufficient people who believed in a middle path to make it a viable vision of the future.

The purpose of the Convention Alliance, in the words of the invitation to participants, is to "bring about, by non-violent means, and in the shortest time possible, the complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation through a national convention of one constitution based on one citizenship in one country".

In short, the central purpose of the meeting was to re-establish the middle ground; to show that between repression on the one side and rebellion on the other, there lay a path of true reform; that there were still enough moderates to make a substantial joint call for a national convention; that if PW Botha couldn't find meaningful black leaders to talk to, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert could.

One could only do this in an atmosphere far from the torrid townships. One could only do it in Sandton.

Not far away, geographically

They have taken an initiative that will have to be dealt with by the government, if it is to proceed with its intentions to negotiate, and with the leftwing, once it reemerges.

They have put themselves solidly in the middle and presented an initiative that both sides will have to account for.

They have not laid out any of the details of the structure, role and financing of the Alliance.

Slabbert has said the Alliance is not in itself a convention, nor is it a political party. It did not prescribe a single policy or strategy to its members.

He envisaged the Alliance setting up a secretariat to coordinate its activities and communication between members, organising rallies and petitions and providing the country with "systematic, well-thought out agendas on how apartheid can be dismantled".

He even suggested that a Convention Hall could be set up in Cape Town to sit alongside parliament and discuss the same agenda.

The details, however, were left to a steering committee to sort out.

Ironically, this is likely to mean they are criticised for the very things for which they criticised the UDF: a vagueness, looseness and imprecision in the nature of the alliance.

Slabbert and Buthelezi have reclaimed the support of powerful English business interests and have drawn to their ranks a number of interesting personalities.

Some of those present at the launching were only there to see what happened and will not stay in the Alliance. Some will find Slabbert and Buthelezi strange bedfellows, since recent events in Durban have cast doubt on Buthelezi's moderate image.

Others are at the moment finding it easier and more apt to talk to the ANC, rather than Buthelezi.

Still others who were at the meeting will struggle to win mandates from the organisations they belong to.

Whether or not this takes us any closer to the holding of a national convention is another question



Just good friends ...Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in Sandton



of an unrest victim.

Further away, in Durban, there was ongoing violence involving groups of "impis" who were effectively clearing out radical elements from the townships. In these areas, there is unprecedented tension between Inkatha and its rivals in black politics.

All of this was a long way from Sandton, where Inkatha cemented a new and crucial link with the PFP.

Perhaps this isolation proved that it was still possible to hold reasonable dialogue, despite the conflict in the country; that there was still hope.

On the other hand, perhaps it proved that what was taking place was an exercise in idealism.

It is difficult, however, to associate idealism with the two hardened politicians who convened this meeting, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Gatsha Buthelezi.

That is why one has to see another dimension to the Convention Alliance. At this level, it was not just the creation of a middle ground. It was Slabbert and Buthelezi staking out the area for themselves.

A year ago, the most vocal call for a national convention came from the United Democratic Front.

The Progressive Federal Party was still trying to recover from its poor showing in the constitutional



...while, in Lusaka, the previous week, Oliver Tambo of the ANC and Gavin Relly of Anglo American tried their own set of talks.



Pictures by Wendy Schwegmann, Reuters, and Peter Auf de Heyde, Afrapix.

referendum. It had lost the support of many businessmen and many reformists to the National Party and was trying to reassert itself as the primary party of real reform.

Since then, a State of Emergency has been declared and the United Democratic Front is in disarray. Its leaders and activists are in detention, on trial or in hiding.

Ongoing unrest and international pressure have thrown the rightwing into uncertainty and its reform initiatives have largely collapsed. It is struggling to re-establish a sense of direction.

The PFP made a decision at a Federal Council meeting earlier this year to position itself, broadly speaking, as the party that holds the middle ground between the left and rightwing.

At the time, Slabbert made a public offer to act as a mediator between the government and the ANC. More

generally, he has been looking to expand his constituency and show he is the one man with enough credibility with both the left and rightwing to act as a middle-man.

Recently, at its national congress, the PFP took a tentative step towards entering the coloured and Indian houses of parliament. This was done to strong protests from the leftwing, both inside and outside the party.

The PFP decision was a signal that its future lay in the middle ground, not in treating with the UDF or in extra-parliamentary activity.

Inkatha has in recent months ruled out talking to PW Botha, until he meets certain preconditions. It has done battle with the UDF and lost whatever chance there ever was of treating with the UDF or ANC in the foreseeable future.

A previous Inkatha attempt to stake out the moderate centre, in the form of the SA Black Alliance, was severely

weakened by the expulsion of the Labour Party three years ago.

Now these two forces have come together to claim jointly the middle ground.

If one looks at it positively, it was an act of superb timing, coming at a time when the leftwing was in disarray and the rightwing was directionless. Everyone was looking for a lead, and Slabbert and Buthelezi stepped forward and provided it.

If one looks at it cynically, then it was an act of political opportunism: Slabbert and Buthelezi were taking advantage of the suppression of the UDF to stake out the ground for themselves.

Whichever way one looks at it, it was an extremely important and skillful act on their part. Both Slabbert and Buthelezi have extended their constituencies and have reclaimed the centre.

about their chances of bringing it about in the short or even the medium term.

The middle ground is not firm.

For those to the left and right of Slabbert and Buthelezi, it is probably going to be treated as a declaration of war.

The UDF has already issued strong words about recent PFP decisions, saying the PFP will be rejected "with the same venom" as the Labour Party, the NPP and Solidarity if they participate in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament.

The only genuine road to non-racialism, the UDF said, was through active democratic struggle with the majority.

A strongly-worded statement from the ANC Information Department attacked Buthelezi and Slabbert and said that it was idle to hope for a national convention in the present climate.

"In view of the fact that the Botha regime has clearly and unequivocally said it is against a system of one person one vote in a united South Africa, it is idle to hold out the perspective of a convention with this regime.

"There is only one way forward. We must and will crush the apartheid regime between the hammer of armed action and the anvil of mass struggle. There is no middle road," the ANC said.

The real chances, therefore, of the PFP and Inkatha bringing together the poles of South Africa politics are minimal.

The Alliance has not brought us any closer to a national convention, nor is it likely to do so in the foreseeable future. What it has done is solidified the middle ground and put it firmly in the hands of Slabbert and Buthelezi.

However, they are likely to find that, outside of Sandton, the only middle ground that still exists is the no-man's-land between police armed with shotguns and youths armed with stones.

And, if they want to hold on to the middle ground they claim, they will need to take the Alliance out of Sandton and into the townships.

NO NATIONAL CONVENTION WITHOUT EQUALITY, SAYS ANC

A NATIONAL convention is very far from the minds of the members of the African National Congress at the moment.

They, like others, have been reminded of it by the campaign for a convention being led by the PFP, Inkatha and some business leaders. And, having been reminded of it, ANC members clearly have an understanding of the timing, role and content of a national convention which is wholly different from that currently being peddled.

Interviews with a number of ranking ANC sources this week revealed that the ANC rejects the

By Howard Barrell
Harare

notion that a national convention is the means by which to dismantle apartheid.

Instead, the ANC considers that apartheid must have been either totally destroyed or dismantled, and a situation of democracy must exist, before any national convention can be held.

"You can't have a national convention between oppressed and oppressor. A national convention can be held only when we have a situation

of democracy, free political activity and equality," one source said this week.

"We have a situation now where the battle lines have been drawn, not by our own choosing, but by the State.

"How can you hold a national convention, or even hold out the prospect of one, at a time when there is a state of emergency, when people are on trial for treason for their opposition to apartheid, when people are being shot in the streets?

"Clearly, you cannot," the ANC source said.

Responding to the PFP-Inkatha national convention moves, a third

ANC source said the outlawed movement rejected attempts by "self-appointed bigwigs like the Buthelezis and Hendrickses, elitists, or American and British manipulations to cobble together settlements of the fate of the country over the heads of the people."

"As far as the people are concerned, the PFP's flirtation with Buthelezi is the kiss of death. They should rather keep their options open for the future, which is going to be settled by truly democratic forces.

"Slabbert should be able to understand that anything Buthelezi touches is discredited in the eyes of the people," the source said.

and counter-violence. They are increasingly under pressure to choose between the government and armed struggle; they could not sit on the fence.

Thus it was necessary to show there is a clear alternative to these choices; that there were still sufficient people who believed in a middle path to make it a viable vision of the future.

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Not far away, geographically speaking, in Soweto, youths and police were clashing yet again at the funeral of an unrest victim.

Further away, in Durban, there was ongoing violence involving groups of "impis" who were effectively clearing out radical elements from the townships. In these areas, there is unprecedented tension between Inkatha and its rivals in black politics.

All of this was a long way from Sandton, where Inkatha cemented a new and crucial link with the PFP.

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On the other hand, perhaps it proved that what was taking place was an exercise in idealism.

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Ongoing unrest and international

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Still others who were at the meeting will struggle to win mandates from the organisations they belong to.

Whether or not this takes us any closer to the holding of a national convention is another question entirely. Both leaders were hesitant about their chances of bringing it about in the short or even the medium term.

The middle ground is not firm. For those to the left and right of Slabbert and Buthelezi, it is probably going to be treated as a declaration of war.

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LETTERS

(11A)

The Nelson Mandela I know: By his minister

NELSON MANDELA is a man about whom men debate. Some say he is good, and some say he is bad, violent and a communist. I believe that I have something of value to say on the subject.

I am a Methodist Minister and I am a Methodist spiritual worker to prisoners in Pollsmoor Prison, just outside Cape Town. I have thus been Minister and Pastor to Nelson Mandela ever since his transfer to Pollsmoor Prison from Robben Island. I have got to know the man well, and what I know of the man, as I have ministered to him and been ministered to by him, I must share with the people of South Africa.

I have regularly administered the sacrament of Holy Communion to

Nelson Mandela. I did so the day before yesterday. On that occasion, he spent some time in meditation — meditating on the tension that Jesus must have felt in Gethsemane, knowing that he was to be arrested and killed. His meditation led him to the thought that in South Africa most of those who are arrested do not have that level of tension.

There is a wellknown Christian booklet of daily scripture readings and meditation called "Faith for Daily Living". Nelson Mandela looks forward to receiving his copy of it. It is an important part of his daily life.

I do know that Nelson Mandela appreciates all the good wishes people send to him. He also respects the men who have been appointed to guard him

in prison. He gets on well with them.

Is he a communist? He is a nationalist, I know. I do not believe that he is a communist. He would probably admit that he is influenced by some of the teachings of Marx; but then those who would condemn him for that should bear in mind that much of Marx's teachings is not exclusive to communism. The man Mandela that I know just cannot be a communist.

I have written this letter because I believe the people of our country ought to know something about the man. What I have written is not what has been reported to me by others. It is my own personal knowledge of the man, Nelson Mandela. — Rev

Dudley A Moore.

BUSINESSES are taking a knock from township residents' latest and most effective weapon — the withholding of black buying power from white shops.

The growing black consumer boycott, seriously affecting the unrest-torn Eastern Cape, is 100% effective in the small town of Queenstown, near the Transkei border.

It began on August 12 to back up demands for the upgrading of Mlungisi, Queenstown's black township. It was introduced against white businesses, but also affects some coloured and Indian businesses.

All but one of the boycott's organisers have disappeared or been detained, and the community is adamant that they will not reassess the situation until these detainees are released.

White businesses have been forced to open for shorter hours or reduce wages and dismiss employees.

"The Boycott Committee, which was later renamed the Residents' Ad Hoc Committee,

11A B. Day 3/10/85

Queenstown suffers as boycott grows

identified five Queenstown business houses — three of them white-owned — from which blacks could buy," town clerk Peter Gerber told Sapa.

"If people are found with parcels not from the five approved outlets, they are forced to drink sewerage water, or soap powder and water, or a mixture of both. Some people are set alight, others are beaten up," he said.

Gerber said the Residents' Ad Hoc Committee had refused to negotiate with the white Businessmen's Liaison Committee, which was set up specifically to deal with the problem.

Despite an agreement by the government to plough about R15,7m into upgrading the township not later than March next year, the boycott continues.

White businessmen now feel the refusal to end the boycott — which should have stopped once the demands were met — showed that the committee had allied their demands with the wider political issues in the country.

"In all, the government has undertaken to spend R31,9m on the township within the next three years. All grievances have been, or are in the process of, being met, but the situation continues," Gerber said.

Businessmen said they found it difficult to negotiate with the committee's anonymous and elusive members.

One of the reasons for the committee's anonymity, according to a Queenstown journalist, was the danger of security police detention. As soon as a community leader is identified, he is

almost certainly picked up by the police.

The only functioning member of the ad hoc committee, Vusumzi Mjila, was released from detention on Tuesday.

He told Sapa the rest of the ad hoc committee — he could not give a total figure — had either disappeared or been detained under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

Asked why the boycott continued despite the government's undertakings, Mjila said the situation would be reassessed only when the committee's detained members were released.

Even if it were to stop tomorrow, the town's commerce will take some time to recover. The town clerk believes the end result will be "an unpleasant and ugly scene, with lots of people laid off and unemployed". — Sapa.

SA Consulate

road named

Mandela

3/10/85

The Star's Foreign News Service 11A

GLASGOW — The road housing the South African Consulate here is to be renamed after Nelson Mandela.

The decision by the Labour-controlled council has embarrassed and angered the Consul General, Dr Sandy Shaw, who says the consulate may use a box number rather than the street address.

"The move is not a tribute to Nelson Mandela but is designed to get at the consulate," he said.

STAR MOVE CONDEMNED

The street is at present known as St George's Place. It houses both the South African Consulate and the Stock Exchange.

Labour councillors say the name change is to honour the jailed South African rebel leader. Conservative Party councillors have condemned the move.

Dr Shaw said: "The Glasgow council has a policy of opposing the South African Government whenever possible. They are quite open about this. This latest move is just one more manifestation of that policy."

It is the first time in many years that the name of a street in Glasgow has been changed. City councillors recently turned down a plan to honour the centenary of famous Scottish comedian Will Fyffe, the man who gave the world the song "I belong to Glasgow".

The South African Government may order the consulate to move to another address.

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RATS &
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Police curbs on T'kei funeral

Dispatch Reporter
UMTATA — The Transkei Police have put a blanket ban on the funeral of an Ezibeleni resident who died in South Africa.

The funeral of Mr Mvuyo Batyi was to have

been held at the Ezibeleni cemetery this weekend. DISPATCH

Transkei's Commissioner of Police, General Robilliard Mantanga, issued a statement banning the weekend funeral proceedings. OALIB

Gen Mantanga said the ban was to maintain law and order in Transkei. He directed that the funeral could be held on any day of the week except Fridays, Saturdays or Sundays.

The notice was served on the Batyi family at Ezibeleni.

The order further ruled:

- Only an ordained minister of religion may act as a speaker during the funeral.
- The minister may not speak about politics, any boycott action, the state of emergency or any action taken by the security forces.
- No flags, placards, pamphlets or posters may be displayed or distributed.
- People from Mlungisi township, Queenstown, as well as the district of Queenstown, who are not related to the bereaved family are prohibited from attending the funeral.

Rosholt award

EAST LONDON — The 1985 Rosholt Fellowship in Journalism has been awarded to Mr Louis Raubenheimer of the SABC.

He is the first Afrikaans journalist and the first public affairs commentator to win the award.

The Fellowship was established by Barlow Rand in 1981. It is aimed at assisting executive journalists in mid-career to enhance their understanding and reporting of complex economic, business and public affairs issues.

Mr Raubenheimer will spend 10 weeks at Oxford University's Centre for Management Studies and will follow this with a two week sabbatical in the US. — DDC

LE VALUE

THIS LOW PRICE
INCLUDES
THIS MATCH

district

scheduled elections

04/10/85 (11A) 
250 youths in court

DISPATCH

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A total of 250 youths, mostly pupils, appeared in the magistrate's court here in two separate cases of attending an illegal gathering.

They were arrested after the funeral of an ex-Robben Island prisoner, Mr Joe Gentse, on Monday.

In the first case, 114 youths appeared. Those who were 17 and under were released into the custody of their parents

and those 18 and over were granted R40 bail.

Their attorney, Mr T. M. Mdlalana, asked the court to record visible injuries on those who allegedly sustained them while in police custody. Some had injuries on their faces and body.

The case was postponed to October 25.

In the second case 250 people faced the same charges. Their case was postponed to today. — DDR

7 shots fired as victim lay on ground

Capt. Tim...
4/10/85
119
103
304

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Seven of the eight shots fired at a 22-year-old former University of Transkei (Unitra) law student who was shot dead, allegedly by police, in Cala, Transkei, last week, were fired as he lay on his side on the ground, a post-mortem has shown.

A private pathologist who attended a post-mortem conducted on the body of Mr Batandwa Ndondo in Umtata yesterday on behalf of the victim's family, also said that the first shot fired at Mr Ndondo had been the one which led to his death.

This was disclosed by Mr Xola Petse, an attorney representing Mr Ndondo's family.

He said the finding that seven of the eight shots had been fired at Mr Ndondo as he lay on the ground was consistent with affidavits from a number of witnesses who had stated that Mr Ndondo was on the ground for part of the time that shots were fired at him.

Last week Transkei's CID head, General D G Nkalitshana, told the Eastern Province Herald that a murder docket had been opened. He confirmed that police had been involved in the shooting incident.

Mr Ndondo was fetched from his Cala home on Tuesday last week by a group of people. A short while later, he was shot dead.

A witness to the shooting who asked why Mr Ndondo was being shot

was allegedly told that it was because Mr Ndondo was a terrorist.

His brother, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, a Transkei attorney and former political prisoner, claimed last night that he and his family had been hounded by the police ever since his death.

Raided

The house of another brother, Mr Lungisile Ntsebeza, also a former political prisoner, was raided by police on Wednesday morning and two family friends at the house were detained.

Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza said last night that police were looking for his brother, and a security policeman had personally told him that he would also be detained in connection with trouble at Unitra.

CAPE TOWN 4/10/85 (1111) 10/2

Buthelezi labels impi claims 'mischievous'

By CHRIS BATEMAN
THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday angrily labelled allegations that "Inkatha

impis" were being used to quell unrest in the Peninsula as "mischievous in the extreme".

His reaction follows confirmation that Zulu-speaking policemen are being used to contain unrest in the Peninsula and allegations by township residents that the contingent is an "Inkatha impi".

Speaking from Ulundi yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said: "If it is true that Zulu policemen are hand-picked to police the riot-torn areas, then I must condemn this as mischievous in the extreme... It is a deliberate mischief promoted by those who wish to discredit me politically to say that the policemen come from KwaZulu."

Ignorance

By MARTIN STRYDOM

of black of

'Oppression' condemned

(IA) (20)

K-Post 05/10/88

MANY South African whites have never been into a black township in their lives, says the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Bruce Evans, and herein lies the basis of their ignorance of the black situation.

The bishop was expanding on a view expressed in his recent letter to his diocese that white ignorance of the "extent of oppression under which black people live is unbelievable".

He said he entertained overseas visitors who in one day knew more about the townships, because they visited them, than some white people who had lived in PE all their lives.

"Whites are not ignorant by choice, but it is an ignorance that has been thrust upon them by a system that is determined to do that.

"Many whites have never sat down and talked to some of these people who are in the townships — people who have to put up with Caspirs going down their streets every night and waking them up; people who live within the sound of gunfire; with soldiers and policemen banging on their doors at 3am; where doors are smashed in and teenagers hunted; where people are being pulled out of their houses and arrested — eight and 10-year-olds arrested and taken in."

To appreciate this situation "you have to be there", he said.

Many white people he talked to were not even aware that the vast majority of people lived in townships without sewerage and in older townships without electricity or running water.

"These are the normal situations — without the state of emergency."

Whites did not know about the increasing anger within the young black person who did not need agitators to stir him up.

"The very system itself has so politicised him and angered him that the increasing hatred towards white people is becoming quite frightening."

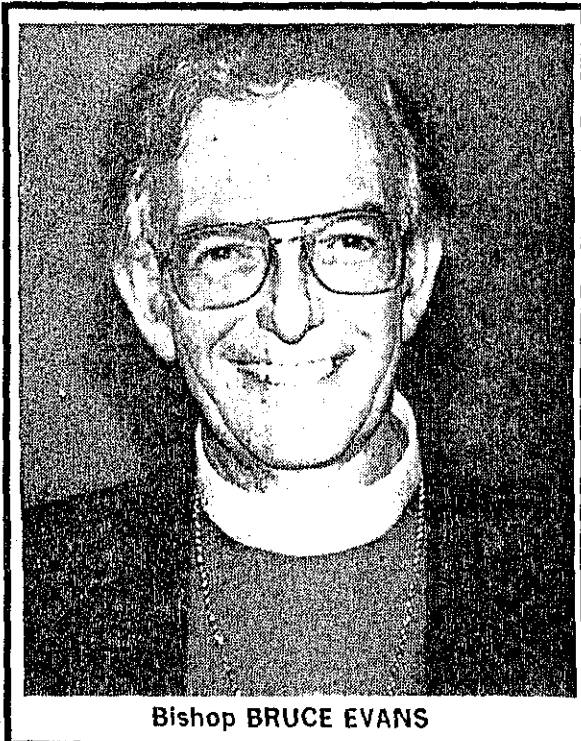
The presence of the military and young white soldiers was destroying the very area where one would hope there would be some kind of *rapprochement* between white and black, and that was between young people.

"Many of the young black people I speak to — and I mean not just a few, but hundreds — are so angered that there is an antipathy towards young white people that is becoming a frightening factor of life."

Even older people were also showing anger in a way that he had not known before and there was a dissipation of black goodwill as a result of the state of emergency.

One question he said he encountered most from whites was: "Why don't they go to school?"

"They don't go to school because they want an equal, fair, common and central education system, and not the education that they have been having which has not pre-



Bishop BRUCE EVANS

"Whites don't seem to realise how deeply a black person feels the discrimination in education and also the intense frustration young blacks suffer when their people and leaders are detained and banned.

"The only way to work off the frustration is in a violent way and the focus will be education, because that is where their first antipathy lies. So schools burn."

It was also not true to say whites supply blacks with schools, he said.

"They have supplied them themselves. They pay taxes too. Until recently blacks paid proportionally higher taxes than whites. And they pay GST, and fuel tax, and income tax just like whites do."

But the real essence of the ignorance among whites, he said, was that they did not want to know.

"It's far more comfortable not to know. It's so strange if you live in an affluent situation with luxury, you don't want to know what's going on.

"It breaks into your life. Your whole lifestyle is affected by it and who wants that?"

They were also unaware of the fear among older black people, not only of the situation but also for their children.

"Many are horrified by some of the things that are happening. But they understand that if black people are collaborating with a system they see as demonic — there will be consequences.

"They are horrified by the consequences and frightened themselves. A lot of black people are frightened, not of the army, but because of what is happening in the townships."

He also said whites were ignorant of the breadth of the political knowledge and awareness among black people, specially young people, "and their total rejection of the present system".

"So that any talk of reform is a non-subject for them because it is all part of the system which is hated and rejected and seen to be evil.

"It is seen as a crime against humanity, never mind against the South African factor."

Any reforms are useless as far as they are concerned unless there is a dismantling of the system of apartheid first, he said.

pared them for a modern 20th century technological society."

He said for anyone to say the education system was equal was to be naive or deceitful.

"There's no way someone can say they have the same education when the State spends six or seven times as much on a white child as it does on a black child.

"Education is not just school books, it's a system, and the only way for equal education is when you've got a common system where people share together in the same facilities.

Apartheid must go, says Slabbert

CAPE TOWN — Apartheid could not be reformed, it could only be destroyed, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, told a fundraising rally in Cape Town's city hall last night.

He said the apartheid system, in its various political, social and economic manifestations, was the root cause of the conflict in South Africa.

Pious commitment

"By its very nature apartheid has to use force to keep it going. This heightens the potential for conflict and the people affected by apartheid resort to violence to counteract it," he said.

"No amount of pious commitment to reform or babble about the need for negotiation would convince those who suffered be-

cause of apartheid to take the Government seriously if it were not prepared to dismantle the system entirely," he said.

Dr Slabbert said reform could not mean incremental adjustments to the apartheid system, the negotiation of a new position in the old apartheid structures or vague and ambiguous rhetorical noises about reform, citizenship and universal suffrage at party congresses.

"Reform means to get rid of apartheid completely and finally and then to negotiate a new and democratic alternative. To insist on negotiation while apartheid remains is contradictory in terms," he said.

It was also contradictory for the State President, Mr P W Botha, to:

● Speak of reform but insist that the Group Areas Act was non-negotiable.

● Scrap the Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act and Political Interferences Act but keep the Population Registration Act.

● Say he wished to negotiate with democratically elected leaders but then ban organisations, prohibit meetings and detain and jail political leaders without trial.

"To do these things and still talk about reform is to discredit reform and the politics of negotiation and to reinforce the idea that apartheid is essentially non-negotiable for this Government."

Bogged down

Dr Slabbert said he had come to the conclusion that the Government was bogged down by the structures of the past and was "milling around with the paradoxes and inconsistencies" these structure had created.

"Because of this the potential for escalating violence, the violence of repression and revolt, grows by the day."

Dr Slabbert also criticised Mr Botha's comment that to talk to the ANC was unwise and disloyal on the grounds that the ANC was violent and contained communists.

He said the Government, when it chose to, supported the violence of the MNR and Unita and had agreed to the Nkomati Accord with a communist government.

"I believe it is time the Government stopped this double-talk. If it does not want interference from outside South Africa it must not interfere internally with neighbouring countries.

"If it can release Toivo ja Toivo unconditionally, why can it not do so to Nelson Mandela?"

"I will talk to any organisation or group that can play a role in bringing about peace," Dr Slabbert said. — Sapa.

ANC terms for talks with Govt spelled out

The African National Congress would be prepared to talk to the Government if statutory apartheid were dismantled, if it were allowed to organise freely in South Africa and if its jailed leaders were released, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

Speaking on SABC-TV's "Netwerk", the leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party said what was fundamental to breaking the political deadlock in South Africa was the restoration of the individual's right of free association.

In a joint statement issued after their historic meeting, the ANC and the PFP called for the release of all political prisoners, and the dismantling of apartheid.

Dr Slabbert said last night it would be presumptuous for him to name the political prisoners who should be released.

The names of Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki were those most frequently publicised, he said.

All three are well known as executive members of the ANC who were jailed for life after the Rivonia Trial. Mandela was president of the ANC, Sisulu secretary-general, and Govan Mbeki was an executive member and the father of present information director, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

What is ANC up to — where is it headed?

11A STAR 7/10/85

Organising a delegate conference on a scale of the proceedings at Kabwe is a complex operation for the ANC. The logistical problems are formidable.

Its external bureaucracy and membership is distributed over 20 countries and quite apart from the business of bringing together representatives from all these centres there is also the difficulty of ensuring that people from the ANC's internal South African organisation can attend such a gathering.

As yet there have been no public revelations concerning the debates and arguments that took place.

What seems fairly certain, though, from the decisions that have been announced and publicised is that the underlying mood of the conference reflected a high level of morale among its participants and a general feeling of unity over essentials.

The resolutions adopted at Kabwe fall into three categories: those that define the movement's political orientation, those that indicate strategic intentions and those that concern internal organisational matters.

The political resolutions did not include any radical departures from previous policy.

The only political decision that involved a break with ANC tradition was the move to admit whites and coloureds to the "internal" ANC and to positions on the national executive. "Non-Africans" had been able to join the external movement from 1969 but had been excluded from the executive.

In dropping its racial barriers to

full membership the ANC was formalising what was already becoming a practice and also was responding to the ascendancy of "non-racialism" in the black mass organisations inside South Africa.

Concerning foreign capitalist involvement in South Africa it was clear the ANC's view is influenced chiefly by what it sees as strategically desirable rather than any fixed ideological perspective.

Hence, though it supports disinvestment and has warned that South African subsidiaries of foreign corporations could become targets for guerilla saboteurs, ANC leaders have in the recent past made it clear that they are not opposed in principle to the concept of foreign capitalist investment in the South African economy.

If one takes into consideration the crescendo of hostility in the United States to apartheid, it is likely that the ANC will attempt to expand its popular influence in America.

If it is successful in doing so, the ANC's leadership will have a strong motive for remaining fairly pragmatic in its commitment to socialist principles.

The main source of radical pressure or influence on the ANC leadership does not come either from Eastern bloc allies or, as is often asserted, from its members who are also communists.

Black people understand their oppression not simply in terms of race but as a domination of class as well.

If in the future the ANC shifts to the left in its social and economic prescriptions this will not be the result of any kind of manipulation

In June this year, the African National Congress held its second major delegate conference in Kabwe, Zambia. The first national consultative conference, as they are known, was held at Morogoro in Tanzania in 1969. Just what are the ANC's aims and aspirations. It would be wrong to depict the ANC simply as a component of the global strategy of "international communism". Such an assessment should not be accepted uncritically in South Africa, writes TOM LODGE in an article in a South Africa Foundation publication, *SA International* (vol 16 no 2, October 1985). In the article Mr Lodge, senior lecturer in political studies at Wits University, takes a look at the recent consultative conference in Kabwe. This is the first of two articles from an edited version of his analysis.

of the movement by communists; it will rather be a reflection of the wider political culture of which it is part.

Regarding the question of the ANC's broader military strategy the delegates at Kabwe resolved in favour of "People's War", a concept that had already for some time been under discussion in ANC and South African Communist Party journals.

This essentially comprises the broadening out of the base of guerilla operations with the recruitment of an army of "part-time" guerillas who would operate within their normal home areas.

They would be provided with basic training through short courses in the use of simple weaponry and explosive devices, and would concentrate their activity at this stage on attacking the representatives of apartheid political institutions and the forces of law and order within their communities:

This would achieve three objectives:

- It would lessen the ANC's dependence on the flow of logistical

support and manpower across South Africa's frontiers;

- It would deepen the popular roots of its struggle and broaden the base of its disciplined following;

- It would make a very significant erosion in the capacity of the South African state to govern black communities effectively.

It should also be pointed out that as the main targets for people's war are in residential areas the economy could emerge in the aftermath of an ANC victory relatively unscathed.

Indeed, as the ANC foresees that victory as being immediately preceded by massive industrial stoppages, it is unlikely that guerilla violence will be directed at significantly curtailing industrial production.

In the next phase of its struggle then, the ANC's priorities will be organisational rather than military. "Soft targets" notwithstanding, it is unlikely that guerilla violence will be raised significantly.

ANC activity will probably be less conspicuously evident as the task of transforming its massive informal following into a disciplined adherence gets under way.

VIOLENT SOLUTION CLOSE, SAYS TUTU

LONDON — Bishop Desmond Tutu warned yesterday that the prospect of a violent solution to South Africa's system of apartheid is "very, very close," unless the international community backs economic sanctions.

SOWETO
The Nobel Peace Prize winner also warned in an interview on Independent Television's Channel 4, that he could lose his credibility with young blacks if the international community did not put economic pressure on South Africa to make political reforms.

7/10/85
Bishop Tutu said he opposed the violence of the South African system and the violence used by those seeking to overthrow it but, he added:

"I am aware as a man of peace, not a pacifist, that there may come a time, and we are very, very close perhaps to that time, when we will

have to say that the lesser of the two evils is to overthrow this unjust system."

Refused

Bishop Tutu, who was in London last week, said he urged the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, during talks last Thursday to impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

He said he told her: "If the unrest in South Africa continues then your investments are even more insecure and you might end up losing virtually everything you have, whereas if you were to assist in the transition from a vicious situation . . . to a more equitable one, then you are more likely to be able to get more prosperity in the long term."

Mrs Thatcher has refused to impose economic sanctions saying they don't work and would in any event hurt blacks the most.

standing ovation for Allan Boesak

CAPPE Times 2/10/85 11A

LONG as the present government was in power there would be no change in South Africa, said United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak told more than 3,000 people at a special prayer meeting at his church in Bellville yesterday.

The congregation filled the church, the parish hall and a specially erected marquee overflowing and gave Dr Boesak a standing ovation when he walked to the pulpit. The service was also addressed by the general secretary of the

South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, who said that if those with clarity of vision, such as Dr Boesak, were jailed and denied the opportunity to make a contribution to solving South Africa's problems, there could be no justice.

"To those who are imprisoned we say, be encouraged, the day of liberation is near," he said.

Dr Naude asked whether a country which "killed, arrested, detained and flogged" its people could be called a nation under God's guidance.

Ovation

Dr Boesak had to stop talking several times during his address as the congregation interrupted him with applause.

At the end he was given another standing ovation, accompanied by chants of "Boesak, Boesak".

A UDF executive member, Mr Trevor Manuel, who has been in hiding for several weeks for fear of possible arrest, said the UDF would continue the struggle for the dismantling of apartheid.

Governable

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, should not tell "half-truths" by saying the UDF wanted to make the country ungovernable.

"We are struggling for a situation in which the country is governable — by the people," he said to thunderous applause. — Sapa

"Once you begin to undermine a society by denying truth, by subverting it, you pave the way for its total destruction," Dr Naude said.

Dr Boesak told the congregation that the government had not wanted to ban him "because that would look bad".

Instead it had made up a "banning order" in the form of stringent bail regulations set at his recent court appearance which prohibited him from, among other things, addressing any gathering other than church services.

"They think the voice of peace, justice and liberation has been stilled," he said.

'Not my voice'

"But it's not my voice they're trying to silence. It's the voice of the Almighty God, and that will not be silenced."

No one, said Dr Boesak, should believe that the crisis in the country was brought on by children, by trade unionists or by the UDF.

These were the lies and propaganda without which no unjust government could survive.

"The chaos in this country is the result of a policy of a government that is cruel and inhuman, and as long as this government is in power, our society, our land, will be in chaos."



United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak is carried shoulder-high by well-wishers after a special prayer meeting attended by 3 000 people at his Bellville church yesterday.

HARARE — Zimbabwe is being considered as the location for a major political film on Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko and the exiled South African newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods.

The film is to be directed by award-winning film-maker Sir Richard Attenborough.

As yet it is untitled and is in its "very formative stages", the co-producer, Mr Terry Clegg, said in

Zimbabwe may be site of Biko film

an interview published in Harare at the weekend.

"We are strongly considering making it here and if we do it will be in March/April for release by Christmas 1986,"

He arrived in Zimbabwe a week ago to assess locations and facilities and hold talks on the subject. He is expected to

meet the Minister of Information, Dr Nathan Shamuyarir, this week.

Sir Richard, director of the Oscar-winning "Gandhi", was planning to visit Zimbabwe soon, Mr Clegg said.

Kenya was also being considered for the film and, after comparisons had been made, the final

decision would be announced, probably in November.

No budget had yet been agreed for the film. The script was being prepared by Mr John Briley, who wrote the script for "Gandhi", and most of the same production team would be used.

"It will be done in the

same manner and be of the same top quality as 'Gandhi'."

Mr Clegg said it was unlikely that big-name stars would be approached to take the roles of Mr Biko, who died in South African police custody, and Mr Woods, the former editor of the East London *Daily*

Dispatch, who was a close friend of Mr Biko and went into exile when facing arrest for his anti-apartheid activities.

The new film was envisaged as a "political thriller" with special relevance to the present situation in Southern Africa, he said.

Factors in Zimbabwe's

favour included its understanding of conditions in South Africa, its political status in the region and the international regard in which the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, was held over Southern African issues, said Mr Clegg.

"Zimbabwe is a sympathetic country with a feeling for the subject. We can expect a great degree of co-operation." — Sapa.

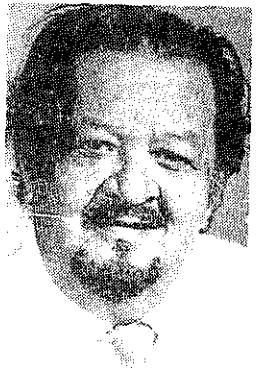
'Concept proposed in 1980 and did not work'

Hendrickse slams alliance bid and PFP

7/10/85

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Mr Allan Hendrickse

UITENHAGE — The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday attacked the Progressive Federal Party and described the proposed Convention Alliance sponsored by the PFP and Inkatha as being "still-born".

Addressing a rally in Uitenhage, Mr Hendrickse said the concept of a Convention Alliance had been proposed at the Labour Party congress in December 1980.

The congress, he said, had been attended by representatives of the Labour Party, the PFP, Black Sash, Inkatha, Transvaal Indian Con-

gress and the Black Consciousness Movement.

"It did not last a year because of the differences in strategy," he said.

In 1968, when the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was passed, the then Progressive

Party had thrown out coloured and Indian members, he said.

He said Labour Party MPs who had been members of the Progressive Party were told when the Act was passed: "Sorry, but you'll have to go."

The PFP, he said, had

criticised the Labour Party decision to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

Now, the PFP had decided to participate.

Mr Hendrickse also attacked churchmen for calling for a stayaway from work on Wednesday

He said the church had to play a role in finding solutions to the country's problems — "but solutions do not lie in making differences".

Mr Hendrickse also stressed the Labour Party wanted to say loudly and emphatically: "To hell with the Group Areas Act."

His statement comes in the wake of a declaration by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that the principle of group areas was a non-negotiable.

Dismissing what he described as the "narrow channeling of people", Mr Hendrickse said: "Either we must learn to live together as people or perish as fools." — Sapa.

Vow to restore order in schools

PORT ELIZABETH — The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, told the Eastern Cape congress of the Labour Party yesterday he would continue to take a hard line in order to re-establish law and order in schools.

And the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, came out in support of Mr Ebrahim, saying the decision to close schools in the Peninsula had not been a "unilateral one"

but had been taken after consultation with leaders of the United Teachers' Association of South Africa.

"Can we sit back when the majority of children who want to go to school are being intimidated? Can we allow our children to be injured?" he asked.

Refuting allegations that he had acted in a "draconian manner", Mr Ebrahim said he would continue to speak out until absolute discipline had been restored. — Sapa.

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — A Dutch Reformed Church, three schools and several houses in Ciskei were damaged after petrol bombs were thrown at them over the weekend.

Ciskei's police liaison officer, Lieutenant Mavuso Ngwendu, said yesterday two of the houses belonged to members of the Ciskei police force. They were set alight at Noncampa village, near Zwelitsha.

He said damage to the Dutch Reformed Church building, also in Noncampa, was estimated at R1 500.

The policemen's houses destroyed after they were petrol bombed belonged to Constable Mncebisi Saliman, who is stationed at Bisho, and Constable N. Gojela.

No arrests had been made in connection with either of the fires at the policemen's houses.

Lieut Ngwendu said two classrooms, desks, book shelves and chairs were destroyed by fire at Pirie Mission Primary School, near Dimbaza. He said petrol was used. Damage caused was estimated at more than

Ciskei church, schools, houses petrol bombed

08/10/85
R9 000. An undisclosed number of arrests had been made.

Funiwe Secondary School was extensively damaged when set alight at Khambashe, near Zwelitsha.

No arrests had been made and damage caused had not yet been assessed.

The house of an acting headman, Mr B. Bunyula, was extensively damaged when set alight at Gwilligwili village, near Mount Coke.

The house of Mr Solomon Mbambani was also destroyed by fire when it was petrol bombed at Masele village, near Zwelitsha.

Nine people have been arrested in connection with the incident, Lieut Ngwendu said.

The house of a trader, Mr Mandisi Ntsodo, was destroyed by fire at Ntsikizini village, near King William's Town. Damage

caused had not yet been assessed.

● Two people died and 12 people were hurt in unrest-related incidents yesterday, police said.

According to the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, police discovered the corpse of a young woman under a pile of burning tyres at Motherwell, in the Eastern Province.

At Lynville, in the Witbank area, a man was fatally wounded and 11 others injured when police used tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse a group when a shopping centre in the area was burned.

Also in Lynville, the occupant of a post office delivery van was injured when his vehicle was stoned.

At Sterkstroom, in the Border, a black man and a woman were arrested when people stoned police. — Sapa

Buthelezi pins hopes on citizens to stave off revolution

GENEVA — South Africa was being saved from bloody revolution by a concerted effort by blacks and whites. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told top international financiers and industrialists here yesterday.

He said there was already "considerable pressure" on the Government and this had forced President Botma to commit himself and his party to change.

"Tough political battles will still have to be waged about what the real meaning of change is and pressure on the Government will have to be increased," Chief Buthelezi said.

EXECUTING

"But I have no doubt that the propensity for change in South Africa is such that wise counsel and cool heads executing determined strategies can succeed in normalising my country."

He had frequently found abroad that Western observers believed radical change could be brought about in South Africa only by violent revolution.

That was the goal of the African National Congress' mission-in-exile and others who were not concerned with keeping the country's institutional life and its social and economic systems intact. They wanted to abolish those, along with free enterprise.

The alternative was to bring about change by negotiation in which the necessary compromises would be made to protect vital continuity in economic practice.

That was clear to many, but not so clear was the relative importance of roles in bringing about change through democratic and non-violent means.

Chief Buthelezi said protest against apartheid must take place and that pressures inside the country must be built up. It was good that this was happening.

"If, however, we do not have more than protest and confront-

ation and adopt non-negotiable stances, protest politics can only increase the revolutionary climate in the country," he said.

"Black protest politics, which alienates itself from other courses of change, fragments the broad front along which the struggle for liberation should be fought and makes the co-ordination of the forces working for change impossible."

He said that unless such forces were co-ordinated and directed, the South African Government would still be able to play off one force against the other.

It would be able to outmanoeuvre the fragmented forces for change with a highly co-ordinated State response. "This is precisely what has been happening," Chief Buthelezi said.

Black protest political groups were confrontational: not only towards the Government but towards every political force which did not further their protest aims and objectives.

Predictably, there was intimidation of blacks by blacks. Protest activists who chose confrontation as a political weapon faced a situation in which they had to coerce the majority of blacks to support strikes, stayaways and boycotts.

The Western media did not see the extent to which protest political groups divided the forces of change in South Africa. Protest activists were applauded as "the heroes of the struggle."

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Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha with more than a million card-carrying members, was by far the largest political body in the country, had never claimed to be the sole liberator of South Africa and had always stressed the need for combined action to bring about real change.

No black group was equipped to carry the total burden of the struggle. — Sapa.

Stutt clergyman held by SAP says his sister

08/10/87

(SAP) (11A) DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter day.

EAST LONDON — An Anglican minister in Stutterheim, the Reverend Moses Madywabe, 25, was arrested at his home by South African security police on Wednesday, his sister said yesterday.

His sister, Mrs Winnie Pongolo, said three police vehicles and about seven policemen arrived at her brother's home at the Holy Name Mission in Mlungisi at about 10 am on Wednes-

day. She said the police had gone into her brother's study and removed some books. They searched his room, taking more books. The police took Mr Madywabe and left.

Mrs Pongolo said the family had not seen or heard of her brother since and they were "very worried".

She said her brother had started work at the Holy Name mission in January this year.

The Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop Kenneth Oram, said he had been in contact with Mr Madywabe's family who had said lawyers were trying to trace Mr Madywabe's whereabouts.

He said they had so far been unsuccessful in their attempts to do so.

A spokesman for the SAP directorate of public relations in Pretoria, Lieutenant J. L. Barnard, said he could not comment last night.

Buthelezi tells

Mercury 8/11/77

ILO of black

S.A's 'struggle'

Mercury Reporter

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a top official of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva yesterday that black South Africans strongly supported trade unions which had a vital role in bringing about radical change in the country.

Speaking to the ILO deputy-director general, the Chief said their role, however, must be as trade unions.

The danger was that, as soon as unions were used as adjuncts of political parties or as tools of ideology, they lost the inherent strength of the contribution they should be making.

Chief Buthelezi said it was understandable that the ILO, as a member of the United Nations family, had called for sanctions against South Africa.

He also understood why the ILO had called on all governments to give material and moral support to what it regarded as liberation movements, genuine trade union movements and popular movements.

'The call for the impossible is understandable when that call is thought to be morally justified,' he said, adding that every analyst in the ILO knew that the hope of getting the Western industrial world to make a comprehensive range of sanctions mandatory was forlorn.

He said it had not happened during the past 37 years of National Party rule and it would not happen in the next 37 years.

But, as serious analysts also knew, black opposition to apartheid had intensified over the years to its present heights and that the real struggle was, in fact, taking place on South African ground and by blacks in the country.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear to the ILO that he was the elected leader of Inkatha, and that he was also the democratically elected Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

'It is my plea that trade unionism in South Africa should be supported, but this support should be designed to help their efficacy as trade unions and not to make them surrogates of the ANC mission in exile or any other party political group.'

A hard look at some top ANC personalities

8/10/85

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The supreme policy-making body in the ANC is the National Executive Committee (NEC). Before Kabwe it had 22 members. The consultative conference expanded its size to 30 which allowed for the re-election of 19 people from the pre-conference executive. Two former NEC members failed to gain re-election and 11 new members were elected. Here we will discuss some of the senior office holders and the newcomers.

The three most important ANC offices are those of president, secretary-general and treasurer-general. The three previous incumbents were confirmed in their offices at Kabwe. The ANC's president, Oliver Tambo, is probably the best known ANC leader apart from Nelson Mandela.

Tambo was born in 1917, the son of a Transkeian farmer. He left his birthplace, Bizana, to attend St Peter's school in Johannesburg in the early 30s, matriculating in 1938. At Fort Hare he gained a BSc in 1941 and a teaching diploma in 1943. For the next four years he taught at St Peter's, influencing a whole generation of younger men who were to be politically influential in the subsequent decade. In 1943-4 he helped found the ANC Youth League. Like other Youth Leaguers of the time, Tambo had reservations about the role of communists who in his circle were then believed to be a distracting and indeed moderating influence on the course of African nationalist politics.

In 1948, he began legal studies and in 1952 he opened an attorney's practice with Nelson Mandela. There was not much time, though, to make the new legal firm prosper. On the ANC NEC from 1949 Tambo was one of the main architects of the series of popular campaigns of non-violent mass action during the 1950s. He became secretary-general in 1955 and deputy president in 1958.

On March 28 1960, three days before the ANC's banning during the Sharpeville crisis, Tambo left the country to build up the organisation's resources in exile. By now he was working with the Communist Party, but his feelings concerning

the SACP appear to be shaped more by his regard for its members as individuals rather than admiration for the Marxist premises of their politics.

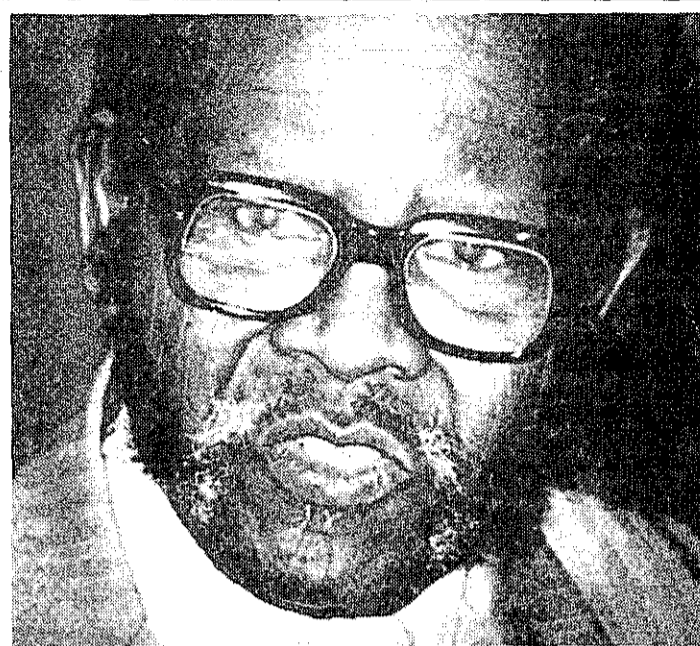
Tambo's political style is low key. But the success the ANC has had in maintaining its unity and purpose in 25 years of exile is attributable in no small part to his personal qualities.

Alfred Nzo, the secretary-general, is a similarly modest individual. Like Tambo he is in his 60s. He was educated at the Healdtown Institute and Fort Hare, qualifying as a Health Inspector. He worked and lived in Alexandra during the 1950s and joined the ANC only in 1957. That year he sprang into national prominence as the chairman of the committee that led a boycott movement which originated in a protest against bus fare rises in Alexandra. By 1958 he was on the ANC's Transvaal executive and was subjected to his first banning order the following year. Two years' house arrest in Moroka township preceded 238 days of detention in solitary confinement between 1963 and 1964. He left South Africa shortly afterwards and was elected secretary-general at Morogoro in 1969.

Nzo's colleague, Thomas Nkobi, the treasurer-general, was born in Johannesburg in 1922. He matriculated at the Bantu High School in Newclare and attended the first year of the BA course at Roma College in what was then Basutoland. He worked as a laboratory assistant and lived in Alexandra. He joined the ANC earlier than Nzo but like him rose to high office as a result of his role in the 1957 bus boycott. That year he became the ANC's national organising secretary. Born a Roman Catholic, the son of an Alexandra businessman, he was politically inspired by the veteran communist leaders JB Marks and Moses Kotane (the latter also lived for a spell in Alexandra).

Placed under house arrest in 1963 he fled the country in April that year. In 1968 he was appointed deputy treasurer of the exile movement and increasingly took over the duties of treasurer-general from Moses Kotane, by then a very sick man.

Who are the men and women who will head the African National Congress in the next five years? Mr Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in political studies at Wits, sheds light on this question in an analysis against the background of the ANC's recent consultative conference in Kabwe, Zambia. This is the second part of an article by Mr Lodge published in SA International (vol 16, No 2, October 1985).



Oliver Tambo . . . low-key political style.

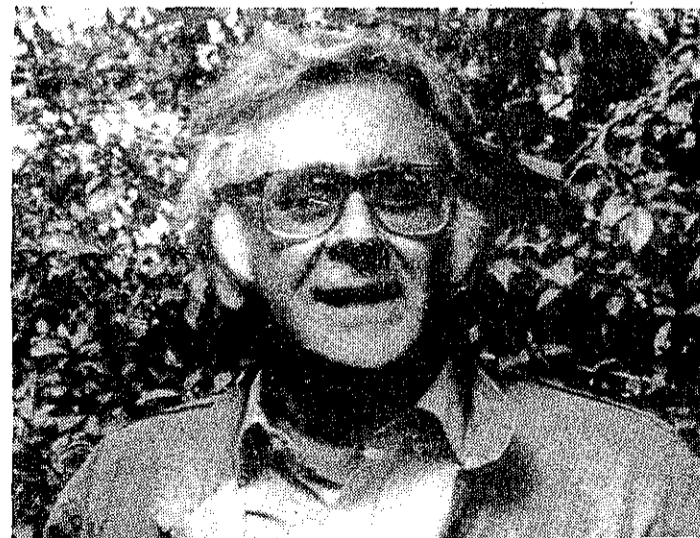
The remaining re-elected NEC members can be split into three groups: the working class politicians of the pre-1960 period, the soldiers, and the exile administrators and diplomats. The first group comprises a fairly coherent body of people whose early organisational experience was gained through the trade union movement and/or the Communist Party.

They include: Steven Dhlamini, born in 1913, textile worker and Durban trade unionist, on the Natal executive of the ANC at the time of his first banning in 1953, chairman of the Durban committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1955, organising secretary of the Natal ANC in 1956, involved in setting up a plantation workers' union in 1962, detained for 150 days in 1963, convicted for involvement with the ANC in 1964, the following six years on Robben Island, elected in absentia president of SACTU in 1967, released in 1971 and confined to a rural area, left South Africa in 1976 to assume office in SACTU.

John Gaetsewe, currently SACTU general secretary and in the 1950s the Johannesburg-based leader of the African Laundry, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union, in exile from mid-1960s after a prison term and house arrest. Moses Mabhide, member of the ANC NEC since 1969 and successor to Moses Kotane as SACP general secretary, an important Natal trade unionist during the

1923 near Port Elizabeth into a working-class coloured family. In 1938 he joined the left-wing National Liberation League. He worked in a shoe factory during the Second World War and became active as a trade unionist. In 1951 he helped to found and served as secretary to the Franchise Action Council and in this capacity organised a most successful general strike of coloured workers in protest against the withdrawal of the coloured common roll vote. After a period overseas he was placed on trial for treason from 1956, and jailed in 1961 for his role in organising the general stayaway of that year. He went into exile in 1963.

Joe Slovo, next to Tambo, is the best known in South Africa of the exiled leaders. He was born in Luthuania in 1926 but his parents emigrated to South Africa while he was still a boy. The family was poor with the father working as a truck driver. He served in the Western Desert during the war and on returning to Johannesburg, despite having left school before matriculation, managed to graduate as the best Witwatersrand LLB of his year's intake. He had joined the Communist Party in about 1940 and by 1946 was a branch secretary. In 1949 he married Ruth First, one of the most important South African intellectuals of her generation, who was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982.



Joe Slovo . . . helped to draft Freedom Charter.

1950s who worked closely with Chief Albert Lutuli, the ANC president at that time, in exile since 1961, more recently ANC representative in Swaziland.

Among the freshly elected NEC members Ruth Mompoti, Reg September and Joe Slovo represent the old guard from the 1950s. Ruth Mompoti (nee Matseoane) was an important women's organiser during the 1950s holding office both in the ANC Women's League and in the Federation of South African Women. She also worked in the Tambo and Mandela legal firm. She was banned in 1962. Reg September, whom Ruth Mompoti succeed as London representative, was born in

In 1955 Slovo helped to draft the Freedom Charter though a restriction order prevented him from attending its public presentation at the Congress of the People. A member of the illegal SACP from its reconstitution in 1963 he was also one of the founders of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He left South Africa one month before the arrests of his fellow members of the National High Command at Rivonia. In 1977 he moved to Maputo which remained his base until 1984. His formal position is that of chief of staff of Umkhonto and he has served on the ANC's revolutionary council from 1969.

Curbs on funeral of care worker

Staff Reporter

TRANSKEI police have placed restrictions on the funeral of Mr Bathandwa Ndondo, the village health-care worker who was shot dead by police last week shortly after being arrested.

Mr Ndondo's funeral, which was to have been held on Sunday, has been postponed until Monday because of a police stipulation that it may not be held on a Friday, Saturday or Sunday.

The funeral may take place only between 10am and 2pm in terms of the restrictions, only ordained ministers of religion may speak at the ceremony, provided they do not discuss politics or the behaviour of the Transkei police or army.

BANNERS

No banners, posters or pamphlets may be displayed or distributed.

Mr Ndondo, 22, was arrested by five plain-clothes policemen at his Cala home about 10 days ago. He was employed as a village health worker in Cala by the Cape Town-based Health-Care Trust.

Transkei police, who have admitted that police shot Mr Ndondo, opened a murder docket, but also detained a close friend and a relative who took accounts from Cala residents who witnessed the shooting.

CAPE TOWN 8/10/82

Council man quits

Staff Reporter

NEW Crossroads community councillor Mr Elliot Patonese, 51, resigned from the council yesterday "because the people don't want community councils".

His resignation comes in the wake of three others. Former New Crossroads community councillors Mrs Florence Mahono, Mrs Deborah Gatyeni and Mr Landus Nkonya resigned early in September after their homes were petrol-bombed.

Mr Patonese, who served on the Nyanga/New Crossroads community council since he was elected last year, said his house had not been petrol-bombed or stoned.

"I know that the people where I stay don't want community councils. I don't want trouble. I want to resign in advance."

Call 7014 8/10/18
**Mandela: No
sign of cancer**

PRETORIA. — Medical tests have revealed no signs of cancer in imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, a spokesman for the Prisons Service confirmed here yesterday.

He was responding to earlier reports that Mr Mandela was suffering from cancer of the prostate gland.

"The problem has been diagnosed as prostatism," he said. — Sapa

ARGUS 8/8/81

Pupils walk out of meeting to launch new association

Staff Reporter

SOME pupils walked out of a meeting to launch a parent, teacher and students' association for the Belhar No 2 secondary school, saying they saw it as an attempt to force pupils back to school.

The president of the New Unity Movement, Mr Richard Dudley, told the meeting at the Belhar Civic Centre last night that pupils "should not make decisions which conflict with their parents or the national struggle".

"Parents, pupils and teachers must stand together and get down to the business of education and not go chasing ghosts and shadows," Mr Dudley said.

"The students have declared themselves opposed to gutter education. They must now show the same guts and courage in fighting their way through the system and prov-

ing themselves in organisations," he said.

The meeting's chairman, Mr Dennis Hendricks, asked by a parent "to give pupils a directive from the chair about returning to school" said he believed there should be "education before liberation".

This was likely to draw differing opinions from pupils "whose cry is liberation before education", he said.

Some of the few pupils who attended left shortly before the end of the meeting, saying they were unhappy with Mr Dudley's attitude.

"The whole thing is an attempt to force us back to school," one said.

Some approached Mr Dudley and Mr Hendricks afterwards to explain their position. "What we want is education for liberation," a pupil said.

A steering committee was elected to organise the establishment of the PTSA.

11A
B. O'ay
8/10/85

More talks with ANC on the cards

JOHN BATTERSBY

A FOLLOW-UP meeting between leaders of the banned African National Congress and a "wider group" of SA businessmen is being planned to take place "within a few weeks".

This is disclosed in the latest issue of an influential newsletter by British author/journalist Anthony Sampson.

In the same issue, former World Bank head Robert MacNamara describes Anglo American chief Gavin Relly's initiative in meeting ANC leaders in Zambia last month as "superb".

But MacNamara warned that although movement towards fundamental change in South Africa was now irreversible, the "level of disorder" was likely to get worse because of government failure to move towards "black participation in national political affairs".

"More and more investors are likely to conclude that they would be unwise to put additional foreign exchange at risk in South Africa unless there is a prospective cash flow from the investment which would permit its recovery in a short period of time," MacNamara said.

"If that be the case, then the argument in the US over disinvestment, or even sanctions, is almost irrelevant," he said.

He urged London and New York bankers to express their concern about the situation in South Africa.

"Should they not say: Today we are reluctant to put new funds at risk in that country, but we would take a quite different attitude were the government to move towards a more stable situation by beginning to negotiate with the blacks for their participation in the political process?"

Sampson reported that international banks remain very wary of Pretoria.

Lebowa police killed UDF man — claim

Case Times 25/7/83

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG. — A Northern Transvaal man yesterday told how his friend, a leading United Democratic Front activist, died after they had been assaulted by Lebowa police.

Mr Ngwoako Ramalepe, 26, who was also president of the Students Representative Council and Azaso at the Modjadji Training College, died in hospital on Friday last week.

An autopsy was conducted on the body on Wednesday and results are expected in his lawyer's office today.

Colonel P Moloto, chief of the Lebowa Police, yesterday confirmed the death and said the matter was be-

ing investigated.

Mr Robert Makokga, 24, a student of the Modjadji Training College in Duiwelskloof, told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday he and Mr Ramalepe were held by police at Kgapane on Thursday last week after a meeting in protest against the hanging of ANC activist Mr Benjamin Moloise.

Police at the local police station had assaulted them, he said.

Mr Makokga had then been thrown into a police van from where "I could see them busy assaulting Ngwoako and I could hear his screams".

Minutes after the screams died down, his friend was also thrown into the van by police,

his white-T shirt "red and soaked with blood".

"We were driven to a dark bush where Ngwoako was dumped and left for dead while I managed to escape," he said.

Mr Makokga said the police were under the impression that he too had died.

The UDF yesterday condemned the death of Mr Ramalepe and said in a statement that his death, that of another UDF activist in the Transkei, Mr Bathandwa Ndondo, "and numerous other cold-blooded murders of anti-apartheid activists whilst in the hands of the security police must act as a pointer to the remoteness of peaceful change in South Africa".

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Page 2
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CAT Times 8/10/85 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

From JOHN BATTERSBY

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New meeting with ANC in a 'few weeks'

meeting ANC leaders in Zambia last month as "superb".

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the national political affairs".

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"If that be the case, then the argument in the United States over disinvestment, or even sanctions, is almost irrelevant," he said.

Praising the Anglo-American initiative to hold talks with the ANC, he urged London and New York bankers to express their concern about the situation in South Africa.

"Should they not say: 'Today we are very reluctant to put new funds at risk in that country,' but we would take a quite different attitude were the government to move towards a more stable situation by beginning to negotiate with the blacks for their participation in the political process??"

Mr Sampson reported that international banks remain wary of Pretoria.

While Swiss and German banks were prepared to continue lending to South Africa, American and British banks were now "increasingly worried about the political taint".

PE 'kangaroo courts' claim

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Community leaders in Port Elizabeth's black townships say "kangaroo courts" are conducting a reign of terror, but deny police claims that these are run by United Democratic Front affiliates.

Most said they thought the courts stemmed from the hijacking by largely criminal elements of community bodies formed during the recent bloody feuding between UDF affiliates and the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo).

They said the bodies which had been hijacked were the UDF and Azapo "area committees", which organized protection for leaders' homes and acted, often violently, against rivals.

Criminals

Now that most UDF and Azapo leaders had been detained or were in hiding, criminal elements had established illegal courts to further their own ends, be they personal disputes or dealing with people considered to be collaborators with the authorities, residents claimed.

Community leaders interviewed — all but two of whom asked not to be named for fear of reprisals — said that with residents unwilling to be seen reporting crimes to police, some black youths had moved into the power vacuum that had developed and were imposing their own laws on the townships.

Residents claimed bands of youths involved were "dupes", who did the dirty work for shadowing criminals who stayed in the background.

Boycott

Mr Ashraf Karodia, Azapo regional director for the Eastern Cape, attributed barbarous acts by youths to criminal elements who had hijacked the black consumer boycott for their own ends.

Top officials of UDF affiliates contacted for comment denied that the UDF organized the courts.

Mr Madoda Luse, acting-chairman of the Port Elizabeth Students' Councils (Pesco) and former regional acting-chairman of the now outlawed Congress of South African Students (Cosas), said the UDF did not advocate violence.

Roadblocks

He blamed the troubles on criminals.

A community leader said youths were enforcing the consumer boycott by manning roadblocks in Zwide and New Brighton.

● A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said that after detailed checks yesterday, no evidence of UDF "kangaroo courts" could be found in the Peninsula.

"I won't say that it hasn't happened locally, but we cannot find any evidence," he said.

Inkatha plea on prayer day intimidation

Metawry
8/10/85
11A

Labour Reporter

INKATHA yesterday accused the organisers of the national day of prayer of ignoring its appeal to have the event postponed to a later date, and issued guidelines to its members on how to observe tomorrow.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said yesterday that the central committee of Inkatha, while supporting the principle of the observance of the day of prayer, had appealed for a postponement to allow for adequate consultation with workers and trade unions.

'The organisers did not respond to the appeal. Consequently Inkatha will be adopting a certain approach to express support in principle of the day of prayer,' he said.

Activities in KwaZulu schools would be suspended for one hour between 12 noon and 1 pm tomorrow to conduct prayers with pupils 'for peace and reconciliation in our land,' he said.

Promise

In view of the fact that examinations would soon be written in KwaZulu schools and considering that pupils had just returned from holidays, Inkatha expected all pupils to go to school tomorrow.

He said as far as the stayaway from work was concerned, Inkatha expected that workers would consult with their employers and trade union leaders.

'Inkatha will, however, see to it that the decision of its members is respected and that nobody will be intimidated or harmed if he decides either to stay at home or work.

'We trust that the organisers of the stayaway will also honour their promise of ensuring that there is no violence or intimidation aimed at those who hold different views.

'We are perturbed that already there are reports of plans to intimidate and harm those who will feel unable for various reasons to stay away from work. This is a dangerous development which could drag us back to the black-on-black confrontation we are all trying to avoid,' he said.

Day's leave

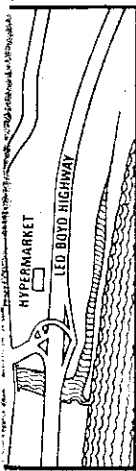
Mr Michael Cassidy, a spokesman for the organisers, National Initiative for Reconciliation, could not be reached for comment yesterday, but in a statement at the weekend, said the call was 'a serious and genuine Christain call to our nation to come before God to seek his answers for South Africa at this time of national crisis.'

The day should be handled with responsibility and restraint and without coercion or pressure.

'We reiterate our suggestion that people responsibly seek a day's leave to pray at home or in the planned church services or participate in special lunch-hour services with the co-operation of their employers.'

Spokesmen for major employers in Durban said yesterday that they would adopt the attitude of 'no work no pay' for employees staying away without valid reason.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, criticised churchmen for calling for a stayaway from work and urged people to go to work on that day.



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Cuba may increase support

The Star's Africa
News Service

STAR
HARARE — Cuba says it will give massive moral and material support to liberation movements in Southern Africa if independence for Namibia is further delayed and if Pretoria refuses to make meaningful changes in South Africa. *Copy*

The message was given by Cuban Interior Minister Mr Ramoro Valpes at a function in Havana to honour visiting Zimbabwe Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe, who received the Jose Marti award.

Mr Mugabe is leading a high-level Zimbabwe delegation on his first visit to Cuba since Zimbabwe became independent in 1980.

Mr Mugabe said he saw the award as one conferred on the people of Zimbabwe, who shed their blood to liberate their motherland and extended the frontiers of freedom and justice.

Mr Mugabe is due to travel to Nicaragua today.

UDF teachers' subsidies may be 'reconsidered'

Political Correspondent
A SUGGESTION that the housing subsidies of Department of Education and Culture teachers and lecturers who are actively involved in the UDF and Sacos be reconsidered has been referred to the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

This was confirmed today by a Labour Party spokesman.

The suggestion is contained in a resolution passed at the Eastern Cape regional congress of the party in Uitenhage at the weekend.

Other resolutions were that:

- The department be asked

to examine the promotion prospects of teachers connected with Sacos and the UDF.

- Sacos membership of schools be investigated.

It was also decided that the system of bursaries, and the possibility of loans instead of bursaries, should be considered.

The congress called on the authorities not to yield to pressures to change the timetable for examinations.

Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, has warned against "playing politics" with the rights of teachers.

Seven Inkatha supporters get jail sentences

11A

Mercury 9/10/85

Court Reporter
INKATHA supporters who burned and stoned property belonging to members and supporters of the United Democratic Front affiliated Joint Rent Action Committee, had no right to take the law into their own hands, a Durban magistrate said yesterday.

Mr H W Weitz was handing down jail sentences to seven Inkatha supporters convicted in the Durban Regional Court of arson and malicious injury to property.

The seven had been among the large crowd which had burned down the garage of Mr Ben Sithole, burnt a car belonging to Mr Elias Hadebe and stoned the house of Mr Richard Gumede, chairman of the joint committee, on August 21 last year in Hambanati township near Tongaat.

Attacks

Nora Dlamini, 54, chairman of the Inkatha Women's Brigade, her daughter Nomthandazo Dlamini, 32, Andrietta Ngema, 45, and Jonathan Mthembu, 31 were all sentenced to three years' imprisonment, half of which was suspended for five years.

Meshack Dlamini, 22, who was convicted of only one count of malicious injury to property, was sentenced to 18 months, nine of which were also suspended for five years.

Two youths were sentenced to 18 months, wholly suspended for five years. They were also sentenced to five cuts each.

The Court heard that the complainants had left the township after the attacks and that violence had then stopped.

Passing sentence, Mr Weitz said that at the time feelings were running high between the two groups.

Evidence before the

Court showed that the first manifestations of violence in Hambanati had been attacks by rent committee members on homes of Inkatha members.

A meeting had been called to discuss this and while it was in progress it was heard that Nomthandazo Dlamini's house had been attacked. The meeting had stopped immediately and that was when the offences had been committed.

Mr Weitz said the Court took into account that there had been serious provocation, but nobody had the right to take the law into their own hands.

The Court was of the opinion that there was no comparison between the violence in Hambanati in 1984 and the present unrest.

The problems were only between two opposing factions — a problem which was well known in Natal, Mr Weitz said.

The seven people were granted bail pending an appeal against conviction and sentence.

Mr CJ van Coller appeared for the State and Mr GO van Niekerk for the seven accused.

Fear reigns on eve of prayer day

WIDESPREAD fear grips townships after rumours that certain elements are intent on disrupting today's day of prayer called by the National Initiative for Reconciliation.

The atmosphere was so tense yesterday that NIR chairman Michael Cassidy appealed to "elements ... which would like to disrupt the day of prayer not to do so if they have any real and genuine love for South Africa".

The issue is being misinterpreted in many township circles, with people talking of a stay-away instead of a day of prayer.

In taxis, buses, trains, schools and she-beens the talk is about intimidation with

many people vowing to stay at home.

Township traders have also promised to close their businesses today while the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) has given the day its blessings.

The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said it was sympathetic to the call and suggested to members that they should treat sympathetically employees' requests to attend church services.

However, they said anyone staying away from work without permission should be treated as though he had taken unpaid leave.

The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) said workers who absented themselves would not get paid.

Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce president Bruce Forssman said the chamber had urged members to consider sympathetically a reasonable and limited time off work for employees who genuinely wished to attend church services. He said there was no need to lose a whole day.

Another NIR organiser and former Presbyterian Church moderator, the Reverend Allan Maker, said he received several letters from major mining

● To Page 2 →

Prayer day fear prevails

groups saying they would not dismiss anyone who was absent but would treat the day as unpaid leave.

However, the NIR suffered a setback yesterday when the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) and major trade unions said they were sympathetic to the prayer day but were not calling on their members to observe it.

The two major political fronts criticised the way it had been planned by the church leaders with Azapo leadership

saying it would have been more appreciable if the Christians had consulted them.

Most trade unionists said they were sympathetic to the call, but would not call on members to stay away.

Leaders in the Federation of South African Trade Unions, with a membership of more than 150 000, said the federation had discussed the "Prayaway" but were not taking any public stance.

← ● From page 1

Buthelezi ^{Car. Times 9/10/85}
attacks ^(11A) ANC,
praises ⁽²⁰⁰²⁰²⁾ courts

GENEVA. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday paid tribute to South Africa's judges and said in the "worsening situation" courts would increasingly spotlight what was going on in the country.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister told Dr Niall Macdermot, secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists, thousands of people had been arrested recently and everywhere there were reports of police brutality.

The courts administered obnoxious laws, but the judicial process itself had to a large extent remained untainted and uncorrupted, he said.

Chief Buthelezi blamed the new constitution, which excluded blacks from parliamentary participation, for deepening black anger, and for promoting political violence.

It was in this climate that the banned African National Congress was "capitalizing on mob behaviour".

"They have unleashed everything at their disposal to set blacks on a killing path. They exhort our youth, in weekly broadcasts on so-called



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Radio Freedom, to make South Africa ungovernable through the employment of violence."

Chief Buthelezi said South Africa was now entering a crucial phase in the struggle against apartheid. There had never before been such determination by black South Africans to say, "enough is enough" and to begin acting on their convictions.

"Inkatha's commitment to radical change, and its adamant refusal to participate in the new constitution or in any of its support structures at first and second level of government, is broadening its base daily," he said. — Sapa

Car. Times 9/10/85

Continue the struggle VOW

Staff Reporter

PARENTS, teachers and students pledged to continue the struggle for a "non-racial, democratic South Africa" at a meeting held by the Kulus River Local Association this week.

The meeting, which undertook to form a parents, teachers and students association for Kulus River, requested pupils to return to classes to write the final examination.

"Awareness programmes should be part of the school programme and we shall demand that final exams be postponed to a later date," they stated.

Resume normal classes

● JONI Ramsay Senior Secondary School pupils yesterday said they would resume normal classes as soon as their short-term demands were met.

These demands included the postponement of examinations, an end to the victimization and intimidation of teachers and students, the removal of security guards from school premises and the removal of the SADF from the township.

● The Parents, Teachers and Students Association of Heideveld High School has also joined the growing condemnation of the presence of security guards at Peninsula high schools and the banning of meetings of "so-called unrecognized bodies" on schools premises.

● The Students' Representative Council in Guguletu has called on all pupils who "have gone to the Ciskei or Transkei to write examinations" to be back in Cape Town by Friday.

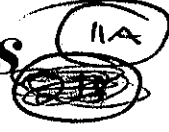
Sort out mutual problems

A spokesman for the SRC said pupils in Cape Town believed that those who had left had "betrayed" them and said they should come back "to help sort out our mutual problems".

The spokesman also said that a report in Monday's Cape Times on a meeting held in Guguletu on Friday night had created a wrong impression by stating that more than 1 500 parents, pupils and teachers had passed a resolution calling on those who had left school during the unrest to return.

"We have not called on pupils to return to classes," the spokesman said. "We want pupils to return to school to attend our alternative educational programmes, but not to end the boycott," he said.

DV stone throwers damage vehicles



DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Three incidents of stonethrowing were reported in the Border area on Monday.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said yesterday that two delivery vehicles were extensively damaged by stonethrowers in Duncan Village.

The vehicles were conducting deliveries at 3.30 pm and 4.50 pm respectively.

In one of the incidents police used birdshot to disperse the crowd, but no police action was taken in the other incident.

No injuries or arrests were reported in either case.

In Ginsberg, near King William's Town, police fired one round of 9 mm ammunition to disperse a crowd who stoned a police vehicle.

The police spokesman said minimal damage

was caused. No arrests or casualties were reported.

At Evaton in the Vaal Triangle yesterday, a man was killed after a development board inspector opened fire on a crowd who were stoning his vehicle, reports Sapa.

In Soweto a mob robbed a driver of his delivery vehicle and looted the contents. The driver sustained injuries when the mob stabbed him.

Also in Soweto, a large group of pupils on two occasions intimidated pupils of another school. They were dispersed by police using birdshot.

There were two incidents of stoning in Thabong, Welkom, where three buses were stoned. Police used birdshot in both cases.

In the Paarl East coloured area, a crowd gathered in front of a school and stoned a police vehicle. They

were dispersed with tearsmoke. 09/10/85

● In Cape Town a tearsmoke canister was thrown at the Oranjezicht home of Mr Brian Bishop, chairman of the Civil Rights League, and his wife, Mrs Di Bishop, MPC, early yesterday morning.

Mr Bishop had been a speaker at an End Conscription Campaign rally earlier.

"I went to bed after midnight and heard a crash against the wall, followed by another next to the bedroom window, Mr Bishop said.

"I thought it was a petrol bomb and opened the door, to be struck by a thick cloud of tearsmoke. The gas made the house uninhabitable for a few hours, and I slept on the stoep."

The Kenilworth home of the daughter of Mrs Molly Blackburn, MPC, who also spoke at the rally, was broken into on Monday night.

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Businessmen ^{9/10/85} 'planning to ^{11A} meet ANC again'

LONDON—South African businessmen are planning a second meeting with the ANC in a few weeks, according to the British writer and political analyst Anthony Sampson.

In the latest edition of the Sampson Letter, a

briefing report on international affairs published twice monthly, he writes: 'After initial talks with the African National Congress, the main black opposition in exile in Zambia, a wider group of businessmen (including Afrikaners) are planning another meeting in a few weeks' time, while the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, expects to meet some British businessmen in London later this month.'

Writing on the subject of whether the South African crisis would press bankers to take up more open political positions, he says international banks remain 'very wary' of Pretoria.

'While Swiss and German banks are prepared to continue lending to South Africa (at very high interest rates) the American and British banks, who for so long were keen to lend, are now increasingly worried about the political taint.

'They are reluctant to reveal details of their exposure, or even be seen to have discussions with the South Africans.'

'Possibility of race war cannot be ruled out'

Chief warns Red Cross of disaster threat to S A

11A 10/10/85 Mercury

African Affairs Correspondent

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, yesterday warned the International Committee of the Red Cross that situations were emerging which foretold of disaster in South Africa.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister told a meeting of the committee in Geneva that a combination of frustration and anger, with poverty and suffering, had created the circumstances in which mob behaviour was erupting to express itself in violence ever more frequently.

He called on organisa-

tions such as the Red Cross to deepen their acquaintance with the circumstances, which could worsen, and begin strategic planning to meet such circumstances.

'It is perhaps not nice to prophesy disaster,' he said, 'but I can envisage situations emerging in South Africa in which the terrible destitution now borne as a great burden because of apartheid will be immeasurably increased in our strife-torn country.'

Oppression

'There are already about 22 million angry blacks in South Africa who are being exhorted to violence. Millions of

these live in terrible squatter circumstances and the gravitation of blacks from rural to urban areas is gathering momentum.'

He said South Africa's 22 million blacks had suffered racial oppression, leading to social and economic deprivation.

'Black South Africa has also been subjected to police brutality and the application of Draconian laws which have embittered vast throngs of people.'

'Black South Africa's angry population is now being thrust into a deep and prolonged recession. Unemployment is on the increase, and everywhere

there is a desperate shortage of money with which to acquire the necessities of life in circumstances where there is a dramatic rise in costs of goods.'

In these circumstances, Chief Buthelezi said, the ANC's Mission in Exile was exhorting black South Africans to use violence in every effort to make the country ungovernable.

'They are exhorting our children to defy all authority, to burn and loot and to kill those blacks in their midst whom the ANC Mission in Exile, and those who work with them, denigrate as being part of the apartheid system.'

The Inkatha president warned that the level of violence needed to topple the Government was high enough to lead whites to adopt a scorched earth policy and that the possibility of a race war between black and white could not be ruled out.

He believed that change could be brought about in South Africa which would defuse the situation enough to enable negotiation to succeed where violence had so far failed.

But, he said, 'it would be rank foolishness on anybody's part to anticipate that the process of change will not be accompanied at least by contin-

ued outbreaks of sporadic violence'.

Every preparation should be made for all eventualities, and the International Committee of the Red Cross had his deep appreciation for its foresight in establishing a delegation in Pretoria and an infrastructure in South Africa which — together with the diplomatic immunity and State recognition it had received — placed it in a unique position 'to help us prepare for impending disaster'.

Chief Buthelezi paid tribute to the humanitarian role the Red Cross played when Cyclone Demoina struck in 1984.

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A short-time option

Shopkeepers in the eastern Cape, squirming for nearly three months under the pressure of an almost total boycott by black consumers, are attempting to save their businesses by severely cutting their employees' working hours.

The Manpower Department has granted shopkeepers and restaurateurs in East London and Queenstown a blanket exemption from wage determination regulations which forbid short-time work. The exemption permits working hours, and hence wages, to be reduced by up to 80%. This move followed an application by the local Chamber of Commerce.

Port Elizabeth retailers are now emulating their East London counterparts. The local Commercial Employers' Association (CEA) has just asked the Manpower Department for a similar dispensation. The CEA, however, is not requesting a blanket exemption. Rather, it wants the department to approve of the idea in principle and to have officials at the local Manpower office assessing exemption applications on the basis of individual shopkeepers' needs.

Employer spokesmen, aware of the tense situation in the eastern Cape, have gone to great lengths to emphasise that their moves should not be interpreted as hostility towards the black community and shopworkers. Says PE Chamber of Commerce director Tony Gilson: "This is not a counter-boycott measure. It is a means of maintaining employment levels."

But Emma Mashinini, general secretary

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of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (Ccawusa), is sceptical of the motives. "This is a move to put pressure on people to end the consumer boycott. They are trying to set black on black instead of negotiating and meeting the demands of the consumer boycott committees," she says.

Ccawusa, the largest black shopworkers' union, previously threatened to target stores which use the boycotts to retrench employees for "further action." Mashinini believes that the threat prompted the decision to opt for short-time work instead. And while unhappy about latest developments, Ccawusa clearly prefers them to the retrenchment alternative.

So does Dulcie Hartwell, general secretary of the white, coloured and Indian National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers (Nudaw). "Earning 20% of a normal wage is better than nothing," she says.

One feature of the East London exemption which may soften black hostility is the requirement that short time may be implemented only after full consultation with employees affected. The PE CEA has recommended that consultation be a precondition there, too.

A source at the Manpower Department interprets "full consultation" as meaning that agreement from employees must be obtained before short-time measures are implemented. Complaints from workers about lack of consultation will be investigated by the department, he says.

East London Chamber of Commerce secretary Jock Allison — who estimates that the majority of shops in the area are working short time — says the chamber has informed members of this provision. Most workers have accepted short time, realising that the alternative is retrenchment, he says. Ccawusa's spokesman in the city, Vumile

Danile, says that the major chainstores, in which union membership is concentrated, have not at this stage implemented short-time work. But the threat of it does not appear to have dampened the enthusiasm of those workers for the consumer boycott.

According to Danile, employees entitled to staff discounts at their workplaces continue to refuse to patronise their stores. But Hartwell believes that the boycott organisers should recognise the "harm their activities are doing to their own people."

While the eastern Cape boycott continues unabated, the boycott in Natal was called off last week. Organisers say the decision was made to prevent divisions in communities and to avoid bloodshed. They allege that the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce has made threats of violence to end the boycott.

And in the Transvaal there is little sign of the boycott having gained widespread popular support.

TONY BLOOM

Assessing the ANC



Tony Bloom, chairman of Premier Group, made extensive notes at the recent meeting he attended in Zambia with the African National Congress. Here are some of his impressions, quoted in *Leadership* magazine.

I gained the distinct impression that the African National Congress (ANC) is going through a "schizophrenic period" at the moment. On the one hand, its tail is clearly up as a result of the recent developments internally in SA, because of international pressure against SA, economic problems, the drop of the rand and so on. On the other hand, they realise that the whole system is not about to disintegrate and that their struggle is likely to continue for many years into the future and involve considerable loss of life and deprivation. They face the prospect of exile for many years to come.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the people we met have an overwhelming desire to come back to SA. This was said to me on several occasions. They love to talk about SA in detail, about parts of SA, to remember people in SA, places and events. Take Thabo Mbeki. The life of someone who has been in exile for 23 years cannot be attractive, particularly as most of the ANC live in fairly abject circumstances.

I was surprised (almost overwhelmed) by

the cordiality of the meeting. A more attractive and congenial group would be hard to imagine. There was a total lack of aggression, animosity or hostility towards us. In fact, I sometimes worry that we got on a little bit too well! Clearly we differed fundamentally on several important points, but the differences of opinion were always argued rationally and without invective.

I was struck by the absence of traditional Marxist-Leninist jargon and dogma. Even in the discussion on nationalisation of industry, the concepts could quite easily have fitted into a socialist rather than Marxist framework. I found it curious that they used the example of Sweden as an ideal, rather than the USSR or Eastern Bloc states.

All of the ANC delegates were clearly highly intelligent, intellectual and very articulate. In fact, the calibre of the leadership is streets ahead of much of the black leadership one finds in SA.

It was difficult to view the group as hard-line Marxists or bloodthirsty terrorists who were interested in reducing SA to anarchy and seizing power, with a hatred of whites. While it is difficult to draw deep conclusions from a superficial meeting, the latter stereotype (which is probably the impression that most white South Africans have of the ANC) certainly did not come through at all. Without in any way wishing to be seduced or hypnotised by the occasion, I believe that they are people with whom serious negotiation can be undertaken and with whom a certain amount of common ground could be

found.

Clearly, there are fixed positions on either side that are diametrically opposed to each other, but this is the situation in many negotiations. I believe there could well be room for compromise and I would unhesitatingly support any initiative to get the SA government and the ANC into contact with each other.

The link with the South African Communist Party (SACP) was part of the story that I found the least convincing. We did not really probe into this very deeply or cross-examine them; on the link, but I would require to be convinced that link is not stronger than the impression given, particularly as over half the members of the (ANC) National Executive are members of the SACP. Neither were we able to resolve the question of how influential the hardline Slovo-element was.

Were we taken in or deliberately used as stooges in any way? Was this merely a propaganda exercise designed to obtain worldwide publicity and legitimise the ANC? I have thought back carefully on the discussions and honestly believe not. The air of spontaneity would have been hard, if not impossible, to fake unless they are actors of the calibre of Lord Olivier!

Moreover, their subsequent media behaviour was restrained and could not be faulted for accuracy. I continue to believe the meeting was an important breakthrough, constructive, and I would certainly be prepared to attend a follow up.

IN MY OPINION

'Political problems cannot be solved by the Govt alone'

By Hannes de Wet

There has been a marked increase in informal attempts by South Africans to create platforms for contact between people from all racial and political groups.

The common goal of these initiatives is to prepare the way for reform talks between black and white leaders who seek peaceful solutions to the country's problems.

Political scientists ascribe this phenomenon to a growing feeling that these problems cannot be solved by the Government alone.

"People are realising that the channels of communication which have become clogged because of the policy of separate development have to be opened up," says Professor Chris Maritz, director of the Institute for Political and African Studies at Potchefstroom University.

Professor Maritz told *The Star* that he was amazed to see on how many levels informal discussions were being held.

In the past few weeks, business leaders have been particularly active in this regard.

On September 13, the chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, and a seven-member delegation talked for six hours with African National

Private reform contacts made

Congress (ANC) leaders at the Luangwa Game Park in Zambia.

The delegation consisted of leading businessman and two newspaper editors.

They went to Zambia despite a statement by President Botha that talking to the ANC was "disloyal".

After the meeting Mr Relly said that "more talks might lead to some fruitful conclusions".

Another recent initiative was a decision by commerce and industry to send a delegation to New York to submit views to the United Nations hearing on trans-national corporations in South Africa.

Representatives from Asso-com, the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut talked at the hearing about the "vital importance of negotiation with all accepted black leaders".

And on September 29, a full-page advertisement was pub-

lished in *The Sunday Star* in which 91 South African businessmen expressed their "deep concern about the current situation".

In the advertisement, which was headed "There is a better way", the business leaders said they believed the reform process should be accelerated by, among other things, negotiations with acknowledged black leaders about power sharing.

An initiative started by a broader spectrum of South Africans was the launching in principle of the National Convention Alliance.

Although the idea originated from the Progressive Federal Party, the official launching of the alliance is now in the hands of a steering committee consisting of theologians, politicians, members of Inkatha, businessmen and academics.

The stated objective of the alliance is to mobilise millions of South Africans to commit them-

selves to the concept of bringing about fundamental changes by negotiation.

In August this year, a group of Capetonians launched a campaign which called for all South Africans "to unite and identify publicly with each other in support of a common manifesto or declaration of intent".

The manifesto says: "To find a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems, every proposed solution and every would-be leader must be openly and publicly presented and examined for all South Africans to make up their minds."

The campaign's spokesman, Mr Jimmy Baigrie, said that the movement had rapidly gained momentum and was spreading throughout the country. Interest was such that 10 000 copies of campaign material were being printed each week.

Discussions on a smaller scale are also being held. Professor Maritz gave an example:

"This week 50 of our students at Potchefstroom University arranged a meeting with 50 coloured people. They did it by breaking up into small groups of 10 to exchange views and try to achieve a better understanding of each other."

The professor said all these initiatives could have only positive results.

PFP, ANC to hold talks in Zambia today

LUSAKA — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), is due to meet officials of the African National Congress (ANC) today in Lusaka for talks on ways of ending apartheid in South Africa.

Mr Slabbert arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday and held an informal meeting with an official of the ANC, the exiled nationalist movement fighting white rule, in what he said was an attempt to work out an agenda for the meeting.

He told the *Financial Times* that the PFP delegation to the talks would include Durban MP Peter Gastrow, PFP Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Colin Eglin, and MP Alex Boraine.

The fact that the ANC delegation would not include ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo (currently out of the country) appeared to be a deliberate snub to Mr Slabbert, whom the organisation has sharply criticised as too moderate.

It was not known which ANC officials would meet the PFP group. Asked what he hoped to achieve through the talks, believed to be the first between the PFP leader and the ANC, Dr Slabbert told the *Financial Times*: "We're here to talk. That's already an achievement."

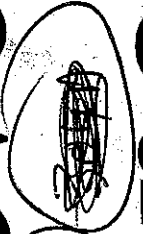
STAR SOLICITED 12/10/85

Dr Slabbert has in the past publicly offered to act as a mediator between President Botha and the ANC. President Botha has repeatedly ruled out talks with the organisation unless it renounced violence.

The PFP leader's participation in the talks, which it is understood were solicited by him, appears to be an attempt to expand his constituency and show that he is the one white leader in South Africa with enough credibility to talk to both moderate blacks like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the more radical ANC. It is believed that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda will not be involved in the ANC-PFP discussions.

It was understood in Lusaka, the ANC headquarters, that the main focus of the talks was likely to be an exchange of views on the issue of holding a national convention of all parties to map out the future of a multiracial South Africa, an idea strongly supported by Mr Slabbert and Chief Buthelezi. — *Financial Times*.

Blacks will never rule — white poll



11A

12/10/85

STAR

Nearly two out of three whites in urban areas believe that there will never be a black majority government in South Africa.

A poll, conducted in August among 1 000 white urban adults by the Markinor Research Group, found that 64 percent of those polled believed South Africa would never be ruled by a black majority, while 34 percent disagreed.

The survey also revealed that Afrikaans-speakers — who comprised 72 percent of those interviewed — were more adamant than English-speakers that blacks would never take control of the country.

A breakdown of the survey showed residents of Pretoria (68 percent); the Reef (68 percent); and Durban (67 percent) were convinced they would never live under a black government.

But those polled in Cape Town (58 percent) and in Johannesburg (55 percent) were not so sure.

In the lower income group, those whose monthly earnings averaged R1 250 a month were convinced the present set-up would continue. But those whose average household income was more than R3 500 did not agree.

More women than men rejected the possibility of black majority rule. Overall, 49 percent of those interviewed anticipated black rule within the next 10 years.

● Professor Alf Stadler, head of the political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said that whites who believed there would never be black majority rule were "living in a fools'paradise".

Commenting on the Markinor poll, Professor Stadler said it was clear people were confusing their desires with reality.

"Those who say there will never be black majority rule are confirming their belief in the continuity of the status quo and in a government that can rule for ever," he said.

But it was interesting that a third of those interviewed seemed to have accepted that, one day, there would be a black majority government.

"I don't know whether that would have been the case 10 or 20 years ago," he said.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of political studies at Unisa, said the results of the poll did not surprise him.

"Whites will never support any government which is in favour of blacks having a meaningful share of government — and 'meaningful' cannot be less than 50 percent."

Professor Kleyhans said white perceptions of the future fell far short of what blacks expected. Blacks would accept only a reasonable role in government and that obviously meant majority rule. But only a bloody confrontation would make whites accept that.

"I cannot see that compromise is possible."

The few concessions the Government had made recently did not come from the heart but were forced upon them, the professor said.

"And, in the forthcoming by-elections, we are likely to see a right-wing backlash in reaction to proposed reforms." — Sapa-Staff Reporter.

CAPL Time 12:10 PM

MP persuades Ceres pupils not to march

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Staff Reporter

A CONFRONTATION between police and about 1 000 Ceres pupils was contained yesterday when Mr Yusuf Rhoda, MP for the Bokkeveldt, intervened during a march on the local magistrate's offices where five youths were appearing.

The youths were arrested by police on Wednesday afternoon for allegedly burning toilets at the Fred Gaum School last week and stoning vehicles near the school on Tuesday.

Mr Rhoda said the children had gathered at the school outside the town early yesterday and were preparing to march to the Magistrate's Court when he stopped them.

He then took one of the accused to the court, but was called out when it was learned that the students had decided to continue with their march through the town centre to the court.

He spoke to them and persuaded them to return quietly to the school. While they were walking back a police contingent moved close to them and a confrontation appeared imminent.

Mr Rhoda said he approached the officer in charge of the squad and told him there would be no trouble and that the police should not interfere.

The children returned to school and continued with their classes. A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the incident-free march.

Call on SADF RC chaplains

Staff Reporter

THE immediate withdrawal of Roman Catholic chaplains operating within the SADF has been demanded by the executive of the National Catholic Federation of Students (NCFS).

In a statement yesterday, the executive said it supported the fast by Father Basil van Rensburg and identified itself fully with his call for the withdrawal of chaplains from the SADF.

"It is our belief that the existing structure of the military chaplaincy based on the receiving of military pay, rank and uniform by chaplains represents a serious compromise of the Church's autonomy."

PFP will meet ANC

W/E ARGUS 12/10/85

11A

Kaunda gives blessing

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and three top PFP officials are to meet the African National Congress in Lusaka later today in a move which is expected to set off a clash with the South African Government.

The group, who prepared their meeting secretly — many senior members of the party did not know about it — arrived in the Zambian capital yesterday.

They held an informal meeting with an official of the ANC in what Dr Slabbert said was an attempt to work out an agenda for the meeting.

The ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, will not be at the talks. He is out of Zambia, and it could not be established last night which ANC officials would be at the meeting.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who was present at talks last month between the ANC and leading South African businessmen, is not expected to be present at today's talks, although they are known to have his blessing.

Dr Slabbert said yesterday the meeting was "exploratory", but declined to disclose details.

He is accompanied by Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the federal executive of the PFP, who has been on a brief European trip with Dr Slabbert; Mr Colin Eglin, PFP chairman; and the MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow.

President P W Botha, who expressed opposition to the talks between the ANC and businessmen, referred to his previous statement in his initial reaction last night.

In that statement Mr Botha interpreted the businessmen's meeting with the ANC as a stab in the back for young soldiers fighting the ANC on the borders.

Criticism

Today's talks follow strong criticism by the ANC of Dr Slabbert's initiative to launch a national convention alliance as well as the PFP's close relationship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha.

Dr Slabbert said he would "have to find out what the ANC meant" by its criticism.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

He has repeatedly said that he would prefer to have the ANC at a national convention and the organisation would have to be convinced that negotiation was a viable alternative, which would lead to it dropping the use of violence.

Asked what he hoped to achieve through the talks, the first between the PFP leader and the ANC, Dr Slabbert said: "We're here to talk. That's already an achievement."

Dr Slabbert's talks have been interpreted in Western capitals as an attempt to expand his constituency and show that he is the one white leader in South Africa with enough credibility to talk to both moderate blacks and the more radical ANC.

The ANC has not minced words in the past in criticising the Slabbert-Buthelezi convention alliance. — BRUCE CAMERON, Weekend Argus Political Staff and PATTI WALDMEIR, Financial Times, Lusaka.

Offices of UDF-linked organizations gutted

City building wrecked

CAPE TOWN 12/10/85 (11A) (S)

By PETER DENNEHY

A BLAZE gutted the Corporation Street offices of seven organizations closely related to the United Democratic Front in Cape Town yesterday.

No one was injured in the fire.

The possibility of arson was being investigated, said the police officer in charge at the fire, Lieutenant H Kroff.

The Central Fire Brigade's chief fire officer, Mr Joop Hamel, said it was not likely the fire had been caused by an electrical fault. It seemed the fire had

started in the centre of the building.

Fire station officer A G Croeser said the second and third floors of the Corporation Chambers building were "mostly gutted", some offices were badly water damaged.

He estimated damage at "possibly a million rand".

The fire also caused smoke and water dam-

age to the City Hall Hotel in Darling Street.

Organizations which rented offices in the complex are the Grassroots Community Newspaper, the Clothing Workers Union (Clowu), the Retail and Allied Workers Union (Rawu), the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), a children's newspaper called Mulo Songololo, the Trade Union Media Support Project and a Worker's Advice Office.

Mr Saleem Badat, editor of Grassroots, said he would not be surprised if the fire had been caused by an arsonist "in an attempt to silence us".

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, vice-president of the UDF in the Western Cape, said the fire was "an act of provocation" which would "lead to an increase in violence".

Most of the damage in the newspaper offices was caused by water. Clowu, Rawu and the Support Project offices were gutted.

Control

A witness who refused to be identified, said he saw a fire in a metal "basket" or drum which had been placed inside



Mr. and Mrs. Rhodes, president of the Cape Times Western Cape Press, said the fire was a disaster for the newspaper, which would result in an increase in violence.

Most of the damage in the newspaper offices was caused by water from the hoses and the building's offices were gutted.

Control

Some of the firemen who refused to be captured said they were in a state of confusion when they were placed inside the building. The wooden structure of the building was in a state of collapse.

The firemen who were captured had been taken to the hospital. The fire was out at 11:30 p.m.

Mr. Jonathan Meyer, of the Cape Times, said he had seen the start of the fire behind the door at the bottom of the stairs, and had moved his car from the entrance.

The number of pedestrians and motorists gathered to watch as the fire spread rapidly through the two storeys of the three-storey building. Nelson was injured, but an elderly man and woman were assisted out.

Mr. Jonathan Meyer, of Athlone, said he had gone up to the second floor to assist and had carried an elderly man and a woman out of the building and down the stairs.

The fierce flames were fought by more than 30 firemen in eight fire tenders from Cape Town, Sea Point and Salt River. It took the firemen three-quarters of an hour to control the fire, which was reported at 8:45.

Firemen braved a thick rain of sparks as they directed powerful jets of water into the heart of the fire from close range on a turntable ladder and a hydraulic platform.

The fire was described by a fireman as the largest in the central city area in the last six years.

Members of the organization were late last night holding a candlelight vigil outside the building to prevent theft of documents and equipment.



Undaunted by intense heat from the flames, a fireman directs a powerful jet of water from a "snorkel" hydraulic platform into the fire. Cape Times Newscolour: Iver Markmar

CAP 12/10/85

Mob destroys home of former Durban lawyer

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The home of a former Durban advocate, community leader and chairman of the Clermont Advisory Board, Mr Aubrey Nyembezi, was gutted after being petrol-bombed and shot at early yesterday.

Mr Nyembezi was not hit when the attackers fired two shots at him as he came out of the house after hearing a gunshot.

The other five occupants of the house, including his wife, Merina, also escaped uninjured.

The attack on Mr

Nyembezi's house was similar to others in Umhlangeni and Kwa Mashu where houses have been petrol-bombed and shot at.

Mr Nyembezi said he suspected his home had been attacked because of his opposition to the incorporation of Clermont township into Kwa-Zulu.

He said everything he had been doing had been done with the community's approval.

Mr Nyembezi said he first heard shots being fired at the house and then petrol bombs were hurled from all sides about lam.

"Two bullets were fired at me which miraculously missed. The bullets were followed by petrol bombs which set the house on fire," he said. More than 10 attackers were seen driving away in an Isuzu truck and Ford Granada.

Two petrol drums, more than 10 petrol bombs and several cartridges were found near Mr Nyembezi's bedroom and in the yard.

Mr Nyembezi estimated damage to the eight-roomed house at more than R100 000.

Meanwhile pupils at the two high schools in Lamontville boycotted classes yesterday while other black schools in the greater Durban area reported more or less normal attendances yesterday.

Spokesmen for the Lamontville Secondary School and the A J Mwehlase Secondary School of Lamontville said that no pupils had come to school.

KwaMashu schools, which have reported school disruptions in the past few months, reported no problems.

● Sapa reports that a man was killed and five others injured when members of the Defence Force opened fire on several vehicles in Soweto on Thursday night. Police said yesterday one man was arrested.

Nelson Mandela Park

(11A) Richard Walker Mercury
NEW YORK—A park in the middle of the Pacific Ocean is to be named after Nelson Mandela, the Prime Minister of Vanuatu announced at the United Nations.

Vanuatu, the former New Hebrides, is a group of a dozen islands about 800 km west of Fiji. 124/10/85

Prime Minister Walter Lini told a hearing to mark an annual 'day of solidarity with South African political prisoners' that the park would be situated in Vanuatu's capital.

Fire destroys unions' offices in city

Weekend Argus Reporter
12/10/85

POLICE have opened an arson docket after fire destroyed several trade union offices in a historic Victorian building opposite the City Hall late yesterday afternoon.

The building, Corporation Chambers on the corner of Corporation and Darling streets, held the offices of the community newspaper, Grassroots, three trade unions, a children's magazine, Molo Songololo, the Media Support Project and workers' advice office.

The unions are the Clothing Workers' Union (Clowu),

the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and the Retail and Allied Workers' Union (Rawu).

No one was injured in the blaze which was put out by six fire engines from the Cape Town Fire Brigade.

The cause of the fire has not been established.

Chief Fire Officer Joop Hamel said an electrical fault was "unlikely".

Two witnesses claimed to have seen a small fire burning in a bin inside a ground-floor door leading to the offices of the Clothing

Workers' Union at about 5.40pm.

They hurried to alert a caretaker at a nearby building. When they returned five minutes later with fire-extinguishers the blaze had spread up a wooden stairwell and was burning fiercely on the first floor.

A police liaison officer, Captain J Calitz, said an arson docket had been opened.

Hundreds of spectators watched from the Grand Parade as firemen fought the roaring flames which threatened to spread to the adjoining City Hall Hotel.

At 5.45pm, flames were

leaping out of upper windows and clouds of black smoke billowed out.

At times, night appeared to descend on Darling Street as the wind changed direction and blew smoke among the spectators.

Firemen trained four hoses on the blazing structure as flames shot out of the roof. Two fire-fighters perched high on ladders — one a hydraulic platform, the other a turntable — pumped thousands of litres of water into the building from roof height.

The fire was rapidly brought under control and

by 6.15pm was only smouldering.

The spire of a turret, weakened by fire, was dislodged by water from the hoses and crashed into Darling Street.

Hero of the evening was 20-year-old Derek Parker of Mitchell's Plain who helped a middle-aged man from an upstairs room soon after the fire started.

He said he heard shouts and entered the smoking building.

"I went up the stairs to the second floor," he said. "The man seemed to be confused and didn't know there was a fire. I pulled him

along with me and down the stairs."

Onlookers said an elderly woman was also rescued by a passer-by.

Mr Hamel said structural engineers would have to decide whether the recently renovated building could be saved. There were "bad cracks" in the building below the turret.

Picture: DOUG PITHEY,
Weekend Argus

A fire engine ladder overlooks the scene of yesterday's fire in Corporation Street. A crowd of bystanders gathered as the building blazed fiercely for half-an-hour.

Inkatha members jailed for attacks on UDF supporters

SEVEN Inkatha members - including women's brigade central committee member Nora Dlamini - were this week found guilty of burning down the homes of UDF supporters in Hambanathi.

Magistrate HW Weitz warned that they had no right to take the law into their own hands.

The group were convicted of arson and malicious dam-

age to property after burning down a garage, setting a car alight and stoning Joint Rent Action Committee chairman Richard Gumede's home last August.

★ Dlamini, her daughter Nomthandazo Dlamini, 32, Andrietta Ngema, 45, and Jonathan Mthembu, 31 were jailed for three years, with half the sentence suspended for five years.

★ Dlamini's son Meshack, 22, was jailed for 18 months, half suspended - for malicious damage to property.

★ Two youths were given an 18-month suspended sentence, and five cuts each.

The seven are out on bail pending an appeal.

There are several other charges pending against Hambanathi Inkatha members arising from clashes last year.

Pamphlets threaten Umlazi residents

UMLAZI residents have received anonymous pamphlets threatening to burn and "remove" the homes of political activists from the township.

13/10/85 (NA) ~~CPA~~ C. Press
The one-page notice said a meeting of the "community and youth" had been held and it had come to "their" notice that there were political instigators among the youth who were perpetrating violence.

"We took a resolution that these houses, which we found to be the springboard of these organisations, must be burned and removed because we want peace in Umlazi," the pamphlet said.

Azapo and the UDF were singled out as instigators.

UDF men are serpents - Sebe

~~UDF~~ ~~IIA~~ BY BENITO PHILLIPS *Press*
CISKEI President Lennox Sebe called civil servants who are UDF members "offspring of serpents" and called on them to resign - "leave your offices and voetsiek".

He said so in an address to a rally at Zweitshe Stadium last weekend. He attacked a chamber of commerce - which he did not name - for donating funds for funerals of unresist victims.

He said he hated the Chamber for donating money "to people who kill us". He also asked why businesses closed their shops during funerals of unresist victims, but not during funerals of Cabinet ministers, chiefs, headmen or mayors.

Mr Sebe said if they went to such "extremes", it showed that they hated the Ciskei government.

13/10/85

PE steps up white trade boycott

C. P. M. (11A)
13/10/85

THE boycott of white shops was stepped up again in Port Elizabeth yesterday and extended to last until after Christmas.

Consumers with goods bought in white areas experienced renewed pressure yesterday after the campaign had slackened slightly.

Youths demanded that no groceries, meat or new articles of clothing be brought into the black townships.

Older black residents claim youngsters attacked them if they wore new shoes or clothes.

One woman, who had bought a bottle of cooking oil, was allegedly forced to drink it before entering the location.

She had to be treated in the Livingstone Hospital afterwards.

Another woman, taking bread to her children, was forced to crumb the bread and tramp on it.

With the campaign being extended to boycott white-owned shops until the end of the year, some residents are scouting around to find where they can buy their Christmas supplies.

★ ABOUT 200 students of the University of Bophuthatswana were dispersed by Bophuthatswana police this week after they marched to Mafikeng where Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, was addressing a meeting.

Pandemonium nearly stopped the meeting as some members of the audience booed and interjected Dr Treurnicht's speech. - Sapa.

Democracy possible now, says Buthelezi

11A Mercury 14/10/85

GENEVA—President Botha could even now establish a very powerful, fully democratic government in South Africa which would triumph over all adversity, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Geneva at the weekend.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at a meeting with executives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (Operations), specialists in federalism.

He said this democratic

triumph could happen tomorrow if the President were to abandon his Right wing in favour of a national government of reconciliation in which he worked with non-Afrikaners of all colours.

Perhaps President Botha's real limitation, he said, was that he worked within his unstated total commitment to lead South Africa as an Afrikaner and 'his adamant unwillingness to think about future governments in which the Afrikaner does not hold

the whip hand'.

Perhaps Mr Botha found it impossible to do what was necessary and would rather risk the whole country in his continued attempt to keep Afrikaners 'in the national driving seat'.

Earlier, at a meeting of prominent Swiss citizens, Chief Buthelezi announced that he would continue to reject the country's new constitution even if a fourth chamber for blacks was created.

He said that, without

meaningful negotiations as a matter of extreme urgency, the upward spiral of political violence would continue.

The ANC's armed struggle had failed.

It had failed to establish springboards in neighbouring states and to develop the internal infrastructure making the movements of arms and men possible.

It had therefore to intensify its attempts to keep revolution alive by instigating mob violence inside South Africa and by turning all those who were not with the revolutionary movement into targets for attack.

Chief Buthelezi said he was committed to non-violence not only for moral reasons but because he believed that, in the end, negotiation would prove more powerful than violence.

'But I say this knowing that we have already

passed the point in history beyond which escalating violence is inevitable. The closer South Africa moves towards a negotiated settlement between black and white, the more frantically those committed to overthrowing the Government by revolution, and replacing the National Party Government by an ANC military government, will act.'

Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha, with its paid-up membership of more than a million, must now necessarily be centrally involved in any negotiated settlement. — (Sapa)

PFP, ANC link in call for Mandela's release

Mercury 14/10/85

11A 2000

Mercury Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG—
The banned African National Congress and South Africa's Official Opposition yesterday issued a joint statement in Lusaka calling for the release of Nelson Mandela.

On his return here last night, leader of the PFP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert said the ANC had not dismissed the possibility of negotiations with white South Africans in future.

Speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after returning from a Lusaka meeting with ANC members, he said he had attempted to bring together all parties involved in the South African political situation who were opposed to violence.

"The meeting created a useful platform for possible future talks," he said.

"The ANC said they would reconsider their

situation in the light of information given to them and they made it clear there was a wide range of possibilities to be discussed for a democratic South Africa," said Dr Slabbert.

"A conducive climate has to be established for negotiations and this means dismantling apartheid."

Dr Slabbert said that the meeting had lasted for more than six hours and had been frank and

cordial.

It had been extremely useful and might happen again although no date for future talks had been set.

The ANC had said violence had been resorted to only after all democratic alternatives had proved useless.

Dr Slabbert said he had not met ANC leader Oliver Tambo because he had been out of the country.

PFP and the ANC agreed on the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a united non-racial, democratic South Africa.

They disagreed on how this might be achieved.

They also differed on the possibility of holding a national convention to resolve the apartheid crisis.

The PFP had no intention of 'playing referee' between Inkatha and the ANC. "We feel Buthelezi cannot be left out and should be included in all efforts of negotiation."

A joint statement issued in Lusaka said the

Tutu to address UN

ANGLICAN Bishop of Johannesburg, the afternoon. New PAC chairman, the Right Reverend Desmond Mpilo Mr Johnson Mlambo will on this occasion also make his maiden address before the general assembly plenary. Tutu, has been invited by the United Nation's Special Committee Against Apartheid to speak at its special political committee hearing on October 28.

The statement further mentions that the organisation is confident that Bishop Tutu will strongly reiterate to the international community the position he has always held on the imperative of the unity of all those struggling for justice, peace, truth and self-determination.

A spokesman for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) yesterday said in a statement they supported the proposal by the UN to invite Bishop Tutu. The spokesman said "PAC strongly supported the suggestion that Bishop Tutu address the special political committee in the general assembly hall just before the debate on apartheid policies of the government of South Africa which start on the same day in

Sowetan

10/10/85

ANC, PFP may talk again

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party is to continue contact with the African National Congress and more meetings would be held "if and where necessary", the leader of the party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today.

'Apartheid lies at the heart of SA crisis'

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party and the African National Congress issued a joint statement after wide-ranging discussions in Lusaka on Saturday.

The statement read: "Apartheid lies at the heart of the present crisis in South Africa. Both sides share the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and to establish a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

"Both are deeply concerned to conserve the human and natural resources of our country and to remove one of the most potent factors affecting the whole of the Southern African region.

"Areas of difference were discussed in a frank and cordial atmosphere. In particular there were differences on the role and the centrality of the armed struggle in bringing about fundamental change.

"On the question of a national convention for a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa, the PFP explained its position that such a convention could only take place when certain conditions were met.

"The ANC stated that it does not consider that there has come into being at the present moment a climate under which it can begin a negotiated resolution to the crisis.

"At the same time the ANC does not rule out for all time either a convention as a means of devising a constitution or negotiations as a means of resolving the crisis.

"Both believe that one of the urgent issues is to secure the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees.

"Both sides agreed that the meeting was extremely useful and if necessary would happen again."

The party will communicate with the Government about the weekend meeting in Lusaka.

Dr Slabbert indicated that he would be willing to brief President P W Botha on the meeting if the President was interested.

A spokesman for the President's Office said today Mr Botha's attitude had not changed from what he had said in the past and that he had nothing to add to this.

In good spirit

Dr Slabbert said today the discussions had taken place in a good spirit.

In Lusaka the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, hailed the talks as a step "that broadens the anti-apartheid base".

While the ANC was not willing to commit itself to the PFP's idea of a national convention, Mr Nzo said he would not rule out negotiations "for all time" and it is understood that the ANC executive will discuss the matter further.

While the ANC maintained that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's participation in the PFP-backed convention alliance was a major barrier to its participation, the PFP group said it was essential to have him involved in such initiatives.

Urgent need

A joint statement by the two groups said the two sides agreed that there was an urgent need to dismantle apartheid and to establish a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said today the talks had encouraged him to believe South Africa could still negotiate itself out of its problems. The most important conclusion reached at the talks was that apartheid lay at the root of South Africa's problems.

He had been given the clear understanding the ANC would reconsider its position regarding negotiations and the cessation of an armed struggle once the structure of apartheid was removed and its leaders freed.

The talks between a four-man ANC delegation under the leadership of Mr Nzo, and Dr Slabbert and three PFP MPs, Dr Alex Boraine, Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Peter Gastrow, took

(Turn to Page 3, col 5)

AKG
14/10/85
117

Azapo 3 die in smash

THREE senior officials of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation were killed and another was seriously injured when the car they were travelling in was involved in an accident last Thursday (October 10) near Bloemfontein.

Those killed are Mr Themba Buthelezi, from Imbali Township, Pietermaritzburg, Ms Julie Veedan, an articled clerk and Mr Siva Chetty, both from Durban.

Mr Buthelezi and Ms Veedan died on the spot and Mr Chetty died a day later in hospital.

Mr Imrann Moosa, Azapo's publicity secretary was seriously injured. Mr Moosa, who stays in Durban, broke both legs and dislocated his right shoulder. He was admitted at the

SOWETAN Reporter

Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein.

Mr Moosa is an advocate.

His condition was yesterday described as still serious.

The four were on their way from Durban to Kimberley to attend a council meeting of Azapo when their car got involved in an accident.

At the time of going to press, no funeral arrangements had been finalised.

Parents resolve that the SADF should leave

Sowetans form a crisis committee

By Phil Mtimkulu

The authorities should be asked to withdraw troops from the townships and defer school examinations until negotiations were resolved, a meeting in Soweto decided yesterday.

The meeting, organised by the Soweto Civic Association at St Margaret's Church, Zone Three, Diepkloof, was attended by about 2 000 people, mostly parents.

A Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee was formed to negotiate with the authorities and keep other parents informed.

A committee member said parents were keen that their children go back to school and pupils were also anxious to resume their studies — but that depended on the attitude of the authorities to the negotiations.

The meeting also decided that creches, pre-school nurseries and lower and higher primary schools should continue uninterrupted.

It also resolved that:

- The South African Defence Force leave the townships and police leave the schools with immediate effect.
- Detained pupils and their leaders should be released.
- The community and relevant Government departments should be informed of developments within the next three days.

● Parents should take the responsibility in matters affecting their children.

● High school examinations were inappropriate at this time and should be deferred until the other issues were resolved.

An African Teachers' Association of South Africa (Atasa) member and veteran school teacher, Mr HH Dlamenze, put forward the idea that a committee be formed to speak to the authorities.

INFORM PARENTS

He also urged pupils not to take matters into their own hands without informing their parents.

Consensus on issues was difficult and joint chairmen, Mr Eric Molobi and Mr Isaac Mogase, told speakers to stick to the main issues — withdrawal of troops and the writing of examinations.

Some people opposed the concession granted to lower and higher primary schools and the deferment of examinations. Some were also opposed to children from Soweto attending private schools. But in the end there was agreement on the resolution.

A woman also asked that the older pupils should conduct themselves as brothers and sisters of the "little kids" and that they should go to libraries and be seen to be interested in pursuing their studies.

A taxi owner asked pupils to make transport arrangements in good time, rather than kidnap vehicles, when there was a funeral of an unrest victim.

Ex-Azanyu chief reporter held

THE former president of the Azanian National Youth Unity, Mr Carter Seleka (30) of Dobsonville is being held under security laws. 14/10/85

A relative yesterday said Mr Seleka was arrested at the home of a friend he had visited in Mofolo on October 4.

The family informed their attorney Mrs Priscilla Jana, who immediately contacted the police who confirmed the arrest and said Mr Seleka was being held at Protea Police Station, said the relative.

Former journalist, Mr Langa Skhosana, who worked for *The Star* newspaper, is due to be released on October 21, his wife, Thandiswa, said yesterday.

She said her husband,

detained fourteen days ago under the emergency regulation's curfew laws, was on his way home when he was arrested. SOWETO

'Pupils are being used'

THE president of the Mamelodi Parents' Association, Mr Louis Khumalo, launched a scathing attack on businessmen, whom he accused of setting schoolchildren against their opponents.

Addressing a businessmen's meeting at the local Community Hall, Mr Khumalo said there had been reports of business people giving false information about others to schoolchildren in order that they attack their business premises.

He said there were rumours that certain businessmen were operating as fronts for white-

owned companies.

The meeting was called by the acting chairman of the Pretoria East Chamber of Commerce (Peacoc), Mr John Tau, to unite businessmen and to form a new business body. He said that Peacoc had failed to meet the needs of local traders and as a result they were faced with problems resulting from the recent unrest which hit Mamelodi.

The meeting resolved that an interim committee be elected to prepare for the formation of a new body at the next meeting.



11A

14/10/85
SOWETO

By Jon Qwelane

Black leaders not surprised by poll

The view that there will never be black majority rule anywhere as long as some white people can help it is all *deja vu*, say black leaders.

They were responding to a poll which showed that almost two-thirds of whites in South Africa's urban areas believed there would never be a black majority government in the country.

The poll, conducted by the Markinor Research Group, found that among 1 000 urban whites polled 64 percent believed South Africa would never be ruled by a black majority

while 34 percent disagreed.

The results of the survey showed that Afrikaners, who comprised 72 percent of those polled, were more adamant than English-speakers that blacks would never take control of the country.

Comments the president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana: "The poll has a ring of *deja vu* about it. We still remember Ian Smith not only saying

there would be black majority rule over his dead body, but also that there would be no such thing in 1 000 years — meaning even after his death. And Smith is still very much alive.

"But such results were only to be expected because white South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, have been nurtured on the milk of hatred and racism and have been told since their youth that blacks are inferior people. It is an ar-

ticle of faith.

"But we also know that when the change comes, such people are the first to go along with it. When an Afrikaner of the right wing mould changes his views, he gets to be left of even the PFP, and these guys will come to accept black rule when we take over control."

Those who conducted the poll posed a wrong question, he says. They should not have spoken of black majority rule but only of majority rule be-

cause we are not racist and when we take over we will not look at people in terms of their colour. We will be interested only in those people of all races who have goodwill, patriotism, expertise and love of their fellow man. Colour will have nothing to do with it".

Bishop Simeon Nkoane, Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, says apartheid has succeeded so well that blacks and whites in South Africa live in com-

pletely different worlds.

"The whites live in a most unrealistic and 'cloud cuckoo' kind of world, and to live in such a world is a very dangerous thing.

"I have been deeply appalled at their lack of understanding of conditions in which the blacks live. A frightening number of whites do not realise the depressing and unacceptable world in which blacks live, and as such do not realise the

full significance of the unrest in our townships," says the bishop.

"Whites don't realise that blacks have crossed the Rubicon," he says, "and there is a feeling in the townships that South Africa must change now or never. That two-thirds of urban whites think blacks will never rule the country is a tragic indication of the unrealistic world in which whites live."

The head of political studies at the University of South Africa, Professor Willem Kleynhans, said he was not surprised at the results of the poll.

Cape Times
14/10/85

LP wants 'to buy members'

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front has reacted sharply to Labour Party recommendations that housing subsidies of teachers in the Department of Education and Culture who are active in the UDF or the South African Council on Sport be reconsidered.

The Labour Party has confirmed that a resolution passed at the recent Eastern Cape regional conference of the party in Uitenhage recommending the possible suspension of the subsidies has been referred to the Minister's Council of the House of Representatives.

'Credibility'

In a statement, the organizer of the interim executive of the Western Cape UDF, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, who is in hiding, said: "Teachers and students have a democratic right to support the progressive organizations of their choice.

"The Labour Party never had any credibility. Now they want to buy members by intimidating our teachers. These Nationalist government-type threats will not deter our people from gaining control over their education."

'immoral to sit on hands'

place in a guest house in Lusaka and went on for about eight hours.

Before the recent talks between the ANC and a group of prominent South African businessmen Mr Botha indicated he thought such action bordered on the unpatriotic. He has repeatedly emphasised that he is not willing to talk to the ANC unless it renounces violence as a means of political change.

Referring to the reasons for the meeting, Dr Slabbert said he had made it clear earlier this year that he believed the PFP needed to explore all possibilities to promote the politics of negotiation.

He had made it clear the party was prepared to talk to anybody or any organisation with a view to decreasing violent confrontation and promoting the politics of negotiation.

"It would be totally immoral to sit on our hands when South

Africa is sliding into an escalating crisis."

As talks from the Government side were not possible at this stage, the same attitude seemed to exist from the ANC side.

If certain preconditions — the release of political prisoners and the dismantling of apartheid — were met, negotiations could take place.

The relevance of the armed struggle would then decrease and violence would cease.

There was a definite willingness on the part of the ANC to respond to moves that would make negotiations possible.

Dr Slabbert said the real issue was "how far the Government is prepared to go to get rid of apartheid and to seek a peaceful resolution of our problems.

"This would determine how many lives are lost in the final analysis. This is where one's first loyalty must lie — to all the young people of South Africa."

PW calls for re-think on Matie-ANC talks

Oct. 1985

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT P W Botha, chancellor of Stellenbosch University, has asked student leaders and a clergyman to reconsider "soberly" their planned talks in Lusaka with the Youth League of the banned African National Congress.

They may have to answer to the families of innocent victims of ANC acts of terror, he said in a telex to rector Professor Mike de Vries who is also strongly opposed to the planned contact.

In a statement last night the student group said they believed their meeting could "break valuable ground for negotiations on a higher level".

The group — which includes members of the student representative council and the editor of the campus newspaper, Die Matie — said last night that after "thorough consideration" they had decided to go ahead with the talks on October 26.

In a joint statement they explained their reasons for accepting an invitation to talk to the exiled ANC.

Their visit was not motivated by "rebelliousness or irresponsibility" but was a "modest attempt

to promote mutual understanding", the statement said.

"As young Afrikaners we have certain expectations and make certain demands for the future. We believe this must be conveyed to the ANC Youth League.

"We do not represent any major power or interest group in the country but we do believe that this visit can break valuable ground for discussions on a higher level."

TELEX

"With this we confirm our loyalty towards South Africa and all its people."

According to the Argus Political Correspondent Mr Botha expressed his strong opposition to the proposed meeting in a telex to Professor de Vries.

He said it was traditionally accepted that original and uninhibited thinking was a feature of academic institutions but when students with limited experience of the hard realities outside the protected milieu of the campus tried to have a dialogue with advocates of violence "they must then be called to sober reconsideration".

Call to restore burnt building's 'grandeur'

11A
12B
Cape Times 14/11/01
Staff Reporter

TWO leading architectural experts yesterday called on the authorities to do "everything in their power" to ensure that Corporation Chambers, the Corporation Street building wrecked by fire on Friday afternoon, is restored to its former grandeur.

They are Professor O Pryce-Lewis, Associate Professor Emeritus of Architecture at the University of Cape Town, and Ms Desiree Picton-Seymour, National Monuments Council member and 1983 winner of the Cape Times Centenary Medal for architectural conservation.

The building, which housed seven organizations closely connected to the United Democratic Front, was gutted in a suspected arson attack. Damage is estimated at over R1-million.

It is located in an historic area of old Cape Town, opposite the City Hall and diagonally opposite the Parade.

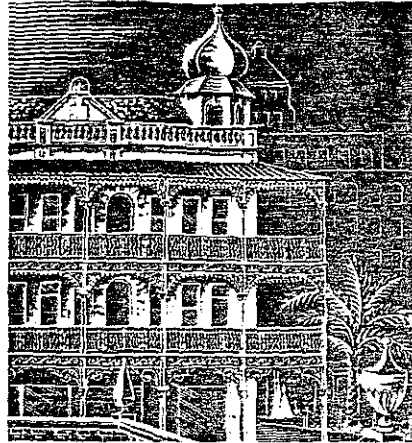
Corporation Chambers was built in 1902 by the owners, Messrs S Zackon and M Saacks, and was designed by the first architect of note to be born in South Africa, Berlin-trained Mr Johann Seeliger, Professor Pryce-Lewis said yesterday.

"The building is historically and architecturally important, and if it is structurally possible, it must be preserved.

"This is going to be difficult to do because of the damage but it is important that every effort be made in this direction. It is next to the City Hall and is part of an architectural environment which has been fairly well preserved," Professor Pryce-Lewis said.

Ms Picton-Seymour said the building's overall importance was that it faced on to the City Hall "and the two buildings go beautifully together".

"It is difficult at this stage to say whether or not restoration is viable but everything possible must be done to save the building. It is important that the City Council should not be over-hasty in demolishing the shell.



An artist's impression of what Corporation Chambers originally looked like, with cast-iron balconies and an onion dome that is repeated in the minarets of many of Cape Town's mosques.

They must first do a thorough study on the possibilities of restoration," she said.

● The Clothing Workers' Union secretary, Ms Zubeida Jaffer, described the destruction of their offices as an "act of terror against democratic opposition".

In a statement yesterday, Ms Jaffer said the fire was "a vicious attempt to eliminate the organized community services of the oppressed".

"Our union has been systematically subjected to harassment ranging from the detention of our organizers to daily interference in our work," she said.

She said Clowu would not be deterred by the incident and was confident that Clowu and the other organizations would be able to reconstruct what had been destroyed.

● The cause of Friday afternoon's fire has not yet been determined.

A police spokesman for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, confirmed yesterday that an arson docket has been opened and that police were continuing their investigations.

CAPE TIMES
14/10/85

11A
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Clergy 'reluctant' to lead Ndondo burial

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. — The funeral of Mr Bantandwa Ndondo, who died in Cala last month — allegedly at the hands of Transkeian police — is scheduled to be held in the village today but by late last night no one could be found to conduct the service.

In terms of restrictions that have been placed on the funeral by police, only an ordained minister of religion may officiate.

A friend of the victim's family who did not want to be named reported general apprehension on the part of members of the clergy.

He said a number of ministers had been approached. While some had not been prepared to take part, a few had indicated that they

might be prepared to step in at the last minute if no one else could be found.

The friend, who was asked by members of the family to assist in the search for a minister, said many were reluctant to participate in the ceremony because they feared deportation or detention in the wake of recent arrests in the homeland.

Following a statement last week in which the Roman Catholic Diocese of Umtata expressed "abhorrence" at the murder of Mr Ndondo, a former member of the Catholic Student's Association, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Umtata had been summoned by the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, and warned

that such comment could lead to a rift between the government and the church, he said.

In addition, a minister who had officiated at a memorial service held in Umtata soon after Mr Ndondo's death had also allegedly been threatened with deportation, he said.

A speech made by President Kaizer Matanzima last weekend, in which he blamed Mr Ndondo for a bomb blast which destroyed an Umtata fuel depot on June 26, had also implied that whoever conducted the service might be officiating at the funeral of a criminal.

President Matanzima made the accusation while posing the question of why Mr Ndondo had been killed.

Azapo stand on ANC indabas

EVERY organisation involved in the liberation struggle of this country is free to meet with whomsoever they choose, but after taking full cognisance of the mood of the people, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

Azapo was reacting to the meetings held by the African National Congress with South African businessmen and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in Lusaka, Zambia, recently.

The PFP's meeting with the ANC was held over the weekend and four of the party's senior members, including the leader Mr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, attended.

Sowetan Move

Azapo said the move by South African businessmen, as well as the PFP, should be seen as intended to safeguard the interests of capitalism in an unjust society.

"We would like to remind them that the Azanian struggle is not just against apartheid but against racism and capitalism — whether they choose to call it 'free enterprise'.

Sowetan
"Such a move may prove to be otiose in the long run, especially when seen against the background of blacks' consumer boycotts that are striking telling blows at the belly of capitalism — white business interests", Azapo said.

Dr Nthato Motlana said such contact which is approved by organisations are naturally welcome. He hoped that South African voters will learn from these contacts that the stories they hear about these "communist terrorists" are a figment of the imagination.

"These are South African men who love the country and want to see it ruled on the basis of majority rules, with a liberal franchise and equality. 15/10/85

"The meetings should be encouraged as long as nobody dictates to others what they should do like some people in the country are doing," Dr Motlana said.

Mdantsane pupils to end boycott?

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — After boycotting classes for almost two months, Mdantsane pupils are expected to return to school today.

The chairman of the Mdantsane Ministers' Fraternal, the Reverend A. M. Bottoman, said school principals, school committee members and teachers were notified at a meeting yesterday that some pupils would return to school today.

He said the fraternal and members of the Mdantsane Students' Council (Mdasco) would visit every school in Mdantsane to report back to the students that their demands had been met by the Ciskei Government.

"I hope this will succeed in bringing all the children back to their classes."

Several meetings have been held between the fraternal and Mdasco in the past weeks to discuss pupils' grievances.

The fraternal for-

warded the grievances to the Ciskei education authorities.

The pupils had complained about a shortage of textbooks, poor laboratory and library equipment, unqualified teachers, the expulsion of pupils who had failed their exams, police harassment of pupils and the shooting of pupils by police.

Among their demands were: a freely elected students' representative council, the withdrawal of security forces from the townships, an independent inquiry into the deaths of pupils who had died during the unrest and the withdrawal of defence force teachers at the schools.

The Ciskei Government had agreed to these demands, Mr Bottoman said, and the pupils would be briefed on the government's reaction today.

● In another development yesterday, the Ciskei government announced that the entire executive of the Ciskei Teachers' Union (Cistu) has been detained.

A statement released by the directorate of communications said the executive had been detained under the National Security Act after an incident at the weekend. They were being detained pending further investigations.

It is not known whether the detention follows the change of venue for a farewell ceremony in honour of a retiring inspector, Mr D. M. Mesatywa, from the Lennox Sebe College to the communal hall on Saturday.

The president of Cistu, Mr E. N. Belewa, who is among those detained, confirmed on Saturday that the venue had to be changed after students at Lennox Sebe College said they did not want to have anything to do with Cistu.

Among those who attended the farewell function was President Sebe's wife, Mrs Virginia Sebe, and cabinet ministers.

The statement added that President Sebe strongly condemned the present wave of defiance among schoolchildren.

"Ciskei cannot afford to raise a generation of illiterates whose only knowledge will be the knowledge of boycotting and disturbing a normal, disciplined education system," the statement quoted President Sebe as saying.

"We are going out of our way to accommodate scholars to provide them with a sound, balanced system of education. We will not allow them to disrupt education for their own ulterior motives, and will certainly not allow them to dictate to us or those children who do want a sound education."

AZAPO MEMBERS LAID TO REST

15/10/85

TWO of the three senior officials of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation who were killed when their car was involved in an accident near Bloemfontein on Kruger Day, have been buried. ~~KIT~~

They were Ms Julie Veedan, an articulated clerk, who was buried

on Saturday and Mr Siva Chetty who was laid to rest yesterday. Both lived in Durban.

The third person, Mr Themba Buthelezi, formerly of Imbali Township, Pietermaritzburg, has not yet been buried, but it is hoped that his funeral will take place at

the weekend. (11A)

The fourth occupant of the car, Mr Imrann Moosa, Azapo's publicity secretary, who was seriously injured, is still in Pelonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein. ~~SO WE~~

Mr Moosa, a Durban advocate, is reported to

have broken both legs and dislocated his right shoulder. He is likely to be in hospital for the next six months.

The four were on their way from Durban to Kimberley to attend a meeting of Azapo when their car was involved in an accident.

Inkatha youth slates paper

15/10/85
SIR — As a newspaper reader and member of Inkatha Youth Brigade, which is committed not only to the liberation of black South Africans, but also to our dream of "one South Africa, one nation", I have the following complaints to make concerning your newspaper. **THE SOWETAN.**

(a) Our newspapers are biased in their reporting. Some may lead you to believe that the editor is in the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, the UDF or any other political grouping.

(b) **THE SOWETAN** stood a chance of escaping blame, but now your paper seems to have blown away the commitment to fair and balanced reporting. If this is the case, we are facing a very serious problem indeed.

(c) **THE SOWETAN's** comment of September 5 and Joe's Burg of September 6 and your report of a clash between a busload of Azapo people and Inkatha people need to be looked into once more.

The comment, meant to indicate black pride against integration, instead projected Inkatha as a Zulu organisation. Why can't we hear of the Xhosas in the African National Congress (ANC) or the Sothos in the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). How many times must Inkatha say that they have a 40% non-Zulu membership to qualify as a national organisation?

The writer of this letter is not Zulu. Our national organiser, Mr Ntwe Mafole of Evaton, is in fact Tswana, so what?

Joe's Burg contained the worse contradictions. The Zion Chris-

tian Church (ZCC) is known to be 90% northern Sothos. We don't call it the Sotho Church, but we claim, like Joe's Burg does, that some ZCC members are also members of Inkatha.

Does this still make Inkatha a Zulu organisation?

When a mob burnt Miss Maki Skhosana at Duduza, they were referred to as an "angry mob". But when angry Zulu people, who hate those who want to create Soweto's and Port Elizabeth's out of Durban, attack or clash with a busload of Azapo members, then they are referred to as Inkatha members.

When a group of 100 students made a little noise at the University of Zululand against the visit there of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, it was a case of "the people don't want him". But

when a crowd of 30 000 people at Jabulani said "We don't want disinvestment", the press chose to ignore it.

Even the demonstration by people from Durban against disinvestment during Kennedy's visit, was reported by **THE SOWETAN** as being stage managed.

What is **THE SOWETAN** up to? Do you want us to stop fighting for the liberation of our people and start fighting among ourselves?

For goodness sake, stop it. We in Inkatha have a Programme of Action. We have achieved results and see no reason why we should not go on with our struggle. Don't push us into showing our strength.

We don't subscribe to some of the silly strategies used by your favourite organisations. We have the right to go

We're there to serve all

DEAR SIR — Your cartoon on August 28, concerning attitudes in the Northern Transvaal towards our non-racial policy, may just have left an impression with readers that all South Africans are not welcome at Wimpy restaurants.

May I take this opportunity to reiterate that our group policy is one of absolute non-discrimination, and that we are pleased to extend hospitality and service to all.

Yours faithfully,
M KERKHOFF
PIETER OBERHOLZER

Marketing Manager
Wimpy Restaurants

WORD of GOD

Jesus said repent!

And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent.

And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

Luke 16:30,31

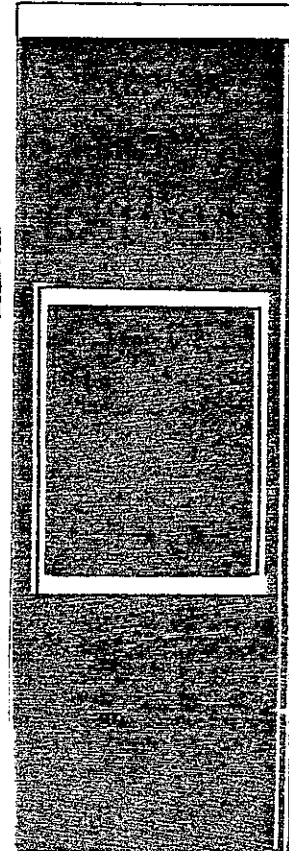
11A
Sowetan



Chief G Buthelezi.

our own way. Mind your own business. We will be there on the day of liberation.

Z.M.S. Sibanda
(PRO Inkatha Youth Brigade)
Johannesburg
Tel 834-6346/7



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1. THE PRETORIA NEWS (FOYER)
2. CARTORIA TOYOTA DEALER: 475 VERMEULEN STREET, PR 583 VOORTREKKERS ROAD 653 PRETORIA ROAD, SP 348 MIDDEL STREET.

Swapo expert to 'keep an eye' on UDF

11A
Mercury 15/10/85
Mercury Correspondent

WINDHOEK—Brig Sarel Strydom, chief of the Security Branch in Windhoek, has been transferred to head security in the presently volatile Cape Town.

The man who coordinated information-gathering on Swapo in South West Africa will now do so on the United Democratic Front.

Speaking from Cape Town yesterday, Brig Strydom confirmed the appointment, which takes effect from December 1.

But he denied that the security police were responsible for crowd control in the township unrest areas. This was done by special units under the Divisional Commissioner, he said.

'I am responsible for gathering information.'

He said the United Democratic Front was still the main organisation the Security Branch would keep its eyes on. The UDF was trying to

use pupils for its own purposes to keep the class boycotts alive.

Referring to the present unrest crisis in the country, Brig Strydom said: 'People have gone too far instead of settling our problems. I would like to see our people sit down and talk.'

Swazis hold SA lawyer

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A top South African advocate who left this country in 1973 has been declared a prohibited immigrant in Swaziland.

Mr Yusuf Patel, of Johannesburg, is being held at Matsapa in Swaziland pending deportation to South Africa.

Mr Patel, who has defended several political prisoners, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment by a South African court in 1973 after being convicted of defeating the ends of justice.

He fled the country and has been living in exile in Manzini ever since.

A close friend of Mr

Patel in Mbabane said yesterday the arrest of the former South African advocate had come as a big shock to many people in Swaziland.

A spokesman for the Swaziland police yesterday confirmed that Mr Patel had been arrested and was being held for possible deportation to South Africa.

ANC calls PFP a force in SA

117
ANC Times 12/10/85

From MICHAEL
HARTNACK

HARARE. — The African National Congress does not believe negotiations on the future of South Africa should involve only itself and President PW Botha's government, ANC information secretary Mr Tom Sabina said yesterday.

In a telephone interview from the organization's Lusaka headquarters, Mr Sabina said the weekend meeting in Zambia with leaders of the Progressive Federal Party could not be regarded as merely a "getting to know you" exchange of views with an internally-based group of South Africans who held no executive power.

"The ANC recognizes that the PFP represents a very important and significant constituency in society," he said. With 25 percent of white voters behind it, the PFP was a

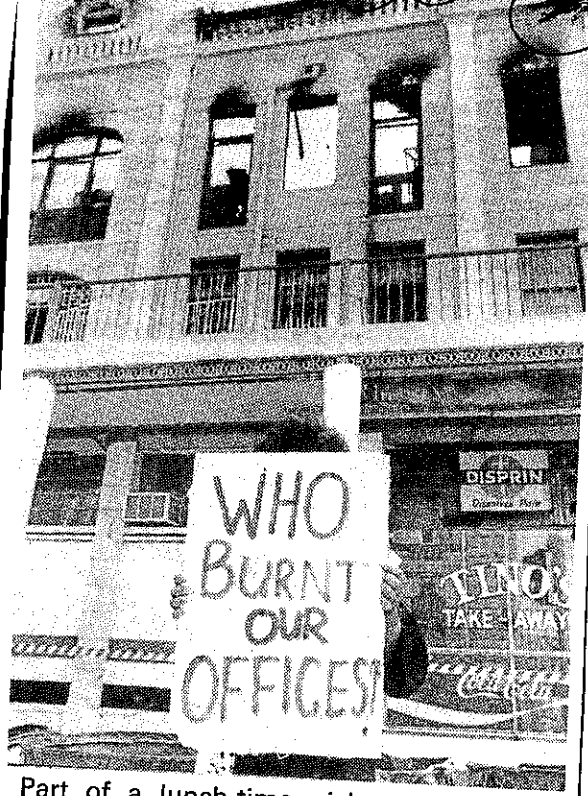
force in the same way that the business leaders who visited Zambia in September represented major socio-economic interests in South Africa, in the view of the ANC.

Though the organization felt the time was inappropriate for a national convention as envisaged by the PFP, it believed "everybody, every organization, must be participants in the democratic process which will bring apartheid to an end."

His organization differed with the PFP, however, over the participation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, whom it regarded as a representative of the South African Government.

"His screaming and raving against the ANC has put him effectively on the side of Botha. He has become part of the problem," said Mr Sabina.

CNA Times 15/10/85 (1170) ~~1170~~ ~~1170~~



Part of a lunch-time picket outside the gutted offices of seven UDF-related organizations in Corporation Street yesterday.

SWA security chief transferred to City

Cape Times 12/10/83
HA

By NOEL BRUYNS
BRIGADIER Sarel Strydom, chief of the security branch in Windhoek, has been transferred to Cape Town to head the security police.

He is the man who coordinated information-gathering on Swapo in SWA/Namibia and will now transfer his attention to the United Democratic Front.

Brigadier Strydom confirmed the appointment will take effect from December 1.

He said that the security police were not responsible for crowd control in the township unrest areas. This was done by special units under the Divisional Commissioner. "I am responsible for gathering information."

He said the United Democratic Front was still the main organization the security branch would keep its eye on. He said the UDF was trying to use pupils for its own purposes to keep the class boycotts alive.

Referring to the present unrest crisis in the country, Brigadier Strydom said: "People have gone too far instead of settling our problems. I would like to see our people sit down and talk."

Brigadier Strydom replaces Colonel Eben Coetzee, who had been acting as security police chief since early last year when Brigadier Hennie Kotze vacated the post to become Chief Criminal Investigations Officer for the Western

Cape. Colonel Coetzee is now his deputy.

● The UDF interim organizer, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, said last night that the organization saw Brigadier Strydom's presence and statements as "an act of provocation".

"He is seeking to find in the Western Cape what could not be revealed by weeks of interrogation of the UDF executive, and he is seeking to do what he failed to achieve in Namibia," he said.

"The UDF says ... we will not be intimidated."

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	\$326,75
Rand	\$0,3765/75
FT index (close)	1028,80
JSE	1080,50

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How UDF has changed SA's

political picture

15/10/85

LIA
STAR

The Star's London Bureau

The declaration of a state of emergency on July 20 1985 marked the start of a new phase in South African politics, qualitatively different in several important respects from what had gone before.

The challenge posed by the United Democratic Front in particular is different in kind and degree from that of the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress in the early 1950s and early 1960s.

First, it is a loose confederation of some 500 community organisations which focus on specific local grievances such as poor educational facilities, inadequate social services and amenities in the townships, and the abrasive attitude towards the population of the local white bureaucracy.

Second, the UDF has successfully mobilised large numbers of blacks by establishing a connection between local dissatisfaction and its amelioration through support for the wider political demands of the organisation for full participation in the central organs of government.

Third, it has made an impact on rural blacks in remote townships and villages as demonstrated by the large attendances at "political" funerals in, for example, Cradock in the Eastern Cape.

Fourth, the UDF has made effective use of the consumer boycott as a way of bringing pressure to bear on local businessmen who in turn are expected to press local and central government on the need for significant reform. A strategy of this kind is difficult, if not impossible, to police and ultimately to emasculate by orthodox techniques of social control.

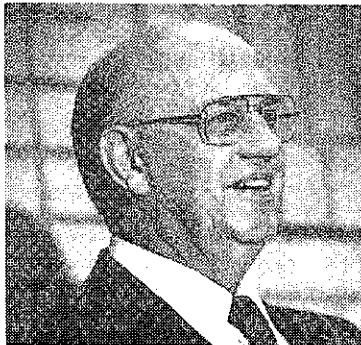
Finally, unlike its predecessors in the 1960 state of emergency, the UDF has not been banned, and several of its prominent leaders have not been detained, possibly because of their high visibility (and that of the organisation as a whole) in the outside world.

This has enabled the movement and its allied organisations — in spite of the many detentions (over 2 000 during the last two months, although nearly half have been released) — to assert its identity in

both the political debate and in organising illegal demonstrations such as the attempted march on Pollsmoor prison.

And while its voice is still heard and violence continues in the townships, South Africa remains the object of mounting external criticism and its Government unable to restore a status quo in which dissent is muted and order reasserted in the black areas.

That was possible in 1960 after the Sharpeville state of emergency when, helped by economic recovery,



Mr P W BOTHA . . . caught in an acute dilemma

external hostility quickly evaporated. No such prospect appears likely in 1985 if the present unrest and political stalemate continue.

The Government's long-term intentions on the issue of reform remain obscure, though the "law of unexpected consequences" which many saw as the one virtue of the new constitution, operates with a vengeance.

The one option on offer before the events of recent months — the establishment of community councils with limited powers and resources for the expression of black political aspirations — is plainly unacceptable.

But attempts to rebuild the structure of local government, co-opting those blacks willing to accept the Government's definitions of what is appropriate and acceptable political participation, will create the very conditions which led to the violence of recent months in which black councillors and officials were the prime target for black anger.

And in this context the violence emanating from the alienated, thoroughly disillusioned township

Professor Jack Spence, South African-born Professor of Politics at Leicester University, writing in *World Today*, the monthly journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, says the UDF has given the South African Government unique problems.

youth is one of the most disturbing features because it is not clear that any group or political movement has control over their activity.

President Botha's dilemma is acute: He cannot announce far-reaching political reform while the state of emergency continues: to do so would suggest that his Government was acting out of weakness.

On the other hand, lifting the emergency without simultaneously taking some major initiative will lead to an intensification of the present level of violence and require in turn even tougher measures to handle.

This explains the problem that Nelson Mandela presents to the state: even if the Government could overcome its reluctance to release him without renunciation of violence, the issue of what role Mandela was supposed to play in the politics of change would still remain.

The obvious one would be that of negotiator as the leader of a "legalised" ANC but negotiation — on those terms and with those parties — clearly remains unacceptable to President Botha.

Events have conspired to cast doubt on President Botha's good intentions: the failure to consult with acknowledged leaders of the black community; the raids on the Cabinda enclave and Botswana; the decision to create unilaterally a transitional government in Namibia have all seriously undermined the doctrine of constructive engagement.

Few reformist quid pro quos, let alone constructive regional initiatives, have been forthcoming in return for continued engagement by the Western powers.

Western governments now face considerable domestic and external pressure to mount fullscale sanctions on trade and investment.

The reluctance to undertake major sanctions is understandable: sanctions are in one sense a policy of desperation, resorted to because everything else has been tried and failed. As with any form of intervention in the affairs of state, success depends on setting reasonably precise, limited and realisable polit-

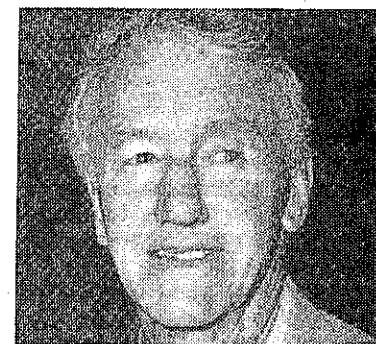
ical objectives.

Sanctions — even if limited in scope to begin with — once imposed will not be abandoned if a restoration of order and the lifting of the emergency is not accompanied by some major reform initiative.

In the past the domestic constraint to maintain white rule has always outweighed any external incentive radically to modify apartheid: but if criticism turns into real pressure, will an Afrikaner Nationalist "call to the blood" to stand firm, regardless of economic and social cost, evoke an affirmative response?

We may be closer to finding out than many observers have hitherto believed.

What is clear is that South Africa faces two very difficult choices. On the one hand, its people can move down the difficult and dangerous path of radical, structural reform knowing well that the road will be bumpy with no certainty at the end that things will turn out reasonably



Mr IAN SMITH . . . similarities between his UDI situation and SA today, are inescapable

well for both black and white.

On the other hand, the Government (and the electorate) may opt to preserve a status quo in the hope of buying time for a decade or more.

The fact that events thereafter may be substantially more difficult to control might be seen as a price worth paying.

The analogy with Ian Smith and his decision to opt for UDI is inescapable.

Q'town truck petrol-bombed

QUEENSTOWN — A cargo contractor's truck was petrol bombed in the business area here early yesterday morning.

The owner, Mr Danie van Heerden, said the whole cab of the truck was destroyed by the blaze which started around 6.30am in front of a fish shop he owns in Bushell Street.

"Luckily the engine did not catch fire," Mr Van Heerden said and added that he was shaving when someone from an adjoining business phoned to say his truck was on fire.

He said the fire was extinguished by the fire brigade after people from surrounding businesses failed to put it out with fire extinguishers.

Mr Van Heerden said police found traces of a petrol bomb in the cab of the truck. He later found more pieces of a broken bottle.

The petrol bomb attack is believed to be the first in the white area of Queenstown.

Five people have been detained for questioning in connection with the murder at the weekend of a Permanent Force soldier in KwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth.

Yesterday's post-mortem revealed that the soldier, Corporal Schoeman, had 77 wounds, caused by stabbing, slicing and chopping, according to Lieutenant Colonel Eric Strydom, head of the East Cape murder and robbery squad.

Cpl Schoeman, from Gansbaai, Western Cape, was the first soldier to die in the combined SAP-SADF unrest operations.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said Cpl Schoeman went missing after a group of suspects he and other soldiers were pursuing split up into small groups.

His body was found in an alleyway. — DDR-DDC.

Mourners 'told to leave'

Staff Reporter

A CAPE Town group attending the funeral of murdered village health worker in Cala, Mr Bathandwa Ndondo, were ordered out of the Transkei by the army as the funeral service began.

Ms Mel Alperstein, Mr Ndondo's predecessor in Cala for the Health Care Trust and a close family friend, said the army had also sealed off roads leading to the Transkei village where Mr Ndondo lived and worked, preventing mourners from attending the funeral.

Ms Alperstein said a truckload of soldiers had arrived at the house about 10am yesterday and gave seven Cape Town women, all from the Health Care Trust which employed Mr Ndondo, one hour to leave.

Other whites were also prevented from attending the funeral, she said.

AKL 15/10/84
About 30 youths wearing T-shirts bearing Mr Ndondo's face, were reported to have been arrested by Transkeian police at the graveside, according to Ms Alperstein.

Communications between the Ndondo household and the outside world appeared cut off yesterday. An Argus reporter and Ndondo relatives in Cape Town tried unsuccessfully to telephone Mr Ndondo's family throughout the day and night, only to be told by the manual exchange operator that there was no reply from the house "because it's a Transkei public holiday".

Mr Ndondo, a former University of the Transkei SRC president who was expelled earlier this year, was shot dead by police in a Cala street, shortly after being arrested two weeks ago.

LEAN GROUND

11A 13 Day 15/10/85

'Satisfied' ANC considers further SA talks

THE African National Congress, satisfied with its meetings with business leaders and the Progressive Federal Party, is considering requests from other South Africans for talks.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina told *Business Day* that the ANC were "very satisfied" with last weekend's meeting between a PFP delegation, led by party leader Fre-

PETER WALLINGTON

derik van Zyl Slabbert, and ANC officials.

Further talks between the two organisations could take place "when and if necessary", he said. Sebina said he did not know whether the ANC would meet business leaders within the next few weeks, as has

been reported.

He said the recent talks, which would have been unthinkable a year ago, were a welcome development. "Maybe the conditions were not suitable for talks in the past, but now people are seriously concerned with the situation in SA and they accept that the ANC's point of view has to be heard and understood."

Inkatha against black-on-black violence

From CHIEF MANG-
OSUTHU BUTHELEZI
(Ujundi).

LARGE numbers of black South Africans are embroiled in black-black conflicts where violence is used. Blacks are being burnt alive by blacks, hacked to death and stoned to death. Their houses are being petrol-bombed and looted. Never before have we had such an outbreak of black on black violence.

The Cape Times published a report headed "Zulus help quell unrest" on September 20. In the article an anonymous informer drew the Cape Times' attention to the fact that "truck-loads of Zulus had been seen at the Langa police station" and that a Zulu-speaking reporter verified this fact.

The report then says: "The Zulu contingent are believed to have been in the Peninsula since before Wednesday when Valhalla Park residents alleged that a squad of 20 black men in brown overalls and blue caps had conducted foot

patrols, whipping residents and entering homes" thus giving credibility to the heading "Zulus help quell Cape unrest".

You next quote PFP spokesmen as saying that there could be two reasons for Zulu policemen being present in the Peninsula. One was that outsiders were drafted in "to do the dirty work" and the other was that "the government is trying to exploit such tribal animosities as may exist".

The whole tone of the report conveys to the reader that Zulus as Zulus were brought into the Cape by the police and that Zulus as Zulus helped to quell unrest.

I find it despicable journalism that makes these accusations and insinuations without having any foundation on which to do so. At the end of the report, you tag on my view that Zulus who are in the South African police force are not there as Zulus. They are simply ordinary South Africans who happen to be Zulu-speaking citizens.

There are more Zulu-speaking black South Africans than any other language group of black South Africans. It is therefore not surprising to find Zulus present in any contingent of police. But the whole tone of the report denies the reality of this assertion and fuels the fire of black-black confrontation by in effect castigating Inkatha and KwaZulu for being party to police brutality.

I ask you to publish this letter and to give your readers the assurance that the Cape Times just does not believe that I or Inkatha

would ever countenance the use of Zulus to do the government's dirty work for it in the Cape. Inkatha is in the struggle for liberation of every black and for the sake of every white in the country and we deplore black/black confrontations and internecine black violence.

(The report to which Chief Buthelezi refers did not claim that Zulu policemen were being used in the Western Cape with his or Inkatha's approval. Chief Buthelezi was expressly quoted as saying he had no control over Zulus in the SA Police. — Editor Cape Times)



Chief Buthelezi

MAS 15/10/85

~~3/1/85~~ 11/10

Demonstration at burnt-out city building

Staff Reporter

CITY workers and shoppers watched a silent lunch-hour demonstration outside the burnt-out Corporation Street offices of United Democratic Front affiliates.

Seven demonstrators — representatives of the organisations affected by the fire — held placards and stood a metre apart for nearly one hour yesterday.

The demonstration was a protest against a suspected attack on the offices — police have opened an arson docket — and one placard said “Who burnt our offices?”

Police arrived about 2.15pm and ordered bystanders to disperse.

● Spokesmen for the organisations affected by the fire estimated that damage to documents and equipment alone was about R150 000.

The offices of the Clothing Workers' Union, the Retail and Allied Workers' Union and the Media Workers' Association and two community newspapers, Grassroots and Molo Songololo, were damaged by the fire, which swept through the building on Friday.

CAT Twp. 16/10/85

Gains claimed as result of class boycott

By YAZEED FAKIER
Education Reporter

AS PUPILS and students decide whether to return to normal classes and write final exams, they have cited several gains they believe have been achieved by the boycott that has thrown schooling into disarray.

A University of the Western Cape student spokesman, who did not want to be named, said even if there was a return to normality, the first and most important gain was that students had realized the importance of joint action with the community.

"They've realized that their struggle against the educational and political system won't be won if students stand on their own."

Gains had also been made for organizations.

He said: "Before the boycott student organization was weak but this period has politicized students and made them aware of the need for effective organization."

"On an ideological level we were able to instill the idea, with our alternative and awareness programmes, that the educational system in South Africa is there to reproduce and maintain apartheid."

A high school pupil closely connected with organizations directing the boycott, said the boycott action had "sounded an emergency on the cri-

sis in education and showed we are not taking gutter education sitting down".

"No organization — community, trade, religious or political — has not been affected or involved as a result of this action by the students," said the pupil, who declined to have his name published.

He said the Western Cape had been "rocked by these events" in which community and other organizations had played a very active part.

The action, he said, had also politically conscientized communities.

"The ability of the students to democratically control the course of the boycott over these past weeks has been a great achievement. We have shown the failure of the tri-cameral system to operate."

He said no recognition was being given to the ministerial banning of "unauthorized" SRCs and Parent/Teacher/Student Associations.

As an indication of the level of acceptance of the bodies, teachers were still consulting with pupils and SRCs on important decisions.

The most crucial aspect of the boycott, he said, was that for the first time it was encroaching on the examinations, giving a new dimension to the crisis.

State President Botha turns down petition for retrial

MOLOISE



President Botha

THE END

ICA

SOWETA

16/10/85

Condemned ANC guerilla to hang on Friday morning says lawyer Jana

BENJAMIN Malesela Moloise, the condemned African National Congress guerilla is to hang on Friday morning.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

This was disclosed to The SOWETAN by Moloise's lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, yesterday. She said the State President Mr P W Botha, had turned down a petition for Moloise's retrial and was informed by Mr Botha's office, telephonically, yesterday morning.

on August 21. A three week stay of execution was granted by a Pretoria Supreme Court judge during which Moloise's lawyers submitted a petition to the State President requesting the re-opening of the case in the light of new evidence in their possession.

She said she had filed the petition on September 10 to the State President's office to give a retrial for Moloise who was sentenced to death in

All avenues to save Moloise from the gallows were exploited and exhausted. Mrs Moloise and her lawyers also turned to the interna-

SHARE THE FEELING



11A



SOWETA

16/10/85

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Condemned ANC guerilla to hang on Friday morning says lawyer Jana



Mrs PAULINE MOLOISE... Benjamin's mother.

BENJAMIN Malesela Moloise, the condemned African National Congress guerilla is to hang on Friday morning.

This was disclosed to The SOWETAN by Moloise's lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, yesterday. She said the State President Mr P W Botha, had turned down a petition for Moloise's retrial and was informed by Mr Botha's office, telephonically, yesterday morning.

She said she had filed the petition on September 10 to the State President's office to give a retrial for Moloise who was sentenced to death in 1983 for the killing of a Mamelodi security policeman, Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe, in November 1982.

Mrs Jana said Moloise will be hanged on Friday at 7 am according to the message she received — and had no further details. A spokesman for the family yesterday said Mrs. Pauline Moloise, Benjamin's mother, was too upset to talk to anyone and "all she wants to do is to see Benjamin". Mrs Moloise is due to see her son sometime tomorrow.

The petition for a retrial followed on an 11th hour urgent Supreme Court application for a stay of execution when Moloise was due to hang

By SELLO RABOTHATA

on August 21. A three week stay of execution was granted by a Pretoria Supreme Court judge during which Moloise's lawyers submitted a petition to the State President requesting the re-opening of the case in the light of new evidence in their possession.

All avenues to save Moloise from the gallows were exploited and exhausted. Mrs Moloise and her lawyers also turned to the international community to plead with Mr Botha to spare Benjamin's life. Several organisations and prominent leaders have written to Mr Botha pleading for clemency on behalf of Moloise.

Shock

The news of Benjamin's impending date with the hangman was received with shock by organisations and members of the community. The Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) said: "The situation in South Africa today cries out for acts of understanding and compassion. The execution of Moloise is totally counter to this need and cannot make any contribution to the cause of these in our country".

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said: "The South African rulers are bent on unleashing their violent means, administratively and militarily, to retard the Azanian struggle as

In your SOWETAN tomorrow

THE SOWETAN readers can expect another bumper paper tomorrow.

- Andy Mogotsi, the sports columnist with the prickly pen, feared by many, loved by all.
- Happy Tidings — only The SOWETAN has this very special inti-

mate feature, carried weekly.

- Consumer Corner, the best consumer reporter in the country is one Len Maseko.
- For women readers the regular Stars column and church news for our Manyano women.

P.T.O

Outcry over Moloise's date with the hangman 11A

From Page 1

well as to physically liquidate Azanian militants. The death of Moloise at their hands will only strengthen the resolve of black people in their struggle for the land. The Friday hanging only exposes violent designs and practises of the rulers. It explodes the myth for a non-violent, peaceful struggle leading to fundamental change." *SOMOTAN*

The humanitarian organisation, Amnesty International, has also been involved in pleading for Benjamin's life. Letters written to

the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Justice, Mr H J Coetsee, the State President and to various newspapers in the country have been received in which pleas were made to save Moloise's life. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) also made a plea to Mr Botha and the international community to stop the execution.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, had also appealed to Mr Botha, when Moloise was due to be hanged on August 21, to have

mercy. Bishop Tutu sent a telegram saying an act of clemency by Mr Botha could do a great deal to defuse the "serious and critical situation in our land". He had asked Mr Botha to exercise his presidential prerogative to grant Moloise a reprieve.

16/10/85
Other organisations who reacted to the news are the Release Mandela Committee (RMC), Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation (ASRO), the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) and the Saulsville/Atteridge-

ville Youth Organisation (SAYO).

The RMC said: "We wish to condemn in the strongest possible manner the impending hanging of Moloise. We find its timing particularly callous coming as it does when our communities are still nursing the wounds from police and army shootings and widespread detention. We call upon those who uphold democracy and peace at home and abroad to condemn the hanging and not to allow it to pass as a non-event".

ANC members reject court as 'govt arm'

CAPT. Teritz 16/10/83

11/11

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Four men facing charges of terrorism together with nine others in the Supreme Court at Estcourt, yesterday admitted being members of the banned ANC and refused to participate in any way in the court proceedings.

Norbert Buthelezi, 23, speaking on behalf of himself and three others — Wilfred Mapumulo, 28, Robert Dumisa, 26, and James Marupeng, 26 — told Mr Justice Wilson they did not recognize the jurisdiction of the courts.

They said the courts were "a loyal and faithful arm" of the government the ANC was seeking to destroy. They were prepared to face the consequences of their decision "however bitter they may be".

Refused to plead

All four men refused to plead to the charges against them and Mr Justice Wilson entered pleas of not guilty on their behalf.

They declined an opportunity to appoint legal representatives.

The other accused are represented by Mr Denis Kuny, SC, assisted by Mr Pius Langa.

There was a strong police presence around the Magistrate's Court building where the trial was held and the accused sat in a glass-enclosed dock which was erected for the hearing.

The public was searched with metal detectors before being allowed into the court.

Other nine

The other nine accused in the trial are: Bhekizazai Mthelhuva, 31, Vusumuzi Nyawo, 30, Amos Mafuleka, 21, Joel Makhunga, 27, Mfinywani Bamali, 41, Dumezweni Myeni, 35,

Bofana Mafu, 35, Boy Mvubu, 39, and Mrs Nokuhamba Nyawo, 64.

They pleaded not guilty to the charges of terrorism and various alternatives relating to contraventions of the Arms and Ammunitions Act.

The charges against all 13 relate to the discovery of a large cache of arms in caves in the Ingwavuma district last year.

The indictment alleges that bases were established in the area for the recruitment and training of locals in the use of weapons.

Shootout

The State alleges that the police had to shoot their way into the caves where the arms were stored and as a result two trained terrorists were killed and a policeman was injured.

It is alleged that Mr Mapumulo, Mr Dumisa, Mr Marupeng and Mr Buthelezi underwent military training outside South Africa.

In a statement on behalf of the four men, Mr Buthelezi admitted that they were members of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the military wing of the ANC) — an organization which was committed to overthrowing the South African Government.

Mr Buthelezi said they were trained in the art of warfare and regarded themselves as "fully fledged soldiers of our army".

He told the court they regarded themselves as prisoners of war in the fight against apartheid and oppression and they rejected the notion that they had committed a crime.

"There is no price we will not pay for our human dignity," he said.

The hearing continues today.

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Botha hits at Matie students

From CLARE HARPER

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, who is chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, yesterday expressed strong disapproval over the plans of student leaders there to hold talks with the African National Congress Youth League later this month.

The rector of the University, Professor Mike de Vries, has distanced himself and the university from the talks.

In a statement Mr Botha said that although freedom of expression was a tradition at Stellenbosch "students had limited experience of the hard truths outside the campus".

"Hopefully they will realize the academic freedoms they are used to will be one of the first victims in the situation that the people they want to talk to are aiming at," he said.

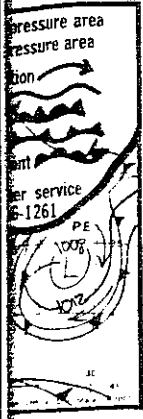
"If they go ahead with their plans they owe an answer at least to the members of our security forces on the border and inside the country.

The students yesterday declined to comment.

The students include SRC chairman, Mr Philip Verster, and Mr Eric le Grangé, editor of the campus newspaper, Die Matie.

Others in the group are former Die Matie editor, Mr Anton Steenkamp, a member of the Nusas branch recently formed on campus. SRC member Mr Johan Olivier, former SRC members Miss Annami Oosthuysen and Mr Hendrik du Toit, Mr Hennie Bester, chairman of the university's debating society, Mr Hans Muller, chairman of the campus Church-Youth Action and a Ned Geref Kerk clergyman, the Rev Carel Anthonissen.

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Funds roll

Staff Reporter
FINAL preparations were their work
the Central Fire Station in
Street last night for the job and our

PS: We also re-upholster

Peak at 2 Union Carbide - DPJ

CAP T 125 16/10/85
Atlantis people 'too scared'

Municipal Reporter office last Wednesday.

ATLANTIS residents say they are "too scared to sleep at home at night", because they fear police harassment and detention.

A spokesperson for the newly-established Atlantis Advice Office said police were making nightly house-to-house searches after taking the names of "between 50 and 60 residents" at a meeting in the advice

The people being sought by the police were advice office volunteers, members of the Atlantis Residents' Association and members of the Atlantis Youth Congress (AYCO), she said.

The police liaison division in Pretoria said the taking of names and house-to-house searches were routine police work during investigations.



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CAPE Times 16/10/85

'Vigilantes' started City fire

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
and CHRIS BATEMAN

AN ANONYMOUS group called the Vigilante Action Group yesterday claimed responsibility for the fire which destroyed the Corporation Street offices of seven UDF linked organizations last Friday.

In a telephone call to the Cape Times yesterday, a polite and well-spoken caller said his organization, the Vigilante Action Group (VAG), had acted on "evidence that the organizations housed there have direct links with the SA Communist Party" and described it as a "communist nest".

"We were responsible and you will hear from us again soon," he said.

Police are to investigate the claims by the anonymous "spokesman".

Brigadier Hennie Kotze, former head of Western Cape security police and now Chief of the CID, said it was the first he had heard of such an organization. He promised that the information would be passed on to the officer investigating the fire.

At a City press conference yesterday representatives of the organizations reported certain "irregularities" which implied that someone had ransacked the offices before the fire.

Ms Colleen Lombard, an organizer for the Clothing Workers' Union (Clowu), said the union had been approached by two security policemen in September asking whether they were aware of the Vigilante Action Group.

Ms Lombard said that on September 23, Lieutenants Mostert and Trollope, both visited the Corporation Street office inquiring about the Clowu secretary, Ms Zubeida Jaffer.

"Lieutenant Mostert asked me if I was aware of the VAG. I said no.

"He explained that it

was a group of people who were against what we were doing. He said they bomb the houses of people like myself and that I should be careful, and then asked me where I live. I gave him a vague explanation," Ms Lombard said.

The fire caused damage estimated at over R1-million.

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said that no arrests had been made in connection with the fire.

He denied that Lieutenant Mostert had said what was reported in his conversation with Ms Lombard and also denied having any knowledge of the existence of the vigilante organization.

(X) 11A) □ □ □ B. Day 16/10/85

SECURITY Police Brigadier Sarel Strydom, who coordinated information-gathering on Swapo in SWA, will take charge of the SP's information-gathering operation against the United Democratic Front from December 1. The UDF was trying to use pupils for its own purposes to keep class boycotts alive, he said in Windhoek yesterday.

□ □ □

AN urgent application concerning the conditions of detainees Simon Ratcliffe, Auret van Heerden and Themba Nhlapo, held under the emergency regulations, came before a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday and was postponed to later in the week to allow the State time to file answering affidavits.

□ □ □

BOLAND school pupil David de Jager, 21, was released from Section 50 detention yesterday after an urgent application asking for his release in Somerset West. The magistrate said he phoned the Security Police, who agreed to release De Jager because school unrest in the area had abated.

□ □ □

THE search for Marinus Kruys-Wyk, missing in the Berg since Thursday, will be continued by the Natal Parks Board for another week.

□ □ □

RANDBURG mothers Irma Snyman, 31, and Hester Schönauer, 39, died after drinking a mixture of flea powder and alcohol in an apparent suicide pact on Monday.

Both women were separated from their husbands and were neighbours.

□ □ □

THE University of Cape Town has called on government to lift the state of emergency, introduce rapid and unambiguous reforms, charge or release all detainees and withdraw all troops from the townships as first steps in a move to resolve the country's crisis.

CAP- Times 16/10/83 (114)

Appeals to spare Moloise's life

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has appealed to the international community to intercede on behalf of Benjamin Moloise who is due to be executed on Friday.

President P W Botha refused to grant a retrial for Moloise who was sentenced to death for murdering a security policeman.

In a statement from Lusaka, the ANC appealed to the international community to put pressure on South Africa to have the execution stopped. The ANC said the execution would lead to a "hardening of attitudes".

● The South African Council of Churches said the impending execution was a sign that the country's leaders still had no respect for the feelings of the majority of South Africans.

● Politicians and anti-apartheid supporters in Britain greeted news with dismay and anger.

A Labour Party spokesman said the rejection of Moloise's appeal was a further indication that President Botha "has no intention of bringing about peace-

ful and humane reform in South Africa".

The Anti-Apartheid Movement said Moloise's execution will "be an act of judicial murder". They appealed to the British Government to intervene and organized three pickets, including an all-night vigil on Thursday night in front of South Africa's embassy.

'No comment'

The Foreign Office in London had no comment.

● Simon Barber reports from Washington that the Reagan administration yesterday restated its plea for Moloise's life, but would not be making special representations.

State Department spokesman Charles Redman said Washington had been in touch with Pretoria recently. He noted that the American position had been clear since January last year when the US voted for UN Security resolution 457 which, among other things, called on South Africa to spare Moloise. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

APC Times 16/10/85 11A

Moloise to hang on Friday



Mrs Beverley Moloise, mother of Benjamin Moloise.

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha yesterday refused a new trial for Malesela Benjamin Moloise — sentenced to death for murdering a security policeman — and he will be executed on Friday.

His attorney Ms Priscilla Jana yesterday said she petitioned Mr Botha for a new trial on September 10 on the basis of new psychiatric and sociological evidence, but heard yesterday that the appeal had failed.

"We are all in a terrible state of shock," she said.

"His mother has just heard and she is not able to talk about it yet."

Ms Jana said all legal channels to save Moloise's life had been exhausted but she probably would file an appeal for clemency on humanitarian grounds.

A spokesman for her office said Moloise would be informed of his fate this morning when his mother and counsel visit him in prison.

Moloise, who was sentenced to death in June 1983 for killing Warrant

Officer Phillipus Selepe, of Mamelodi, was due to hang at dawn on August 21, but a judge granted a last-minute 21-day stay of execution saying there was new evidence of extreme psychological pressure at the time of the attack.

According to Ms Jana's office, the petition sent to Mr Botha was based on a report by a sociologist who interviewed Moloise and several close friends.

The report had never been raised in court before and related to the pressures under which Moloise acted during the killing.

He admitted being a member of the ANC and acknowledged last month he was involved in planning the murder. But he said he did not pull the trigger.

The ANC claimed responsibility for killing Warrant Officer Selepe, but said Moloise was not the hit man.

His initial execution order provoked local and international appeals for clemency. — Own Correspondent and UPI

Cape Times 16/12/85
NR

Arendse sentenced

Supreme Court Reporter

FORMER Labour Party MP Martin David Arendse, 73, was given a suspended sentence in the Supreme Court yesterday after he was convicted of bribing pensioners to vote in an election for the House of Representatives on August 22, 1984.

Arendse, who conducted his own defence, pleaded guilty but said it had not occurred to him that he had been breaking the law. The court did not accept his plea, and a plea of not guilty was entered.

Arendse admitted sending out letters promising "Christmas gift parcels" and a pension supplement to those who "supported him" in the election.

He admitted that at least four persons voted for him in the elections as a result of these letters.

Mr Petrus Johannes Keyser, electoral officer for the Tafelberg constituency, told the court he had given copies of the Act and relevant regulations to Mr Arendse, and offered to interpret them.

Mr Justice Nel said if Arendse had not read the Act, he had failed in his duty.

'40 years of service'

Giving evidence in mitigation, Arendse outlined his "40 years of service" to his community.

He read a letter to the State President in which he humbly asked for pardon. He said he had "no income at all", and only "a few hundred" rands left of his former R3 000 a month salary.

Mr Justice Nel said a fine was inappropriate, as it would have to be paid by his relatives. Compulsory imprisonment was also inappropriate.

Arendse was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment suspended for three years on condition he is not convicted of corrupt practice during the suspension. He is also prevented from standing for or voting in any election for three years.

The Attorney-General, Mr D J Rossouw SC, assisted by Mr C A Cilliers, conducted the State's case.

ARGUS 12/10/85

11A

UNREST

'Suspend boycott if disunity caused'

Staff Reporter

ANY decision to suspend the schools boycott should be taken only after careful consideration of whether it was being "blunted by disunity" among parents, teachers and students, the Cape Action League (Cal) said.

In a statement, Cal said it saluted students for their "commitment and sacrifice" over the past 12 weeks.

"We believe that a boycott of

schools cannot on its own solve the problem of poverty, hunger, ill-health, gutter education and all the ills of the system of racial capitalism.

"Therefore, in reassessing the gains and losses of the boycott, students must consider in the context of advancing the workers' struggle and not only in terms of student interests."

It said students had the opportunity of setting in motion a pro-

cess whereby the control of our schools by parents, students and teachers could lead to worker control of all other aspects of their lives.

"The democratic decision to suspend the boycott must be taken if necessary after carefully considering whether the boycott is being blunted by disunity, particularly breaking unity of parents, students and teachers," the statement said.

student cause

Staff Reporter

WHILE the Cape Action League (CAL) "saluted" the students "for their commitment and sacrifice in the past 12 weeks", it believed that a boycott of schools could not on its own solve all the problems of poverty, hunger, ill-health, gutter education and all the ills of the system: of racism, capitalism.

Reacting to the schools boycott, CAL said in a statement that it had maintained consistently that "our struggle must be lead by the workers".

The students, therefore, had to consider the gains and losses of the boycott in the context of advancing this struggle, and not only in terms of

student interests, it said.

"Students have the historic opportunity of setting a process into motion whereby the control of our schools by parents, students and teachers can lead to worker control of all other aspects of their lives.

"There are those who represent reactionary middle-class interests who want students to go back to class to write exams unconditionally. We reject this position, and support the minimum demands put forward by the students.

"It is for this reason that we believe that the examinations should be postponed. The democratic decision to suspend the boycott is being blunted by disunity."

18/10/68
Teachers fear
angry youths

SOWETO. — A group calling themselves the Komrados and believed to be linked to the banned Congress of South African Students, are said to be threatening Soweto teachers "to join the struggle and fight the system".

They are apparently against any form of schooling, and teachers have not reported to their schools in Soweto since last Tuesday for fear of injury from "angry youths". — Sapa



An overturned vehicle smoulders in Belgravia Road, Athlone, yesterday as a member of the security forces takes up position.

CAT Times 19/10/85 (114)

Restrictions on rally

Staff Reporter

TODAY'S United Democratic Front rally at the Hanover Park Civic Centre will start at 4.30pm instead of at 2pm as originally planned, to give people going to funerals a chance to attend.

However, a number of restrictions have been placed on the meeting.

Wynberg magistrate Mr W T Theron imposed the following conditions on the gathering or "any other" gathering in the district between 8am today and 7am on Monday:

- The meeting to be held indoors.
- No loudspeakers to convey speeches or addresses inside or outside the building and no gatherings outside.

- Restrictions in paragraphs 2 (a) and (b) of Government Notice No 2 221 of September 27 of this year to be complied with in all respects.

- The organizers or conveners to take "necessary steps" to ensure the orderly conduct of all persons attending, both before and during the course of the meeting.

- No flags, banners, placards or slogans "of any kind" to be displayed before, during or after the meeting — with the exception of the UDF banner.

Mr Theron made the restrictions in terms of Section 46 (1) of the Internal Security Act.

UDF's Border boss 'skips'

DTL.C. Press
20/10/85



TSHWETE
'Skipped'

THE charismatic and outspoken UDF's Border region president Steve Tshwete, has left the country - and is now believed to be in Lesotho.

He phoned UDF activists in East London, saying he was calling from Lesotho, writes **MONO BADELA.**

Neither his wife, who lives in Peleton near King William's Town, nor the police was available for comment on his disappearance.

He was last seen by friends at a Consumer Boycott Committee meeting in East London last week.

Mr Tshwete served 15 years on Robben Island for ANC activities. He was elected UDF Border president while in detention in 1983.

Mr Tshwete was declared a prohibited immigrant by the SA authorities last year and restricted to the Ciskei.

He disappeared mysteriously early last month only to emerge at a funeral of 18 unrest victims in Duncan Village near East London.

Two halls used for UDF rally at weekend

Staff Reporter

TWO halls were used simultaneously to combat restrictions placed on a United Democratic Front rally in Hanover Park at the weekend attended by about 3 500 people.

Speakers were whisked from the main rally in the cramped civic centre to a nearby church hall to repeat their speeches.

The meeting, scheduled to start at 2pm on Saturday, was postponed to 4pm to accommodate mourners from funerals of eight people shot by police last week.

Police maintained a presence near the civic centre.

Among restrictions imposed by a Wynberg magistrate were that the rally be held indoors and that no external loudspeakers be used.

Speakers included Mr Jeremy Cronin, UDF education officer; Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the executive, and Mr Zoli Malindi, the regional chairman.

Mr Manuel said President P W Botha had blamed the ANC for recent deaths, but "I say to Mr Botha 'go and look in the mirror and see who is responsible'".

As the President found fewer political solutions he would rely on the military and police to crush "our people and their organisations".

He urged the meeting to take hold of "people's power" — "people's power means we don't wait for the Government to decide on something. It means we decide what we want and how we will organise to achieve it".

After the meeting three police vans parked near the hall were stoned and forced to move away.

A helicopter appeared overhead as the crowd moved off to buses and cars.



Mr Steven Mosoeke . . . time is out.



Mr Mandla Makuselane . . . futile exercise.



Miss MAGAUTA MOLEFE . . . release leaders.



Mr Josiah Modise . . . talk to government.

Blacks divided on whether

ANC should talk to Govt

17/10/85 Sowden

A snap survey has shown that, while some people were for the African National Congress talking to the Government, some felt time had run out for a peaceful settlement.

By MANDLA NDLAZI

Those who are for a peaceful settlement said the government should not lay down conditions before talking to the ANC. Those who think that time has run out for such talks did not mince their words.

Mr Mandla Makuselane of Jabulani, Soweto, said talking to the government now "is a futile exercise." He said the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) gave the authorities enough time to negotiate for a peaceful settlement in the past. "Now that time is past," he said.

Mr Makuselane said the white businessmen who recently held talks with the ANC in Lusaka were "a bunch of capitalists who are trying to protect their investments."

He said the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was not different from the present rulers. "They sing the same song," said Mr Makuselane.

Mr Steven Mosoeke said time for peaceful talks is over. "Our political organisations have pleaded too long for a peaceful settlement, and now they have no alternative," said Mr Mosoeke.

Leaders

Another man said the ANC "will be wasting its time by talking to the government at this late hour."

Miss Magauta Molefe said the government should first release all the detained leaders and allow

those in exile to return before thinking of negotiating a settlement with the blacks.

"ANC talks with the white businessmen and members of the PFP were childish. We want to hold the bull by its horns, and the bull is the government," said Miss Molefe.

Mr Josiah Modise of Meadowlands said, in the absence of recognised leaders, the government should talk to Dr Nthato Motlana and "not to stooges like Kunene and Mahuhushi."

Mr Modise added, "I am of the opinion that it is never too late for peaceful talks, the only issue between the government and the ANC is who will condescend and start."

Released men given ovation

Mercury Reporter ¹⁷¹¹⁰¹⁵⁵ called for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

FREED United Democratic Front detainees were given a standing ovation by more than 200 students at the University of Durban-Westville at a lunch-time meeting on the campus yesterday.

The meeting, organised by the Azanian Students Organisation, was addressed by former Robben Island prisoner and chairman of the UDF's national executive Mr Curnick Ndlovu, NIC acting president Dr Farouk Meer and Mr Paddy Kearney of Diakonia.

Dr Meer said there would be no peace in South Africa as long as there was apartheid and

Referring to the recent talks between the PFF and the ANC, he said the ANC had always been prepared to talk to find a peaceful solution to the problems in South Africa, but it was the Government which was not prepared to listen.

Mr Kearney said that the time would arrive when the Government would be forced to talk to the ANC. 'I cannot see any other way for a just settlement to South Africa's problems,' he said and praised the recent talks between business leaders, the PFP and the ANC.

Negotiating with ANC futile, says prof

11A

Mercury

17/10/85

Crime Reporter

A DURBAN academic yesterday slammed attempts by various South African organisations to have talks with the African National Congress.

Prof Roland Grazer, Head of Criminology at the University of Durban-Westville, was speaking at the South African Security Association conference being held at the Royal Hotel in Durban.

'The ANC has made it clear that it aims at destroying the capitalist system and implementing a socialist order,' said Prof Grazer.

In view of this I wonder

what those persons who wish to negotiate with the ANC hope to achieve. What is it that is to negotiate in the two opposing ideologies?

'In my view it is naive to believe that the ANC can be persuaded to give up their long-term revolutionary ideology, and to agree to co-exist peacefully in a capitalist society,' he said.

'We may try to dissuade members — even leaders — of the ANC from their violent course, but the ANC as a revolutionary organisation is not likely to change its proverbial spots.

'At any rate, it is inconceivable that Russia will

allow this to happen,' Prof Grazer said.

The chairman of the National Key Points Committee, Maj-Gen J P B van Loggerenberg, called on all South Africans to demand a well-planned and dedicated effort by the Government to stamp out terrorism.

He told the conference: 'We need to enlist public support for all measures necessary to counter terrorism. The public should actively support anti-terrorist actions by the Government as well as local authorities,' he said.

'Terrorism can only be terrorism, nothing else, and we must ensure that

it never gains a semblance of respectability simply because it is directed against South Africa.

'There is a strange reluctance from the public's side to allow intelligence gathering to be carried out by the authorities.

'Terrorists and their sympathisers have become past masters in the art of creating the impression that each and every police investigation results in an infringement of civil liberties, or is accompanied by the mishandling or even torture of terrorists or suspected terrorists,' Gen van Loggerenberg said.

ARGUS 11/10/42 (110)

Hand-grenade damages house

Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — A hand-grenade was hurled into the home of a school principal in Umlazi today, damaging furniture and shattering windows.

lounge of Mr Patrick Sibisi, 48, in V section, Umlazi. It is not known whether Mr Sibisi, principal of St Augustine's School, Nqutu, was at home.

Police said that about 2am a grenade was thrown into the

Police said no one was injured in the attack. No arrests have been made.

11A

Buthelezi hasn't got majority urban Zulu support, shows poll

INKATHA supreme Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 57, is a tough-minded, shrewd politician of enormous energy and matching ambition who should never be underestimated, but, as the situation in South Africa deteriorates, there is a tendency in some quarters to exaggerate his power.

The Sunday Times did so recently when it headlined a report on a scathing attack on the African National Congress by Buthelezi: "Zulus line up against ANC."

Beeld followed suit shortly afterwards when it published a cartoon showing heavily-armed ANC guerrillas shivering in fear as Zulu warriors approached on the horizon.

But Buthelezi does not command the support of all Zulus or even, according to a recent survey conducted by sociologist Mark Orkin and the Institute of Black Research, a majority of urban Zulus. Those findings were demonstrated empirically on the same day as Buthelezi's verbal assault on the ANC.

On that day an Inkatha impi armed with spears and kerries left Umlazi — where Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini were speaking at a King Shaka commemoration meeting — for the neighbouring township of Lamontville, where it was attacked by pro-United Democratic Front youth. Six people died in fighting, which vividly illustrated that even within the heart of Zulu-dominated KwaZulu-Natal Buthelezi's political sovereignty is challenged.

Orkin's survey of 800 urban blacks in 10 key metropolitan areas shows that in Natal-KwaZulu Buthelezi does not command majority support among urban blacks.

Buthelezi and Inkatha drew support from 34 percent of the respondents against 19 percent for the ANC, 8 percent for Bishop Desmond Tutu and 10 percent for the United Democratic Front and movements which see eye to eye with it on key issues of the day such as strikes, disinvestment and "armed struggle."

Noting that the anti-Buthelezi camp drew a combined total of 37 percent, Orkin commented of urban blacks in Natal-KwaZulu: "Even here, Buthelezi can only deliver a minority. Even in his own territory Buthelezi represents a minority."

Orkin's appraisal does not, of course, take account of rural Zulus who almost certainly incline strongly toward Buthelezi and Inkatha. But his survey does establish that it is facile to equate Buthelezi and Inkatha with "the Zulus."

Outside of Natal-KwaZulu Buthelezi's support among urban Zulu-speakers is markedly less, Orkin found. In the critically important PWV area, Buthelezi won support from 11 percent of the respondents, against 29 percent for the ANC, 13 percent for Tutu and 13 percent for

the UDF and black consciousness radicals who shared the UDF stand on key issues without endorsing its specific ideological stance.

Zulus living outside the core Zulu territory of Natal-KwaZulu constitute a numerically important sector of the six million-strong Zulu people. The majority of people in Soweto are Zulus.

Orkin's findings indicate that Buthelezi's support among urban blacks is almost exclusively confined to Zulus.

Among the small proportion of non-Zulus in Natal it is 14 percent. Elsewhere it is only 3 percent.

Summarising his findings in a sentence, Orkin said: "Buthelezi delivers a minority of Zulus in Natal."

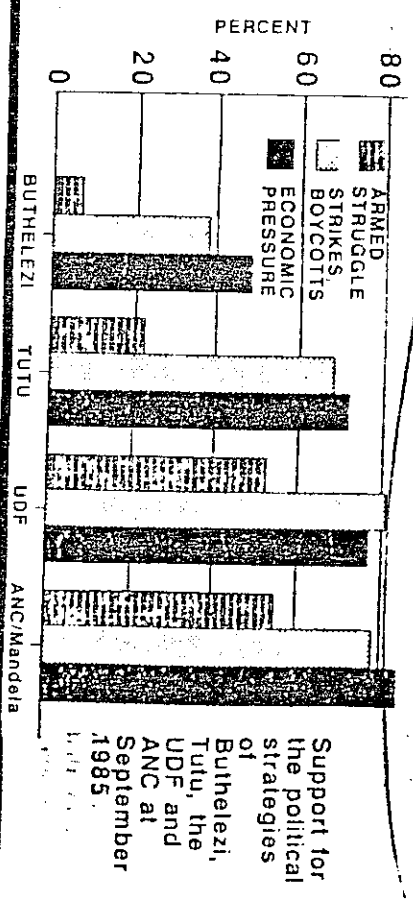
By PATRICK LAURENCE

a smaller minority of Zulus elsewhere and a negligible proportion of non-Zulus."

Extrapolating from these results, he concluded: "If Buthelezi gets power it means black civil war."

There is, of course, a concrete reason why conservative whites, whether in the business community or in the ranks of the National Party, tend to exaggerate Buthelezi's power and to magnify the number of supporters he will "deliver" in the event of an internal settlement. It is manifest, Orkin contended, in the "moderate" political profile of Buthelezi loyalists.

Inkatha members are less inclined to



Support for the political strategies of Buthelezi, Tutu, the UDF and ANC at September 1985.

favour socialism than ANC-Tutu-UDF (70 percent against 77 percent), markedly less disposed to endorse strike action (40 percent against 80 percent) and economic pressure including disinvestment (barely over 40 percent to nearly 70 percent) and are significantly less prone to approve of "armed struggle" (less than 10 percent against a national average of more than 70 percent for the ANC and UDF).

These traits strongly commend Buthelezi to white businessmen and politicians casting about anxiously for a leader with whom to make a deal, as the spectre of continuing violence and insurrection haunts them. Buthelezi has moved sharply toward the capitalist camp as his relations

with his erstwhile colleagues, the ANC, have become increasingly acrimonious.

In a significant recent speech Buthelezi clearly pinned Inkatha's colours to the capitalist mast.

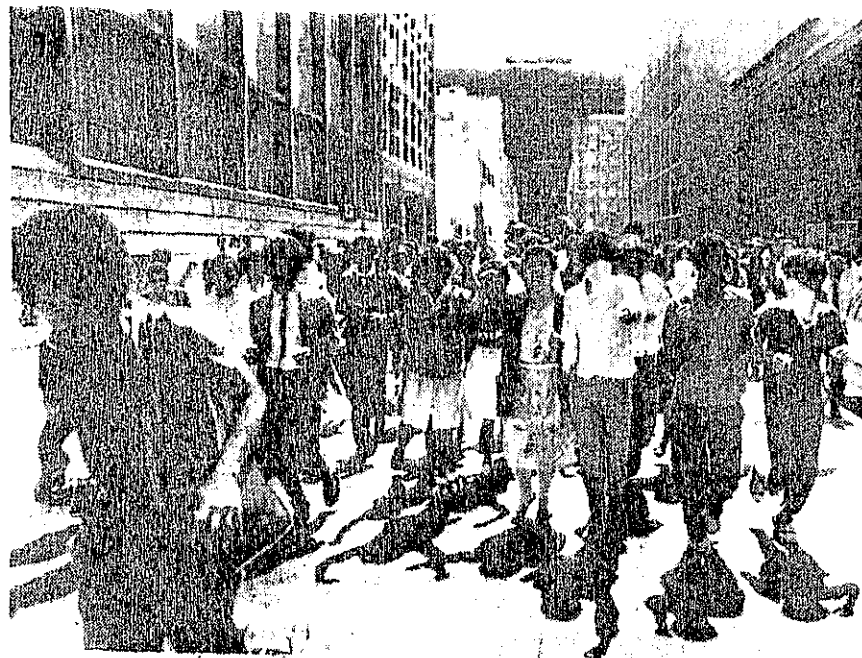
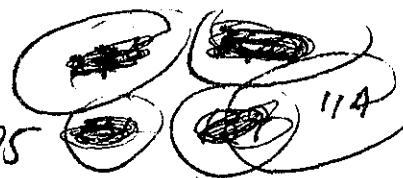
"I think many black people are influenced to think that the best way to establish an El Dorado here is through a socialist future," he declared.

"I have myself come to the conclusion that despite its faults the free enterprise capitalist system is the best economic system which man has ever devised."

An interesting, and perhaps even significant feature, noted by Orkin is that Buthelezi, judging from these remarks, is markedly more pro-capitalist than even his followers.

CAM Times

17/10/85



By **RONNIE MORRIS**
ABOUT 200 people marched on Caledon Square yesterday afternoon after about eight people picketing in Corporation Street were arrested by police.

The eight picketed outside the burnt-out Corporation Chambers which housed the offices of seven UDF-linked organizations, while 17 men and women marched to Caledon Square to demand the release of detained Clown worker Ms Shirley Gunn, and to ask what progress had been made in the investigation into the circumstances surrounding the fire.

Scores of lunch-time shoppers stopped to watch.

A man shouted anti-UDF abuse from a window. The crowd did not respond at first but

shouted back when he shouted louder. He then exposed his buttocks from the window.

Two police patrol vans arrived and the picketers were arrested and their posters confiscated. Cries of "Viva UDF!" and "Viva Mandela!" rang out.

By then the crowd had swollen to several hundred people, some of whom called for a march to Caledon Square.

Several youths then linked arms and marched down Corporation Street in the direction of Cale-

200 march on Caledon Square

don Square. They stopped in front of the Thomas Boydell Building where a small group of people chanted and sang freedom songs. They were watched by office workers and policemen leaning out of the windows.

When they got to Caledon Square, several policemen watched as they again chanted and sang freedom songs near the charge office.

At 1.40pm a platoon of 26 policemen with protective shields and hel-

metts, some carrying teargas launchers, marched out of the building into Buitengracht Street where they took up positions.

A police lieutenant then warned spectators that the gathering was illegal in terms of the Internal Security Act and gave them 15 minutes to disperse. The crowd broke up.

The police platoon then marched into Darling Street and halted opposite the Grand Parade where some of the marchers had regrouped. A second warning to disperse was then issued.

Two stones then landed near the police platoon. At 2.20pm a third of the platoon broke away and chased after some youths on the Parade. They then marched back to Caledon Square.

Police vehicles continued to patrol the streets.

Part of the crowd which marched on Caledon Square police station yesterday.

OFFY Times
17/10/85

Bid to save Moloise

NEW YORK. — United Nations secretary-general Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar is heading an international effort to save the life of condemned ANC guerilla Benjamin Moloise.

It was clear that the execution "will result in a further deterioration of an already extremely grave situation", he said yesterday.

The Organization of African Unity declared itself in "profound shock" over tomorrow's hanging and said it was proof that the government was prepared to sustain apartheid "at the risk of even further criticism from the international community".

Moloise was sentenced to death more than two years ago for the murder of Mamelodi security policeman Mr Philippus Selepe.

- A joint European Economic Community appeal to South Africa for clemency for Moloise was expected to be delivered in Pretoria yesterday, the French Foreign Office said in Paris.

- President Daniel Arap Moi said in Nairobi yesterday that unrest in South Africa would worsen if Moloise was executed.

- The British Foreign Office and the British Council of Churches have added their voices to the mounting chorus appealing for clemency for the condemned poet.

A picket in support of Moloise was held outside South Africa House yesterday. Many people have said they will join the all-night vigil outside the embassy tonight.

- "An act of clemency in the case of Benjamin Moloise would do South Africa a great deal of good, both with regard to the black community at home and internationally," PFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and Own Correspondents

TV 1, 2 & tonight

- 3.57: Programrooster
- 4.00: Nuus
- 4.05: Stories Uit My Kinderdae: Die Palgrims Uit Hom
- 4.35: Wiekie: Die Vlieënde Skip.
- 5.00: As Die Sportgogga Byt: Kragbootwedrenne.
- 5.20: Teletien. A science exhibition held in Pretoria recd the first of three in a series on airline navigators, an item on careers.
- 5.50: Van Kleuter Tot Skoolkind: Ek Is Nie Bang Nie.
- 6.05: Uit En Tuis
- 6.50: Kompas: The Rev Dries Beukes.
- 6.55: Weer
- 7.00: Nuus
- 7.25: Agter Elke Man: Episode 7.
- 8.00: Programme Schedule
- 8.01: Network
- 8.50: Hill Street Blues: Of Mouse And Men.
- 9.40: The Boy in the Bush: Arriving. Dismissed from a veterinary college because of a foolish prank, 18-year-old Jack Grant is sent by his father to work on an Australian farm, owned by distant relatives. Jack finds it difficult to adjust to the new surroundings, but slowly things begin to take shape.
- 10.37: Insight: The Rev Reg Coddington.
- 10.40: The Fortesque Files: Telling, Selling: If The Suit Fits.
- 10.55: News
- 11.15: Station Closes

TV2

- 5.46: Prologue
- 5.50: Masidlale
- 6.00: News
- 6.07: Ikhaya Labantwana
- 6.20: Khanyisa Mama/Mame: Single parent families.
- 6.38: The Oddball Couple
- 7.09: Izingcweli Zakithi: Artists include: Alec Kgaodi, Lucky Dube, Whoosha, Sam Marais and Natalie.
- 7.38: Ngolwesine
- 8.25: Epilogue
- 8.30: News
- 8.58: Ezisematheni/Undaba-Mfonyeni
- 9.10: Who Needs Computers?

TV4

- 9.33: Dukes Of Hazzard: The Big Heist.
- 10.27: Skattejag
- 11.38: Night Court: The Gypsy.
- 12.02: Station Closes

TV2 review

IT HAS been a long time since Wednesday night sport has been as interesting as it was last night.

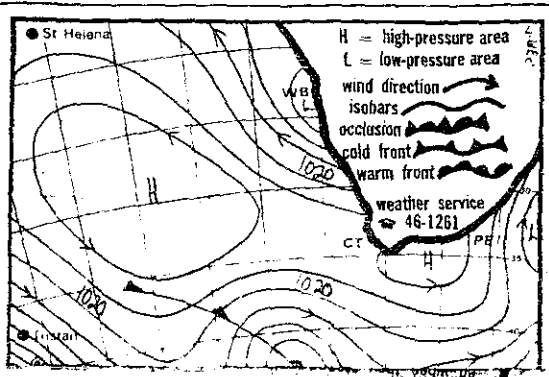
Perhaps the reason was the coverage given to a preview of a wrestling tournament.

This was followed by a long-overdue item featuring former football professionals like Butch Webster and Moffat Zuma, who are following

on the heels of their British counterparts and conducting soccer clinics for young soccer aspirants of all races.

But the highlight was the fascinating interview with the elegant and eloquent Solomon "Stiks" Morewa, general secretary of the Soccer Association of South Africa.

JOE GUWA



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Death of

La Guma

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Veteran South African revolutionary writer and life-long communist Mr Alex La Guma, 60, has died in Havana, where he was the African National Congress representative.

Mr La Guma, from Cape Town, was one of the authors of the ANC Freedom Charter and key organizer of the 1955 Congress of the People after the dissolution of the South African Communist Party in 1950. He was also a leader of the Coloured People's Congress.

He spent long periods in detention between 1956 and 1966 before leaving South Africa on an exit permit with his family.

CAPL Times

24/10/85

11A

25

28

Five held in Paarl swoop

Staff Reporters

FIVE people in Paarl, including a high school teacher and pupil, were detained by security police in a pre-dawn swoop on Wednesday.

A third-year law student at UWC, Mr John Kearns, was one of those detained.

His brother Juan said: "They came here at 4am, about 10 men, and they just said 'Hurry up, get dressed quickly, we still have a lot of places to go to'."

"John said 'I want to phone a lawyer', and they said 'You have got no rights'. They did not say under what law they were taking him or where to."

Those detained were: Mr Kearns, Mr Mario Julies, a pupil at Klein Nederburg High School, Mr Kevin Fredericks, Mr Anwar Sheikh, a teacher at New Orleans High School, and Mr Dawid Pietersen.

A relative of Mr Kearns said the family had been told the men were arrested on a charge of arson and would appear in court today.

The Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria yesterday confirmed the arrest, on a charge of public violence, of Mr Kearns, Mr Julies, Mr Fredericks and Mr Sheikh. It had no record of the detention of Mr Dawid Pietersen "on criminal charges or in terms of security legislation".

'Welcome back'

● The Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) yesterday welcomed the release of detainees in the Western Cape over the past two weeks, saying it was a victory for those who had campaigned for their release.

● The UDF said in a statement yesterday it "welcomed back" into its ranks those Section 29 detainees released this week.

King funeral restrictions challenged

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The validity of a blanket order issued by a King William's town magistrate which places restrictions on all funerals of black people in the area until November, was challenged yesterday in an urgent application before the Grahamstown Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Donald Kannemeyer reserved judgment.

In terms of the magistrate's order, funerals and memorial services in King William's Town must be conducted inside a building on weekdays. No more than 100 people may attend, and no flags, banners, posters, pamphlets or stickers may be displayed or distributed. Joint funerals are prohibited.

Mr T. L. Skweyiya for the applicant, submitted that the order did not apply to the proposed funeral of Gimba Mbeka, a youth who died after he was shot on October 2, the same day the order was issued. The application was brought by his father, Mr William Mbeka.

Mr Skweyiya also argued that notice of the order, issued in terms of Section 46 of the Internal Security Act, was vague. It affected all funerals of "black persons" for a long time, he said.

He questioned whether the magistrate, Mr Pieter Neil, could properly apply his mind to the matter and still conclude that all funerals of black people would seriously endanger public peace if he did not know whose funerals would be held during that period.

"If a 90-year-old woman dies peacefully in her sleep, can it be said that her funeral would endanger the peace?" he asked.

He argued that the act did not provide for restrictions to be placed on a particular racial group. The magistrate's notice was discriminatory, he said.

Some of the conditions, including the restriction on the number of people allowed to attend a funeral, were impossible to comply with and could lead to disturbance of public peace, he added.

In an affidavit Mr Mbeka said the conditions in the notice came as a "great shock" to him and that he viewed it as a serious violation of his right to pay "my last respects to my child."

He requested that the matter be dealt with as a matter of urgency as he wished to bury his son today.

Mr Eric Leach for Mr Neil, argued that the magistrate had acted properly in issuing the notice as he had received information from a security policeman, Lieutenant Davrin Schwarz, that public peace would be endangered were funerals to go ahead without restrictions.

He said a blanket restriction in light of the current unrest situation was not unduly harsh, and added that all funerals in black townships could be used for political gain.

In his affidavit, Lieut Schwarz pointed out that Mr Mbeka's son was an unrest victim and that it was at these funerals that violence was likely to erupt.

(11A)
DISPATCH
17/10/85

Police seize passports of Matie nine

By RIAAN SMIT

THE proposed visit to Lusaka by nine students from Stellenbosch University for talks with the ANC Youth Wing took a dramatic turn yesterday when their passports were seized by security police.

The leader of the group, Mr Hennie Bester, confirmed last night that the group's passports had been seized. They are to meet the State President, Mr P W Botha, on Friday.

"We are astonished," Mr Bester said last night.

The group will hold a press conference on campus at 5pm today.

The students planned to leave for Lusaka on Saturday.

In a further development, a petition circulating on campus which is critical of the proposed visit, calls for a mass meeting of students and the resignation of SRC chairman Mr Phillip Verster. Over 1 000 signatures have been collected on the petition. The SRC is compelled to hold a mass meeting if more than 750 signatures are collected.

As the row continued yesterday, the students issued a statement saying they did not represent any power or interest groups, but believed the trip could break important ground for discussion at a higher level.

Expectations

They said they had taken the initiative to react to an ANC invitation.

"We do not pretend that the ANC is the only interest group in future discussions. All members of the group have already had discussions with a variety of groups in South Africa. We therefore do not negate the importance of internal discussions.

"As young Afrikaners we have certain expectations and make certain demands of the future. We believe that this must be communicated to the ANC Youth League

Understanding

"We do not expect to solve South Africa's problems in a single session of talks. The visit is only a modest attempt to create mutual understanding.

"We confirm our loyalty towards South Africa and all its people. The visit is not motivated by hard-headedness or irresponsibility. After thorough consideration we feel it is our responsibility to continue with the planned talks."

Earlier, President Botha said he hoped the students were aware that the academic freedom they enjoyed would be "one of the first victims of the form of government the ANC propagates".

The university's rector, Professor Mike de Vries, earlier told the students he condemned the trip "in the strongest possible terms".

The group is made up of the SRC chairman, Mr Phillip Verster, Mr Johan Olivier, Ms Annami Oosthuysen, Mr Hendrik du Toit, Mr Hans Mulier, chairman of the campus Church Youth Action, Mr Hennie Bester, chairman of the university's debating society, Mr Eric le Grange, editor of the campus newspaper Die Matie, former Matie editor Mr Anton Steenkamp and an Ned Geref Kerk clergyman, the Rev Carl Anthonissen.

A tenth member of the group, SRC vice-chairman Ms Mardja van der Walt, has withdrawn for personal reasons.

SOUTH African wines in a land without bread, the nostalgia of expatriates for what they still regard as their fatherland and their fascination about talking to white fellow South Africans are some of the impressions of the group of Progressive Federal Party MPs who met an African National Congress delegation in Lusaka at the weekend.

Informality marked the meeting between the four MPs and four ANC members in the guest house of a company which supplies equipment to other mining companies on the outskirts of Lusaka. The dress was casual and in all the the group conferred for eight hours on Saturday. After intensive discussions they took breaks and walked outside in the garden or had coffee. They shared several meals — fruit cocktail, steak, chicken and vegetables, but no bread. Zambia has a wheat shortage. Instead some sweet biscuits were sometimes served and at the hotel there were rolls. The atmosphere was relaxed and there were often spontaneous jokes. "The most fascinating couple of days I have spent in the past 10 years," is how Mr Colin Eglin, MP, chairman of the PFP, describes the meeting. The ANC group, he says, were well-informed and good-natured, still passionate South Africans, angry but not bitter. "The personal qualities of this group, given the stereotypes from a distance, were very different from what we expected. "They continually talked about 'our beautiful land' (South Africa). There was nostalgia and commitment and

they were remarkably non-racial".

Informality was a feature of the talks right from the start. No surnames were used.

The fact that South Africans were talking to South Africans created a relationship, regardless of political points of view.

Quite often there were anecdotes to break the tension of often tough talks. Some of the ANC men who were imprisoned on Robben Island recalled humorous incidents even under such circumstances. They told of efforts to keep up morale and to upstage the warders.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the PFP's federal executive, recalls that when South African wine was served, one of the ANC people joked that while there was a lot wrong with South Africa, there was nothing wrong with its wine.

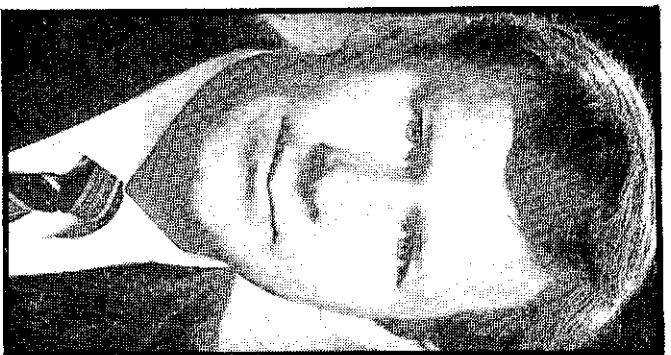
Mr Peter Gastrow, MP, recalls how one of the delegates expressed appreciation at the fact that his delegation could hear "from the horses" what was happening in South Africa by talking to the South African politicians.

The term was used several times and it was explained that it reminded him of the days when he was in a South African jail.

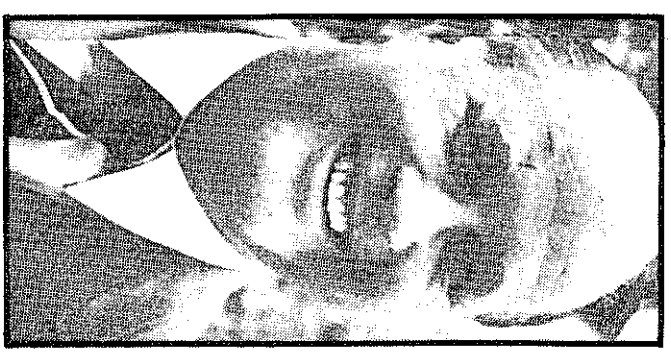
Occasionally the political prisoners in the jail could get together during exercise periods and received information from one of their fellow-prisoners who had remarkable contacts with the outside world.

He used to tell them it was "from the horse's mouth" and eventually his nickname was "Horse".

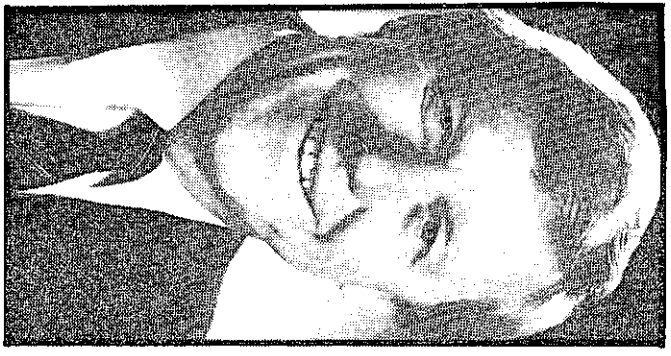
Dr Boraine said that what the PFP group found fascinating was that however big the political differences, these were two groups of South African



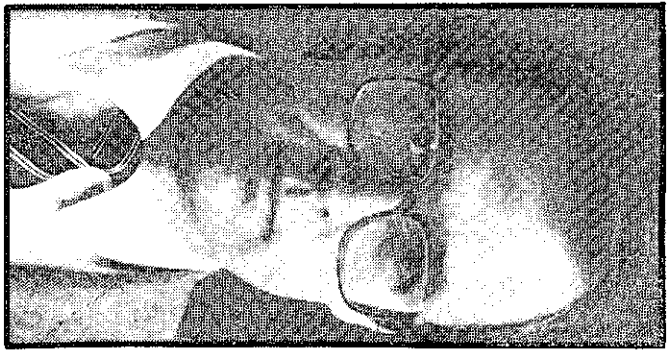
Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... leader of the PFP delegation to the meeting.



Mr Colin Eglin ... 'most fascinating couple of days in the past 10 years.'



Dr Alex Boraine ... cordiality but there were 'deep waters flowing.'



Mr Peter Gastrow ... the ANC group were pleased to see South Africans.

cans meeting. It was not a question of the PFP group trying to get a group of foreigners to understand South Africa's problems.

Suddenly the ANC had a human face. Here was a discussion with people, although some had been out of the country for many years, who had a consuming passion and were totally committed to their concept of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The ANC arranged visas for the PFP group and transport to the hotel.

The talks were marked by cordiality but there were also "deep waters flowing" as Dr Boraine puts it, with tough talks about the armed struggle and international pressure. In the end the delegations

differed on a number of crucial issues such as sanctions and the alliance convention idea, especially because the ANC does not want Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to be part of such a concept.

The possibility of some form of negotiation was not totally excluded.

The ANC group emphasised that for 50 years the movement had sought black political rights by peaceful means and that the option of violence had only been accepted after all the other ways that had been tried had failed.

Dr Boraine said that in the end his impression was that it was a tragedy that one group could return to South Africa to continue with the fight to dismantle apartheid while the other group was not able to do so.

Moves to arrange the meeting had stretched over a long time. London, Amsterdam or New York had previously been considered as venues. Two weeks ago, just as Dr Boraine and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert were preparing to leave for Spain and West Germany, word came that a meeting could be held in Lusaka.

The PFP group also met President Kenneth Kaunda, again very informally, on Saturday night. He said he was extremely encouraged by the fact that the two groups could meet.

Apart from the tough bargaining it was the poignant moments that struck Dr Boraine. This was when the ANC men expressed nostalgia and a deep longing to be back in South Africa.

They asked about their home towns and about friends and relatives the PFP men may have known.

Although they appeared to be extremely well-informed about political developments in the country they were clearly yearning for some more personal details and impressions.

Mr Gastrow was also struck by the fact that the ANC group was so pleased to see other South Africans.

Some were very guarded in their remarks at the start of the talks, but soon the atmosphere became more relaxed and there were many spontaneous jokes and anecdotes from both sides. Future contact should be much easier.

(b) Where did you live previously?
First Ave 1970-1971

THE PFP-ANC MEETING IN LUSAKA

spectrum

(11A)
SA wine, jokes and nostalgia

ARGUS 17/10/85

(d) Political Correspondent TOS WENTZEL speaks to members of the Progressive Federal Party delegation who held talks in Lusaka with the ANC at the weekend

NO

... but no bread

10. (a) H

They shared several meals — fruit cocktail, steak, chicken and vegetables, but no bread.

"The personal qualities of this group (the ANC) were very different from what we expected."

"It was a tragedy that only one group could return to South Africa to continue the fight."

"What was fascinating was ... these were two groups of South Africans meeting."

After intensive discussions they took breaks and walked outside in the garden or had coffee.

"... while there is a lot wrong with South Africa there is nothing wrong with its wine."

Type of dwelling presently occupied:

House	Part of House	Outside Rooms	Garage	Shack	Other (Specify)
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				

(b) How many rooms are occupied by this household?

- (i) By household heads' family (i.e. parents, children) ... *4*
- (ii) By Lodgers ... *1*
- (iii) By Family not mentioned in (i) ... *5*
- (iv) Total number of rooms ... *4*

Passport row: Maties seek

vote on PW

Staff Reporters

TWO members of Stellenbosch University's student representative council will ask the Student Parliament tonight to vote for no confidence in the chancellor, President Mr P W Botha, because the Government has barred a student delegation from meeting the ANC.

SRC member Mr Johan Theron said today he would propose the motion because it was clear that President Botha linked his National Party ideology with his chancellorship.

Withdrawal of the passports of the student group who intended talking to the ANC in Lusaka was proof of this, he said.

The motion will be seconded by Mr Robbie Roberts, another SRC member, and the Student Parliament is expected to vote on it tonight.

The Government faced a barrage of criticism today for preventing the delegation from holding talks with the youth wing of the ANC next week.

Sources close to ANC headquarters in the Zambian capital said the organisation was "deeply disappointed" by the Government's action, but its invitation was open.

At the annual meeting of Assocom in Cape Town today Mr Sydney Matus of Johannesburg attacked the Government for interfering in the rights of young people who wanted to work for a better future for South Africa.

He called on Assocom to ask the Government for an explanation for its action.

"Very depressing"

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that "of all the idiotic acts of Government this year" he found the passport decision "the most staggeringly stupid and very depressing indeed."

"No initiative of any consequence has come from Government over the last couple of months towards any form of reconciliation.

"Surely a few Maties talking to the ANC youth are not going to threaten the Government or increase polarisation.

"I condemn this Government action unreservedly," Dr Slabbert said.

University academics have signed a petition supporting an individual's right to freedom of association and were to hand it to rector Professor Mike de Vries today.

Supporters

Professor Gerhard Erasmus of the university's law faculty said the statement, which had been circulating since Tuesday, had been signed by "almost everyone" in the faculties of law and arts and the departments of sociology, political science, and engineering.

The statement reads "We the undersigned members of Stellenbosch University staff are supporters of the right to freedom of association of every person. This implies the right to talk with any person."

"In the present climate in South Africa this is especially important.

"Those attached to a university, and therefore to some extent in a privileged position have a special responsibility to try, through discussions, to work towards a solution of our problems."

Two officials of the Department of Internal Affairs visited the university campus yesterday to tell members of the delegation who had passports that they were being with-

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

"The withdrawal of their passports unfortunately makes this very difficult," he said.

Mr Anton Steenkamp, former editor of Die Matie and one of the students to have visited Lusaka, said he was "very disappointed" "I did not foresee such drastic measures," he said.

The group planned to hold a Press conference at 5pm in Stellenbosch.

At residence house meetings last night at least eight residences condemned the planned dialogue.

The Government's action showed its "immense fear of negotiations at any level", acting president of UCT's SRC, Ms Carla Sutherland said.

"We should reiterate that these are the people we are meant to be talking to because there can be no solution in South Africa which does not involve the ANC," she said.

The president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk condemned the planned talks.

However, he also criticised the Government for not allowing the students to go ahead with the talks.

(Cont from Page 1)

drawn immediately and that the others' applications for passports would be refused.

They also interrupted a church meeting in the town to seize the passports of Ned Geref Kerk clergyman the Rev Carel Anthonissen and Mr Hans Muller, chairman of the campus Church-Youth Action organisation.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said it was the declared policy of the ANC to bring about change through violence.

"In these times and under these circumstances the proposed talks will serve no purpose whatsoever and I deemed it in the public interest not to grant travelling facilities."

Stellenbosch rector Professor Mike de Vries — who opposed the contact plan — said withdrawing passports was not the best way to get students to change their minds.

VERY DIFFICULT

He said he had not been consulted on the decision and had hoped that reaction to their plans would have caused the students to re-think.

Chief says reform will outweigh revolt

Mercury
16/10/85
ILA

Mercury Correspondent WOLFSBERG—There were a great many more potent forces pushing the South African Government toward reform than those working toward violent revolution. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a meeting of European VIPs here yesterday.

He was speaking at the Conference of Wolfsberg, a key event opened by Swiss President Kurt Furgler, to which leading Swiss bankers, entrepreneurs and industrialists invite their international counterparts and politicians to discussions and to hear addresses by international decision makers.

The KwaZulu Chief

Minister and Inkatha president said the alternatives for South Africa's future were either escalating violence leading to the Government's overthrow within the foreseeable future or political reform meaningful enough to satisfy black aspirations.

The ANC's mission in exile, together with whoever works with them inside South Africa, were probably stretched to the limits of what they could do.

On the other hand, the Government was quite capable of containing black violence to its present levels, maintaining the 'equilibrium of violence', Chief Buthelezi said.

The mission in exile did not have the power to mount a fully fledged revolution.

It would take major groups such as Inkatha, with its card-carrying membership of more than 1 000 000 to join with the ANC before full revolution became a reality.

Big business

'The scales must be tipped to one side or the other for the equilibrium to be broken. And every indication is that the scales will be tipped against a violent revolution capable of overthrowing the Government. It is not in South Africa's interests that this happens.'

There were many forces working in opposition to the ANC mission in exile, quite beyond those working for the status quo, he said.

Apartheid could not survive into the modern world South African big business perceived this to be the case. So did the Government and so did white South Africa.

'For many decades, big business was intimidated by the South African Government and worked hand in hand with it to enforce apartheid in practice.

This has now stopped. And big business is now far more intimidated by the prospect of the violent equilibrium I am

talking about than by Government pressure.'

Apartheid is now a threat to big business interests. The scales are being tipped away from violence by the weight of big business, and the South African Government is under immense pressure to deepen its commitment to reform and towards power sharing.

Chief Buthelezi said the final remedy for black suffering in South Africa would not be found in humanitarian reform.

'It will be found only in the kind of political reform which the State President has so far refused to put on his agenda.'

UDF says

Swart

must go

Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front last night called for the immediate removal of the new Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, Brigadier C A Swart.

The call for the removal of Brigadier Swart was made in a statement by the UDF's Western Cape regional executive.

The statement said Brigadier Swart must "carry full responsibility for the cold-blooded ambushing and gunning down of youngsters in Athlone, Nyanga and Heideveld, everywhere we have seen a growth in police action".

It also supported the intensification of the consumer boycott and the decision of African communities in Cape Town not to pay rents until the police and SADF were out of the townships.

The statement was the first issued by the executive since eight of its members were detained and six others went into hiding.

"The detentions and harassment have not deterred us in our struggle for a united non-racial South Africa," it said.

Teargas
in Molloise
home

(M/A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Soldiers surrounded and teargassed the Soweto home of condemned Benjamin Molloise last night, while elderly women comforted his mother on the eve of his hanging in Pretoria.

"It was like the house was on fire," said United Press International reporter Montshiwa Moroke, who watched as soldiers in three armoured trucks surrounded the house and fired teargas after ordering youths attending a vigil to disperse.

Earlier yesterday, Molloise, who was sentenced to death for killing a policeman, met his aged mother for the last time.

About 200 black youths gathered in a tent in the garden of the Soweto home about 7pm.

The soldiers arrived an hour later and said the gathering was illegal. They refused to discuss the ban with Molloise's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana.

Teargas was fired from two sides of the house as youths took refuge inside. Soldiers then agreed to withdraw and give the crowd time to disperse when those inside refused to open up.

— UPI

Tambo and television are a potent combination overseas

CAME TIMES 18/10/85

11A

THE South African ban on the African National Congress (ANC) — and the muzzle on its leaders — looks ludicrous from these parts.

Nowhere more so than with the ANC's exiled president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Tambo is on an international mission to win friends and influence people on behalf of the ANC and is having considerable success.

The breakthrough, of course, was his meeting with the chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly and his pioneering colleagues in Zambia last month. That meeting has started a dialogue which is vital to the prospect black-white negotiation in South Africa.

It is an initiative which has caught the imagination of the world and for which South African businessmen have been given full credit — but it may not be reported in South Africa.

Historic photograph

(Several newspapers — among them the Sunday Tribune and the Sunday Times — have been refused permission to publish Mr Tambo's utterances and they have had little to do with the armed struggle or AK47s).

I have just been reading in Leadership SA an account of the meeting by Hugh Murray and reflecting on that historic photograph of the chairman of the Premier Group, Mr Tony Bloom, standing shoulder-to-shoulder with a smiling Mr Tambo.

One hears that the meeting is to be followed soon with another involving a broader delegation of South African businessmen and last week the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, flew to Lusaka for his own indaba with the ANC.

'Violence'

Judging from Dr Slabbert's comments after the meeting, the ANC is not as intransigent as the government would have South Africans believe and is prepared to consider negotiations under certain conditions.

Dr Slabbert expressed confidence that "a path away from violence can be negotiated".

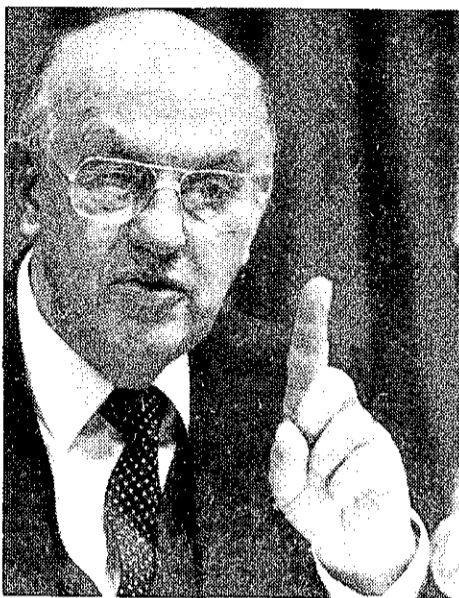
Mr Tambo's well-worn path through the Eastern bloc has taken a spectacular swerve West since last month's historic meeting in the bush. Until recently the ANC and its exiled leadership was an unknown factor to the average Briton who had always seen the Anti-Apartheid Movement as the public face of opposition to the status quo in South Africa.

The British government clings to its



London Dateline

JOHN BATTERSBY reports



Mr P W Botha



Mr Oliver Tambo

policy of no official contact with the ANC but is increasingly aware of its dilemma in cold-shouldering an organization which has opened a dialogue with a significant section of the South African establishment.

Some Whitehall observers believe the recent initiative by the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to make the first ministerial contact with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) could pave the way for a change in UK official policy.

(Significantly, the reason the PLO talks were called off before they began this week was that the PLO representatives reneged on their commitment to formally renounce violence and seek a peaceful settlement before the talks began.)

The past six months have brought a stream of ANC faces to British TV screens, including Mr Tambo, Mr Johnnie Makatini, the ANC's representative at the United Nations and Mr Thabo Mbeki, son of jailed ANC leader Govan Mbeki and a rising member of the organization's national executive.

Most recently, British viewers saw Mr Tambo's rapturous reception at the Labour Party conference in Bournemouth on TV.

They saw the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Neil Kinnock, in an embrace with Mr Tambo and listened to his half-hour address — a display of solidarity taken into the homes of millions of Britons.

The next night Mr Tambo was hosted by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, as the guest of honour with Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Sir Shridath was impressed. He told the Commonwealth Press Union in the Bahamas this week: "Oliver Tambo is not young, but he seems frail. His whole life has been distorted by apartheid, yet somehow this was not a man filled with hate, but with hope; not a racist by retaliation, but a black South African looking to a non-racial South Africa in which all races would work together in mutual respect and dignity under a democratic system."

Later this month Mr Tambo will meet a group of British businessmen. He will also be the guest speaker at a "private discussion" at the Royal Institute for International Affairs.

All this means that South Africans are being denied the information which is necessary to make a rational decision about the future and about the chances of reconciliation.

Of course, no government can be seen to legitimize violence or "armed struggle" and some of the talk from the ANC's propaganda organs calling for an escalation to the armed struggle is disturbing. But there are laws to deal with people who instigate and advocate violence.

A step which would reduce the number of people driven to a desperate position of supporting violence is to allow South Africans to associate themselves with the political objectives of the ANC as Bishop Tutu has done publicly. Swapo is al-

lowed to operate within the law in SWAZILAND.

Negotiating with organizations and governments that have engaged in armed conflict with South Africa has never been an obstacle; Pretoria had no hesitation in talking to the MPLA government in Angola, Frelimo in Mozambique, Swapo, or — more recently — Renamo in Mozambique.

Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and their generation of African nationalists represent the last chance of reconciliation.

Most white South Africans would probably be stunned to see the humble and affable Mr Tambo on their television screens. They would find a soft-spoken and self-effacing man who explored every peaceful avenue to get successive South African governments — not only Nationalist ones — to recognize the basic humanity of blacks and give them equal rights.

After the banning of the ANC 25 years ago the Tambos and Mandelas embarked reluctantly on a campaign of sabotage and limited "armed struggle".

But they still represent moderate black opinion and are prepared to talk with whites about the future if certain conditions are met.

They are the same generation as President P W Botha. Soon the Tambos and the Mandelas and the Bothas will move on. And there is a far more radical, impatient and reckless dormant leadership waiting to take their places.

Meetings in bush

Southern Africa has the potential to go the same way as the Middle East. Once the ANC starts disintegrating, like the PLO has done, that potential will be strengthened.

Meetings in the bush are all very well and help to break the ice and create an atmosphere conducive to negotiation. But ultimately the ball is in President Botha's court. It is up to him to take the decision to legalize the ANC and test Mr Mandela's undertaking that the ANC would call a truce in return.

There is still a staggering degree of political cohesion in the black community through organizations like the ANC and the broader United Democratic Front.

If the government does not recognize and act on that recognition soon it will be too late.

UDF youth hail Maties' bid to meet ANC

Young people in the United Democratic Front have hailed the attempt by eight Stellenbosch students to meet the ANC and have condemned the Government for "stifling this move toward peace" by refusing them passports.

"Their actions show they are afraid of the common ground that young people might find if they come together," said Mr

Dan Montsisi, UDF co-ordinator for the International Youth Year Committee.

He said the UDF had welcomed the firm stand taken by the students and it had hoped "that the white youth would come back with the cobwebs and myths of bloodthirsty terrorists and such propaganda washed from their minds".

Mr Montsisi said sections of

the white community concerned with the future of the country should engage in talks with credible political organisations.

He said the UDF youth would be more than willing to meet Afrikaner youth provided the risk to the township youth, many of whom were perpetually in hiding because of the threat of detention, was less-

sened. IIA STAR
He pointed out that International Youth Year activities in the townships had been wrecked by security law detentions and bans on meetings.

He suggested that Afrikaner youths might be beginning to appreciate how the Government's heavyhanded action against young people blocked the way to peace.

Cops hold Azapo four

FOUR mergers of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation's Northern Transvaal region have been arrested by police in Pietersburg. ^{Soweto}

One was arrested by the Pietersburg Security Police and three by the Lebowa police in Seshego.

Miss M o n h l a Hlahla, of the Mahwelereng branch of Azapo is being held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act, according to a police spokesman in Pietersburg. 16/10/85

Mr Lesbia Kobela was arrested at 8 am yesterday morning at his place of work.

Mr Gerry Kganyago was arrested for allegedly distributing Azapo pamphlets calling for boycott of a bar lounge and cinema belonging to the Minister of Law and Order in Lebowa, Mr Moses Duba.

UK lawyer barred from meetings UDF trialists

STAR 18/10/85

11A
A representative of the International Commission of Jurists who is visiting South Africa to report on the trials of United Democratic Front members was yesterday refused permission to meet awaiting-trial prisoners at Pretoria Central Prison.

Mr Geoffrey Bindman, an English solicitor, said the murder and treason trials of UDF-linked individuals in Pretoria and Maritzburg had attracted much interest abroad.

"The commission has expressed concern about South African legal procedures in the past and is

anxious to have further reports.

"I have no particular reason to believe that judges will not deal freely with what is before them in accordance with the laws and procedures they are obliged to follow," said Mr Bindman.

What was of concern was that what was being applied in South Africa was not "ordinary laws against generally recognised criminal acts, but rather an attempt to achieve a political objective, which is the suppression of the activities of particular organisations," he said.

The laws which made this possible defined offences in "very broad terms" and enabled suspects and witnesses to be detained for indefinite periods, he said.

Mr Bindman has conducted similar inquiries in Chile, on behalf of Amnesty International.

He had had no problems with the authorities there and had been allowed to see awaiting-trial prisoners.

He will meet the Attorney-General of the Transvaal in Pretoria today and ends his visit on Tuesday.

UNIONS AND POLITICS

Fosatu spells it out

One of the great unanswered questions in the turmoil of recent months has been why many unions in the independent trade union movement have chosen to keep a relatively low political profile compared with other black organisations in SA.

These emerging unions have shown on numerous occasions just how effective they can be when they want to make a point in the political arena. Yet on the whole, they have been decidedly selective when making their moves.

This reticence is no accident. The unions perceive their role as being profoundly different from that of many of the organisations involved in political opposition because they are working class organisations.

This emerges clearly in a position paper *The Question of Unity in the Struggle* by Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) ideologue Alec Erwin in the latest *SA Labour Bulletin*.

Erwin discusses liberation politics which he defines as a process concerned with destroying the legitimacy of an unjust regime so that it cannot govern successfully and must abdicate. For it to succeed, he says, it must be able to mobilise the greatest possible support among the people of a country and in the international arena. These factors go a long

way in determining what kind of political action is appropriate.

Erwin says apartheid has been so abhorrent to so many for so long that its very unacceptability has created a simple and powerful basis for opposition mobilisation. For unions the problem is that the South African economy has serious structural problems which require substantial transformation if the working class in the rural and urban areas is to improve its material and humanitarian position. Unions face an acute dilemma because the imperatives posed by opposition do not encourage political practices that address transformation. And if transformation is addressed, it would focus attention on differing class interests.

Says Erwin: "The challenge posed is whether political practices can be evolved that retain sufficient unity of purpose among a majority of the oppressed to undermine the legitimacy of the regime yet at the same time address the problems of transformation." And he is firmly of the view that the type of unionism practised by the independent shop-floor-based unions, in which representatives are elected and are accountable to their constituencies, is the answer since it promotes democratic participation.

Indeed, he castigates activists who do not follow these guidelines. "At present there is a tendency for activists to congregate around the honeypot of popular activity. From the perspective of transformation, this is not necessarily wise, in addition to its possible insidious threat to democracy."

A change in regime in SA — where the question of transformation has not been addressed — would leave intact structures and interests inimical to workers. In fact, it would drastically alter prospects for the opposition as organisations would be battling for legitimacy on a very different terrain both internally and internationally, Erwin says. The bottom line for unity in the battle

against apartheid is an acceptance of the centrality of working class interests.

Erwin's paper is a highly significant input for opposition debate. Its publication now, just before the launching of a new "superfederation" of emerging unions, is no doubt intended to indicate the direction Fosatu would like the new federation to take. But this does not mean that Fosatu can expect plain sailing on the issues Erwin has raised. Many unions affiliated to the United Democratic Front, which have opposing views on political strategy, will also be part of the new federation. Ultimately, the political direction of the new federation will depend on the outcome of the debate between these camps. ■



Fosatu's Erwin ... unions face an acute dilemma

Caplan
OK 18/10/80

Restrictions imposed on UDF meeting

W.P.
Political Staff

THE Chief Magistrate of Wynberg has imposed restrictions on a United Democratic Front rally at Hanover Park Civic Centre tomorrow afternoon.

Mr W P Theron announced this today after discussions with UDF Western Cape secretary Mr Trevor Manuel and his attorney, Mr Essa Moosa.

Mr Theron said the conditions were that:

- The meeting be held indoors and that no loudspeakers be placed outside the building;
- No people be allowed to congregate outside the building;
- No boycott of educational institutions or politically linked work stayaways be promoted;
- The organisers and conveners take steps to ensure the orderly conduct of the meeting; and
- No flags, slogans, banners or placards, except for the UDF banner, be displayed during the meeting.

The rally — the first UDF mass meeting in several months — is due to start at 2.30pm.

The rally was announced at a Press conference of the UDF in Athlone last night. It was attended by several of the eight members of the UDF regional executive who have been released after being held for six weeks under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

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'Credibility' key to new SA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

NO. CONSTITUTIONAL system in South Africa would work unless it was negotiated with the credible leaders of black people, including the ANC and UDF, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said yesterday.

A federal system of government might work as a compromise if it was the product of true negotiation, he said in an interview.

But any proposal, based on existing structures such as homelands and local councils, would fail because black people were never consulted about their creation.

Mr Mabuza, who was an observer at this week's Assocom congress where support for a federal system was given, said he did not think federation could work if it was based on the homelands because they were structured without consultation with black people and foisted on them.

"Until the black people become part of the decision-making process to formulate a structure, only then can a constitutional system work.

"If a government-created structure is absorbed into a new political system in the hope that it will provide some power-sharing opportunity and resolve the political impasse we are in, it won't work."

Negotiation process

He said federal-type proposals were being seen as another white-imposed solution. It would work if credible black leaders agreed it was a sufficient compromise.

"But to prescribe now and say it is the best solution in order to give political rights to blacks, and absorb into it systems which have been rejected by the black people, will not work — if they are based on the homelands and the local authorities as they are," Mr Mabuza said.

The credible leaders were those with constituencies and this included extra-parliamentary organizations, such as the ANC, he said.

CAPE TIMES 18/10/81

Maties: 'We must speak to ANC youth'

From RIAAN SMIT

STELLENBOSCH. — The eight Stellenbosch students whose passports were withdrawn to prevent talks with the ANC Youth League in Lusaka, said at a press conference last night they are still convinced young Afrikaners must talk to ANC youth.

They called the withdrawal of their passports "incomprehensible" and asked the government to reconsider.

They said they are backed by "certain businessmen" and indicated that a meeting could still take place at a venue other than Lusaka.

The meeting they were to have had with President P W Botha tonight has been cancelled.

The eight said in a prepared statement that the talks would not have betrayed victims of violence.

"We as a group would have strongly renounced the use of violence."

A petition signed by 140 lecturers at the university backs the Matie students, and the 60-member student parliament approved a motion backing the talks by a two-thirds majority.

There was widespread reaction yesterday to the withdrawal of the passports.

The leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday said: "Of all the idiotic acts of government this year, I find this the most staggeringly stupid."

Professor H W van der Merwe of the University of Cape Town said he was "sorry" about the government's decision. Professor Van der Merwe helped establish links between the two groups.

In Lusaka the ANC deplored the action against the students.

The decision was also deplored by the Azanian Students Organization, the National Council of Women and the Black Sash.

The regional representative of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr H O Nothnagel, said the passports had been seized by immigration officials from his department, not security police as reported. His department was acting on instructions from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

A statement by Mr Botha said it was the declared policy of the ANC to bring about change in the South Africa through violence.

"We are engaged in a serious struggle with this organization and in these circumstances I find it unacceptable that a group of university students, with a clergyman, intends having discussions with the youth wing of that organization.

"I deemed it in the public interest not to grant travel facilities to them."

The government's action was yesterday approved by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

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CARE Times 18/10/76

'I am glad' says Tutu

Staff Reporter

BISHOP Desmond Tutu told a meeting of more than 1 500 people at the Woodstock Town Hall last night he was pleased the government had withdrawn the passports of Stellenbosch students who intended to visit the ANC in Zambia.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said: "At least some white people ... will now know what many blacks have suffered. "These students said, 'we will go'. Now the government says, 'we will take away your passports'. I am glad this happened."

The meeting was crammed. Crowds danced in Main Road, stopping traffic briefly after the meeting.

Banned

Earlier, the installation of loudspeakers outside the hall was banned, as was the displaying of the banners of banned organizations. The volume of the sound system in the hall was ordered not to be such that the speeches could be heard outside.

Bishop Tutu cautioned the gathering that "we are preparing for a society which is going to be able to discriminate between good and bad.

"And we must not allow ourselves to become as the system we oppose. We cannot afford to use methods of which we will be ashamed when we look back.

"Why must we discredit our cause by using methods which, if they were used against, we would oppose?"

"We are doing a great dishonour to those who are languishing on Robben Island, to those in Pollsmoor, to those in exile. We are doing a great dishonour to those whose blood has been spilt.

"We must use methods which can withstand the harsh scrutiny of history," he said.

Clemency

He told the meeting he had sent a telegram to the State President. Mr P W Botha, yesterday ask-

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"We must use methods which can withstand the harsh scrutiny of history," he said.

Clemency

He told the meeting he had sent a telegram to the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday asking for clemency for the convicted ANC murderer Benjamin Moloise.

He had asked Mr Botha to "please at this late hour exercise your prerogative to commute the death sentence of this young man and help to reduce tension in this land".

Bishop Tutu said stability and peace would not come from the Darrel

WOODSTOCK MEETING

NRGMS 18/10/85



Bishop Tutu: I care about white liberation

"We must remember that we have been given a wonderful cause", Bishop Tutu said last night. Staff Reporter ROBERT HOUWING writes.

WHITES who opposed the system in South Africa deserved praise for "turning their backs on such substantial privileges," Bishop Desmond Tutu told a packed meeting last night.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner was speaking at a meeting organised by the Cape Western branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations in the Woodstock town hall.

Bishop Tutu said opposition to apartheid "came naturally" to black people, but "went against the grain" for whites. White South Africans, he said, were "not all demons."

"Most are scared human beings, and I ask the audience whether they wouldn't also be scared if they were outnumbered five to one.

"When I speak about black liberation it is because I also care about white liberation," Bishop Tutu said.

The police, he said, had an unenviable task in having to carry out "the immoral laws of an evil, totally un-Christian system.

"As a black person I do not regard them as my friends, defending as they do something utterly indefensible, and they are going to have their work cut out redeeming themselves."

He slammed this week's police shootings from an un-

marked vehicle in Thornton Road, Athlone, as "outrageous."

Bishop Tutu condemned people who resorted to burning others they regarded as collaborators. "Methods like that do a great dishonour to those languishing on Robben Island or at Pollsmoor, to those in exile, or those whose blood has already been spilt.

"We must remember that we have been given a wonderful, righteous cause, one of freedom and justice, and we must be able to walk with heads held high.

"Stability in this land will not come from the barrel of a gun, because peace without justice is not possible."

The root cause of the current unrest, Bishop Tutu said, was apartheid. "No reform or plastic surgery will make it more beautiful -- it is a monster that needs to be destroyed."

He described the new constitution as a "culmination of the politics of exclusion," which "entrenched white minority rule for ever."

After the meeting, a group of youths stoned the windows of at least two businesses in the Main Road, a supermarket and a factory curtain shop. Police patrolled the area after the incidents, but no action was apparent.



Moloise hanged in spite of pleas

PRETORIA. — Benjamin Moloise, 30, was executed shortly after 7am today in Pretoria Central Prison. He had been on Death Row for two years.

Moloise was sentenced to death in 1982 for the murder of a Mamelodi security policeman, Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe.

The last bid to save him was made on August 20, hours before he was due to be hanged.

His lawyers won a three-week stay of execution on the grounds that fresh evidence had become available.

ANC DENIAL

The ANC has twice denied that Moloise — who admitted he was a member of the ANC — was the murderer.

The Government ignored clemency pleas from the 49 Commonwealth national leaders, the European Economic Community, representing 10 nations, five Nordic governments, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Amnesty International and the South African Council of Churches.

Mrs Pauline Moloise said today her son was not afraid of death and was "very strong" yesterday.

Mrs Moloise was consoled by Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.



Mrs Pauline Moloise

● Bishop Desmond Tutu said at a meeting in Woodstock last night he had asked President P W Botha to commute the death sentence to "help reduce the tension in this land".

● The execution would have bad effects at home and abroad, Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman said in Johannesburg today.

● As protesters in London held an all-night vigil outside South Africa House, South Africa's Ambassador to the UK, Dr Denis Worrall, said the law had been carried out. There had been a trial, an appeal and a temporary stay of execution. No extenuating circumstances were found. — Sapa, Argus Foreign Service.



Voting at the Stellenbosch University student parliament last night.

ARC AS 18/10/81 (11A) (3/11/81) (3/11/81)

Business backing for Matie talks with ANC

GAYE DAVIS, Staff Reporter
STELLENBOSCH students, whose planned talks with the African National Congress were aborted by the Government, have been offered backing by businessmen to stage the meeting in South Africa or overseas.

Reaffirming their conviction that "young Afrikaners have to talk to the ANC youth" they appealed for the talks to be allowed to go ahead "for the sake of South Africa".

A Press conference at Stellenbosch University late yesterday erupted into a standing ovation by about 200 students for group leader Mr Hennie Bester when he asked the Government to reconsider and "not let this step become a piece of unaccomplished history".

Referring to events in the Western Cape, he said: "Within kilometres of where we sit there is violence — that is why dialogue is necessary."

Two students whose motion of no confidence in the chancellor, President P W Botha, was abandoned without debate by the student parliament last night are to launch a petition instead.

The motion was scrapped by 38 votes to 16 after the

rector, Professor Mike de Vries, addressed the parliament behind closed doors — hours after he summoned Mr Johannes Roberts, proposer of the motion, to his office and asked him to withdraw it.

But Mr Roberts and his seconder, Mr Johan Theron, felt the matter could not be left there, student parliament chairman Mr Phillip Verster said later.

MAJORITY

A motion of support for the eight Maties, whose talks with the youth wing of the ANC collapsed when the State withdrew their passports, was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Mr Bester told the Press conference earlier yesterday that a meeting arranged for today between him, fellow delegate Mr Phillip Verster, chairman of the Matie SRC, and President P W Botha had been cancelled.

Eight students and a Ned Geref Kerk clergyman had planned to fly to Lusaka on Saturday and stay in Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's guest lodge.

Mr Bester said the group would still like to "press ahead with the initiative" but preferably "after this row has settled".

He said: "Some businessmen — I will not name names — have offered to back a meeting in South Africa, if possible, or on neutral ground, possibly overseas."

In a statement read out by Mr Bester, the group said it had received a "standing and unconditional" invitation from the ANC which it was their "moral duty" to accept.

A solution to South Africa's problems lay in dialogue with "all fellow South Africans".

The ANC enjoyed support within and without South Africa and it was "no good arguing" that it should not lay claim to an interest in the country.

● Young people in the United Democratic Front have hailed the attempt to meet the ANC.

Mr Dan Montsisi, UDF coordinator for the International Youth Year Committee, said: "The Government's actions show it is afraid of the common ground that young people might find if they come together."

He said the UDF had hoped "that the white youth would come back with the cobwebs and myths of bloodthirsty terrorists and such propaganda washed from their minds".

My dear sister Margaret . . .

Kaunda urges Britain to recognise the ANC

19/10/85 MEXICUM

JOHN BATTERSBY
Mercury man
at the conference

NASSAU — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, the Commonwealth's elder statesman, has made a passionate plea to Britain to recognise the African National Congress.

'My dear sister Margaret, I plead with you — the ANC is not a terrorist organisation,' he told Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, during a speech which a Commonwealth spokesman described as 'emotional, dramatic, eloquent and passionate'.

Dr Kaunda was opening the crucial Commonwealth debate on South Africa on Thursday night.

He made an emotional plea for economic sanctions against South Africa to avoid a catastrophe which, he said, was less than two years away.

Sanctions

He warned that if the Commonwealth did not send a signal to South Africa it would have contributed to the 'conflagration' through its own inaction.

He said Zambia favoured comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

'But if we can't have that let us agree on a package of selective sanctions,' he said.

And then, turning to Mrs Thatcher: 'But my dear Margaret, let us see what can be done.'

At the climax of his speech he broke down and sobbed for three minutes.

President Kaunda said the history of the Commonwealth was full of 'terrorists' who had become statesmen. One was the late President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya.

Wrath

Both Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo had been asked to renounce violence but the real violence came from the South African Government, President Kaunda said.

He warned that if urgent action was not taken, 'the wrath you see now will reach the point of no return'.

Specific demands linked to the sanctions package should include a declaration by President Botha renouncing apartheid, an end to the state of emergency, lifting the ban on the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and the initiation of a process of dialogue between black and white.

ANC 'squarely to blame' for our troubles — PW

The exiled African National Congress and its internal surrogates were "squarely to blame" for the "appalling and distressing state of affairs" in which 761 people had died in unrest incidents in South Africa since September last year, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

In a statement in Pretoria he again strongly reiterated his rejection of any dialogue with the ANC, saying it was "quite clear" from the organisation's recent statements and its talks

with opposition politicians and South African businessmen that it remained unyielding on its use of violence and its communist ties.

Also, "the Government, which with all means at its disposal has all the security information concerning South Africa available, must be trusted by all patriotic South Africans", he said.

In recent weeks talks with the ANC in Lusaka by a group of leading South African businessmen and Dr Van Zyl

Slabbert, leader of the official opposition, were sharply criticised by Mr Botha.

Plans for a proposed visit to Lusaka by eight University of Stellenbosch student leaders and a Dutch Reformed Church clergyman next week for discussions with the ANC's Youth League were stamped out by the government this week.

Mr Botha condemned the talks and their passports were withdrawn by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr

Stoffel Botha. The students have since said they still want to go, despite the Government's opposition.

Mr Botha said in his statement last night he wanted to make it clear from the outset that the decision on the students' passports "was taken with my knowledge and approval, and that of Ministers of the Cabinet who are members of the State Security Council."

● To Page 2, Col 8

'ANC is squarely to blame for unrest'

From Page 1 19/10/84

The government's position on the intended consultations with the ANC's Youth League has been set out clearly by him on Monday. "The warning was sounded that South Africans must take care their actions do not lend credibility and status to self-confessed perpetrators of violence."

He pointed out it was established international practice that authorities might make the issue of passports to their nationals conditional upon certain given circumstances.

"Furthermore, several members of the Government have repeatedly stated the Government's position as regards consultations with persons and organisations which favour violence," Mr Botha said.

This position had been supported by leaders of various political parties in Parliament.

An example Mr Botha quoted was Dr Slabbert in the House of Assembly on April 19 this year, when the opposition leader said he deplored "in the strongest possible terms any organisation, group or individual that promotes or uses violence to bring about any kind of change in South Africa".

Dr Slabbert had said no society or state could tolerate a situation in the cities where "we are reduced to arbitrary mob rule". He had added that "there are ANC members who are hardline communists, who are committed to violence. I agree there is no point in negotiating with those people".

Mr Botha also referred to the US Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism which had in 1982 conducted an investigation into the role of the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba in fomenting terrorism in Southern Africa.

Among other conclusions, the subcommittee had concluded evidence suggested strongly that the original purposes of the ANC had been subverted and that the Soviet Union and its allies had achieved effective control over it.

On the recent South Africans' talks with the ANC, he said it was quite clear from these and recent statements by the organisation, "that the ANC remains unyielding as regards its continued use of force, its Marxist leanings and its ties with the South African Communist Party."

The SACP in reality controlled and directed the ANC and its rejection of negotiations, with the exception of negotiations concerning the final transfer of all State authority to the organisation.

"As a result of the conduct of the ANC and its front organisations within the Republic, the government, to provide for safety and order, particularly in certain black areas, issued emergency measures in a small number of areas

Thatcher ^{COU} approves ^{SEN} 'wise men' ^{STAR} plan for SA

19/10/85
NASSAU (Bahamas) — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, under fire at a Commonwealth summit over her opposition to sanctions against South Africa, has consented to the creation of a committee of elder statesmen to promote talks between black nationalists and the Pretoria Government.

But Mrs Thatcher once again rejected out of hand the use of economic sanctions — or even the threat of punitive measures — as a means of forcing Pretoria to dismantle apartheid.

Mrs Thatcher said the 49 Commonwealth nations could not expect Pretoria to negotiate in good faith for an end to apartheid if they were "putting a gun to South Africa's head".

Reiterating her position that economic sanctions would have devastating consequences for South African blacks, Mrs Thatcher said it would be wrong for them to have "gained dignity and political rights only to inherit a wasteland".

After a series of private talks with other Commonwealth leaders, Mrs Thatcher was finally persuaded to accept the idea of a high-level committee that would travel to South Africa and try to start up negotiations between the Government and black nationalist groups.

Mrs Thatcher asserted yesterday that negotiations were the most important step toward the abolition of apartheid, but said black leaders would have to agree to end violence once talks had begun. — Sapa-Reuter.

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CALL TIME 19/10/85

Woman tells of intimidation

117 ~~210~~ ~~211~~ Staff Reporter

A WOMAN in New Crossroads is being victimized for her alleged association with the community council but says she is not, and has never been, a member.

Mrs Gloria Sogaxa of 1624 Nontulo Street, New Crossroads, said she was a candidate for the council in 1983 but was unsuccessful.

At that stage, she felt that the council could still achieve something for the people living there.

"But now I am with the people and I identify with the UDF. I don't want anything to do with the community council." Mrs Sogaxa said.



W/E-Mow 19/9/81

World's anger at Moloiise execution

FOREIGN governments expressed anger today at the hanging of Benjamin Moloiise, convicted of killing a security policeman in Soweto last year.

Moloiise denied committing the murder, his lawyers claiming he confessed under duress. But he acknowledged he was an accomplice.

The British Foreign Office said in a statement the execution "will only exacerbate the internal situation in South Africa".

The European Community in a statement in Brussels said: "It must be feared that, by its attitude, Pretoria has strengthened the danger of escalation in violence of which the population, which demands the recognition of its elementary and fundamental rights, will be the first victim."

The US State Department, expressing regret over the hanging, said Pretoria should have granted the defendant clemency.

Deplored

"We have made plain our opinion that clemency in this case was justified," the department said in a statement.

Officials of the Commonwealth, meeting in Nassau, the Bahamas, also deplored the hanging.

"This act again demonstrates the contempt with which the South African Government treats world opinion," a Commonwealth Secretariat spokesman said.

In Paris, Prime Minister Laurent Fabius stood with fists clenched outside the South African Embassy today, observing one minute's silence in memory of Moloiise.

"It is an execution carried out in contempt of the rights of man by the racist regime in Pretoria," the Socialist Premier said in a statement.

The West Germans said the hanging would damage chances for peaceful reform and the Dutch said it deeply regretted the failure to show clemency. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

What Relly will tell ANC

11A

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W. print 19/9/85

THE chairman of Anglo-American, Mr Gavin Relly, said on the eve of his departure for Zambia for scheduled talks today between leading businessmen and the outlawed African National Congress: "We have no ambitions to persuade them about anything at all."

Mr Relly, 59, refused to divulge precise details about the timing and venue of the talks, except to state enigmatically: "If the talks come off I will certainly be involved in them."

Commenting on the objective of the talks, Mr Relly said: "It might be

useful for both sides if people actually met, instead of seeing themselves as sworn enemies at the end of a sort of media presentation ... that is really the fundamental of the good sense of talking."

Mr Relly added: "I think there is coherent sense for businessmen to want to find out if there is common ground...that a free-enterprise society is demonstrably better at creating wealth than some type of Marxist socialism. I would have thought it was

By PATRICK LAURENCE

self evident...that nobody wants to play a role in a country where the economy...was destroyed either by a sort of Marxist approach to wealth-creation or by a...revolution."

Mr Relly, however, disavowed that the purpose of the talks was to persuade ANC leaders of the superiority of capitalism. He did concede, however, that if the talks focused on the Freedom Charter the

issue of capitalism versus socialism would almost certainly be discussed.

Commenting on President P W Botha's characterisation of the talks as "unwise and even disloyal," Mr Relly said: "I simply accept that he may have found that the statement necessary in a political sense, so I am not disconcerted about it."

He said of the rising tide of anti-capitalist sentiment in radical black opposition movements: "It is fairly

understandable. But I am not particularly worried...because I think that with the increasing free enterprise that we have here (we are) increasingly able to show that it can deliver the goods."

Meanwhile, the ANC in Lusaka considers it will be talking to the businessmen from a position of some strength, reports HOWARD BARRELL.

The tone of the meeting will probably be "calm and firm", according to a senior ANC official interviewed last week.

WHAT THE ANC WILL SAY: IS CAPITALISM UNDER THREAT? Page 9

SA's oldest political

organisation

is coming in

out of the cold

19/10/85
 IIA
 E. Post

IN the whirl of political activity this year, it seems clear that South Africa's oldest existing political organisation, the African National Congress, has to a significant extent come in from the cold to regain much of its lost legitimacy.

More attention has probably been paid to the ANC so far this year than since 1960, when it was banned during the state of emergency proclaimed after that year's Sharpeville shootings, and since the publicity accruing to it from the sensational political trials which ensued over the subsequent two years.

Since its banning, and resultant enforced "going underground", the ANC has to a large extent till recently been viewed by the white South African establishment (Government and Opposition) as "beyond the pale" as far as any formal contact is concerned.

Contact with the "terrorist" (so labelled by the Government) organisation, particularly by an opposition party, has been seen as akin to a potential political kiss of death.

The Government's official stance has remained a firm rejection of any talks with the ANC while the movement sticks to a strategy of violence.

The Government's hardline approach was graphically illustrated this week by its refusal of passports to a group of Stellenbosch University student leaders, and an NG Kerk minister from the town, who had planned to talk to the ANC Youth Wing in Lusaka.

(The ANC, which, incidentally, was founded in 1912, two years before the National Party, retaliates to the charges that it is guilty of violence by in turn calling apartheid a policy of violence.)

To get back to the "legitimacy stakes", however: so far this year there have been highly visible visits to the ANC's leadership in Zambia by a group of top South African businessmen and journalists and by the official Opposition Progressive Federal Party.

This has tied up with recent calls by such diverse organisations as the South African Council of Churches and the University of Cape Town's convocation, among others, for talks between the Government and the ANC.

tional seedbed of Afrikaner Nationalist leadership, the Stellenbosch University student body, followed up a call at the end of April this year by its "parliament" for direct, unconditional talks between the Government and the ANC with its moves this week, thwarted by the passport refusal, to send a delegation (including the Maties' SRC chairman) to Lusaka, the ANC's headquarters.

The closest the Government has come so far to acknowledging any ANC significance has been an offer earlier this year of conditional release to the organisation's jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

But the Government has issued warnings to the businessmen, under Anglo-American chief Mr Gavin Relly, who last month saw an ANC delegation under Mr Oliver Tambo, that their contacts could be seen as "disloyal".

No doubt similar jibes will be thrown at Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and his PFP team (particularly in the campaign for the October 30 by-elections).

Dr Slabbert has clearly adopted the attitude that the national interest — and in the medium and longer terms also his own "mediatory role" — is better served by the bold step he has taken than by petty party political considerations and fears.

And the perception is growing among informed observers that the Government is in danger of being strategically "outflanked" by losing the initiative in not talking to an organisation which cannot be ignored in the overall South African political equation.

The opinion, too, is gaining currency that big business and the main "legal" Opposition party have decided to "go it alone" in the face of perceived Government intransigence on the issue.

The ANC's significance is perhaps best summed up in the latest edition of the prestigious South African journal, *Leadership*, by Mr Harald Pakendorf, editor of the Nationalist newspaper, *Die Vaderland*.

Mr Pakendorf concludes an incisive analysis of the South African political situation, entitled "A Frozen Moment" (written even before he joined Mr Relly's September 13 trip to Zambia), as follows:

"Thus, despite rapid movement on several fronts — the new factors of international pressure

which won't go away and the heightened political expectations of the masses which, too, will not go away — we find ourselves in a frozen moment.

"It is that frozen moment which is causing the rand to fall and political initiative to slip away — both of which we can ill afford. But the end is not nigh. The economy is strong, so is the will for survival and the capacity for strong action.

"We will break out of that moment when we grasp the nettle of the ANC, full well knowing that it may be dangerous, but not as dangerous as not doing it."

Earlier in his article, Mr Pakendorf, billed by *Leadership* as "one of Afrikanerdom's leading thinkers", says that any talks between the Government and the ANC may not bring about an end to internal unrest "although the violence could be contained".

But, he adds: "It (such talks) would mean that we again have the initiative, again have morality on our side. If attempts at the talks with the ANC are accompanied by a clear statement that negotiations are in fact to be about the dismantling of apartheid and power-sharing, we may even get somewhere around the conference table."

Dr Slabbert, on his return from meeting the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend, used similar language.

A negotiated settlement was still possible in South Africa, but first apartheid had to be buried, the Leader of the Opposition said.

Dr Slabbert has offered to brief the State President, Mr P W Botha, on his

talks, if the latter so wishes.

Meanwhile the ANC, following its talks with the PFP, has let it be known from Lusaka that it does not believe negotiations on South Africa's future should involve only itself and Mr Botha's Government.

On the SA Government's attitude that it refuses to talk to "terrorists", *Leadership's* editor, Mr Hugh Murray, who was part of Mr Relly's delegation to the ANC, writes:

"And in the wake of recent admissions of Government contact with Renamo in Mozambique it's hard to disagree with the ANC proposition that precedents of the authorities talking to 'terrorists' do exist.

"They point out that the Government talked to the Angolans and to Swapo at the peak of hostilities. It talked to Frelimo and now it talks to another (if right-wing) liberation movement in Renamo.

"They also remind one that South Africa insisted the Smith Government talk to its enemies while the bush war in Rhodesia was at its hottest."

Thus it is abundantly clear that a strong case exists for SA Government-ANC talks without too much delay, even if initially conducted in secret, beyond the glare of publicity which so often results in damaging posturing by the antagonists.

Big business and the official Opposition in South Africa are certainly doing their best to help bring such talks about.

The Government may find it ignores Mr Pakendorf's well-meant warning at its peril.

Clerics call for stayaway

CHURCH leaders have called on Christians in South Africa to stay away from work on October 9 to observe a day of prayer and fasting.

The National Initiative for Reconciliation which ended yesterday in Maritzburg, voted overwhelmingly in favour of a statement calling on Christians to use the day for repentance, mourning and prayer for "those sinful aspects of our national life which have led us to the present crisis".

People who provided essential services would be specifically excluded from taking part in a week-long stayaway.

However, the stayaway call proved a stumbling block for the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk whose delegates told the conference that while they could not support the call, they wished to continue dialogue with other churches.

The conference, which was attended by 400 church leaders of all denominations, also voted to send a

By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

delegation to the State President calling for an end to the state of emergency and the withdrawal of the SADF and emergency police forces from the black townships.

The statement followed an earlier call by Bishop Desmond Tutu for a week-long national stayaway unless the government implemented a four-point plan to ease the current unrest.

An elated Bishop Tutu described the vote for the stayaway as "one of God's miracles".

SEFAKO NYAKA reports that there was mixed reaction yesterday to the call.

While some organisations supported it, he others felt he should have consulted them before making the announcement.

"I think he made the call expecting organisations to support him. But we would have expected him to have

consulted us first," a spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee said.

"No comment" was the reaction by Cyril Ramaphosa, spokesman for the new federation of trade unions and general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

The Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions said the call for a stayaway should be a collective act by all organisations and trade unions.

And the Council of Trade Unions of South Africa refused to comment on the bishop's statement: "because we have not yet consulted our members".

But the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) supported the call.

"The large-scale persecution of the people can no longer be ignored"

Ishmael Mkhabela, president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said his organisation had not been approached on the issue.

He would not be drawn into saying whether Azapo would support such a call.

CAPE TIMES
19/10/85

11A

Moloiase executed

PRETORIA. — Benjamin Moloiase, who murdered a policeman in 1982, was hanged in the Pretoria Central Prison about 7am yesterday while his aged parents waited in a car parked across the street.

There were no large crowds to greet them and no all-night vigil outside the prison gate.

On a grey overcast day, two elderly figures sat hunched in the back seat of a car in a dusty unpaved parking lot in the shadow of the drab brown walls of Pretoria Central prison.

There they remained for 90 minutes, until a prison warder came out to tell them their son, a member of the ANC and an upholsterer by trade, was dead.

Head held high, Mrs Mamike Moloiase approached the glass booth and crossbar barriers at

the main gate, with her son's lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana.

Police dogs barked as Mrs Moloiase walked past.

In the distance, inside the gate, was the execution hall, a domed brick structure where all of South Africa's executions take place.

Mrs Moloiase, dressed in a shabby blue blazer with red trim, a scarf tied tightly around her head, showed her blue passbook to prove her identity to prison guards who checked her name against a list.

"I once felt sympathy with these people," she said, sweeping her hand in the direction of the blue and green clad prison guards.

"From six o'clock I have been waiting. Even this time, the last time to maybe see my son they tell me to go away, I can't go away. This is my son," Mrs Moloiase said.

"I did not expect it to be like this. This government is so cruel."

Sunday suit

Mr Robert Moloiase, who speaks no English, approached the gate minutes afterward, on his own. He was dressed in his best Sunday blue suit.

Moloiase was hanged along with another convicted murderer, Theminkosi Ngubane.

The closed wooden coffins were placed side-by-side in the prison chapel where family members were permitted to pray but not sing the traditional African funeral dirges.

On her final visit to her son on Thursday she said he looked "strong, stronger than I have ever seen him".

Mandela

The body of an executed prisoner remains the property of the state. There will be no formal funeral. The body will be buried in a prison cemetery.

Mrs Moloiase said prison officials told her to come back next week "to pick up a grave number".

After 40 minutes inside, the family walked through the gates on to the street and drove to the parking lot across from the prison for an impromptu press conference.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, threw her arms around the tiny Mrs Moloiase, who for the first time broke down in tears.

With fists raised the family sang God Save Africa as police turned away. — UPI

ANC diary details recruits' fears, doubts

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A detailed diary allegedly kept by one of the 13 people charged with terrorism in the Supreme Court at Estcourt reveals that the ANC had planned at least 50 operations in the country after infiltrating the Ingwavuma district of Zululand last year.

The handwritten account in English tells of daily movements of ANC members in the Ingwavuma district from August 28 until November 21 last year as well as recruiting and military training programmes in the area and the establishment of ammunition and arms caches, and DLBs (Dead Letter Boxes).

It was allegedly written by Robert Dumisa — one of four accused who have refused to participate in the trial and who have declared their loyalty to the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, asking for prisoner of war status.

The diary tells of fears and doubts expressed by recruits in Ingwavuma and the need to gain their confidence. "Their full participation will be determined by our first 50 operations," the diary says.

The diary continues under a head-

ing marked "Very Import", saying: "People have no confidence about our capability to strike at the enemy and win. They have accepted us because we talk the truth about oppression and we are their children and brothers."

"Now it is up to us to demonstrate our capability to fight more than the Boers and win the war. People want a practical man. If need be they must see our dead bodies, they must bury them. So that they say, 'They never left us. They died defending us, teaching us how to fight the enemy. They were true to what they said'."

"Yet, the most important thing is to fight skilfully so as to fight until liberation."

The document refers to fears that the base camp could be discovered by "the enemy" and the need to move quickly.

An entry on November 13 last year reads: "We have been hurrying now that the enemy is smelling our presence. We must run to give him a good distance behind."

The diary also refers to the need to keep strict military discipline within the "unit". The hearing continues on Monday.

BOOKINGS TO MRS RADYN OF INSTITUTE OF ESTATE AGENTS AT 21 2130

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CAPE TIMES 19/10/85

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Botha blames ANC for deaths

PRETORIA. — The exiled African National Congress and its internal surrogates were "squarely to blame" for the "appalling and distressing state of affairs" in which 761 people had died in unrest incidents in South Africa since September last year, President P W Botha said last night.

In a statement, he strongly reiterated his rejection of any dialogue with the ANC, saying it was "quite clear" from the organization's recent statements and its talks with Opposition politicians and South African businessmen that it remained unyielding on its use of violence and its communist ties.

"The government, which with all means at its disposal has all the security information concerning South Africa available, must be trusted by all patriotic South Africans," he said.

Referring to the withdrawal of passports from a group of University of

Stellenbosch students who planned talks with the ANC, Mr Botha said he wanted to make it clear the decision on the students' passports "was taken with my knowledge and approval, and that of Ministers of the Cabinet who are members of the State Security Council."

He said it was established international practice that authorities might make the issue of passports conditional upon certain given circumstances.

Mr Botha said the US Senate Sub-committee on Security and Terrorism, which had in 1982 conducted an investigation into the role of the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba in fomenting terrorism in southern Africa, had evidence that strongly suggested the original purposes of the ANC had been subverted and that the Soviet Union and its allies had achieved effective control over it.

On the recent South Africans' talks with the ANC, he said it was quite clear from these, and recent statements by the organization, "that the ANC remains unyielding as regards its continued use of force, its Marxist leanings and its ties with the South African Communist Party.

"As a result of the conduct of the ANC and its front organizations within the Republic, the government, to provide for safety and order, particularly in certain black areas, issued emergency measures in a small number of areas earlier this year.

"As a result of actions to ensure such safety and order, it has been necessary to detain 5 277 people, of whom 3 995 have been released, since the emergency measures were issued." Since the beginning of September last year, the following number of people had died in unrest-related circumstances:

● 504 during actions where security forces had to protect property and peaceful communities; 232 black people who were killed by other black people; 14 members of the SAP and one member of the SADF, and 10 people as a result of action by members of the development boards. — Sapa

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CAPITOL TIMES 19/10/85

Wide condemnation of Moloise execution

NASSAU. — The execution in Pretoria yesterday of Benjamin Moloise has been widely condemned and cast a shadow over the Commonwealth summit here as heads of state of the 49-nation group sat down to discuss action on South Africa.

Delegates said they were shocked and revolted by the news.

Eleventh-hour appeal

The execution of Moloise, condemned to death for the murder of a policeman, went ahead despite appeals for clemency from the United Nations and the Commonwealth.

Delegates said the execution could strengthen the hand of those Commonwealth countries favouring economic sanctions against Pretoria.

President Kaunda's Foreign Minister, Mr L K H Goma, said yesterday: "It has confirmed we are dealing with a government that refuses to listen to what the international community is saying."

● In Brussels, the European Community External Affairs Commis-

sioner, Mr Willy De Clercq, said Pretoria had lost an opportunity to follow the road of dialogue.

He added that by ignoring these appeals "Pretoria has increased the danger of an escalation of violence in which the first victims will be the population which is seeking recognition of its elementary and fundamental rights".

● In Paris, Prime Minister Laurent Fabius stood in silence for one minute in front of the South African Embassy to protest against the "scandalous execution".

● In Bonn, the West German Government condemned the hanging and said it would damage chances for peaceful reform of apartheid.

● In The Hague, the Dutch government said it deeply regretted that the South African authorities had failed to respond to an EEC request for clemency, while in Oslo, five Nordic nations condemned the execution, saying it would lead to further bloodshed. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Students b



Student Charl du Plessis puts his signature to a petition in favour of dialogue between ANC Youth League members and Matie students.

FOUR petitions were circulating the Matie campus by the end of the week — two calling students to sign in favour of the proposed ANC talks, one in opposition and one calling students to express a show of no confidence in State President Mr P W Botha as chancellor of the university.

The Student's Council offices at the top of the Langehoven Centre measured the pace of political comings and goings.

"Never before has this campus been so pulled in different directions," said Andrew Day, member of Student Parliament and history masters student writing a thesis on the history of the PFP.

Student council member Frans Volschenk broke in with a bit of baiting. "Andrew's our campus ANC activist ..." and there was banter about that for a while before Frans voiced his serious reservations about the ANC talks. He was concerned

about alienating the Inkant section of which a number seem extremely proud.

"But I'm a student representative decide to support I will accept proposed ANC talks were in Parliament on Thursday night and a standing ovation tie/ANC dialogue.)

Andrew warned that much on the Matie campus was working groups of individual

"The student apathy is this was borne out down student canteen, where, chips and chatter were still new Dire Straits hit, Bro out of the campus radio is relaxing heads.

A number of voices thou

SPECIAL REPORT

BZZZZT ... the doorbell. A student flat in Stellenbosch. "Department of Internal Affairs. Your passports please." There's a flurry and eight students, seven young men and a woman, search bags and pockets.

The officials wait: One wears dark mirrored sunglasses to catch the glare off his white shirt, white trousers and white shoes. A toasted cigarette dangles from his fingers.

His colleague wears a bright purple shirt, and they dish out official papers.

"It's not every day one gets a personal letter from the Director of Internal Affairs," says Hennie Bester, leader of the Matie student group whose bid to talk to the ANC Youth League was crushed this week, students believe, directly or indirectly, by the Stellenbosch University chancellor, State President Mr P W Botha.

The students hand over their personal documents politely. They bear no malice towards purple shirt and mirror shades — they even say "totsiens" and "dankie" when the gentlemen leave.

But the disappointment is evident too. How do they feel, days of pressure having culminated in this strong-arm move?

Committed

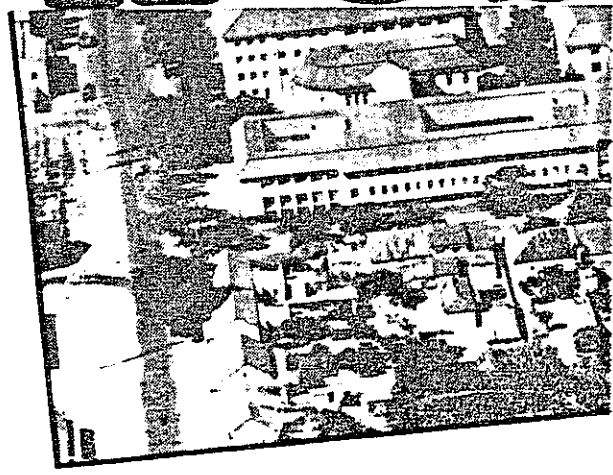
Their voices sound all at once, but the common gist is: "We are still totally committed to dialogue with the ANC. More as they say now in fact."



CAMPUS



DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend
Argus
Reporter



The students who caused it all ...



QUOTE

We wanted to show them that the Afrikaner can and does think ...

BUZZ over ANC Affair

Matha Youth Brigade, a member of Stellenbosch students

representative and what they accept," he said. (The pro-supported in the Student night with a clear major- tion for the would-be Ma-

much of the political action as confined to small hard- individuals.

is appalling," he said and upstairs in the Neelsie, the e, earlier this week, slap still the main focus and the brothers In Arms, boomed station and way over the

ough located a subtle shift

when, later in the week, the reality of how one's personal freedom might be affected was made crystal clear to them by the passport confiscation saga.

All of a sudden students were more directly involved, it seemed, roused to talk.

Canvassing opinion is usually a matter of stopping people and asking them for a view — and often they drift off remaining non-committal.

I was doing just that on Thursday (passport cancelling day) when I was approached, opinion offered ...

"It's the most laughable thing that's ever happened. And yes, quote me on that. The name's Jan de Waal."

Jan left, passionately.

There were other quotables too and they all hit out unquestioningly at "P W" as the man responsi-

ble for Passport Day. There was language, too, not often seen in print.

Some of the quotables:

● It's the sort of dictatorship move that proves we're living in a police state. As chancellor, he's imposing his political vision on this university and classifying it as a Nationalist institution. (Johan Theron, SC member.)

● We don't want him as chancellor. I'm disgusted. (Robbie Roberts, SC member.)

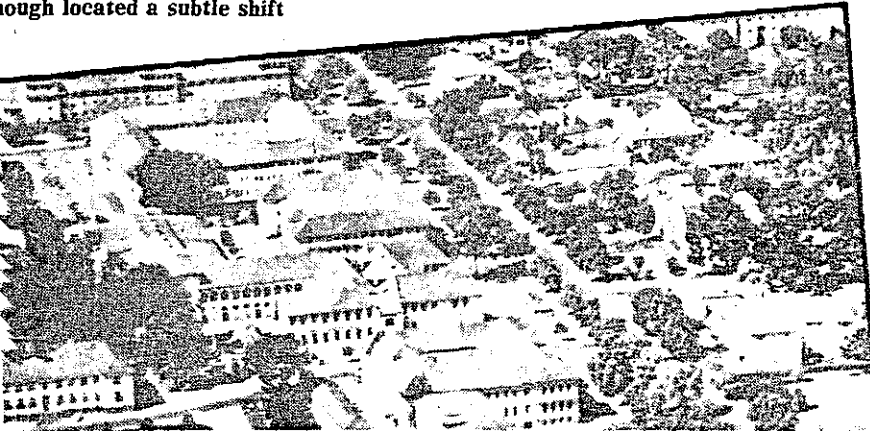
● It was a bona fide effort by students to create dialogue and we've already shown we're all for open dialogue by a vote taken in Student Parliament earlier this year. (Hein Brand, vice-chairman Student Parliament.)

● An utterly ruthless move — but to be expected. The talks were important because the initiative showed an establishment Afrikaner group breaking out of the system. (Charl du Plessis, Nusas.)

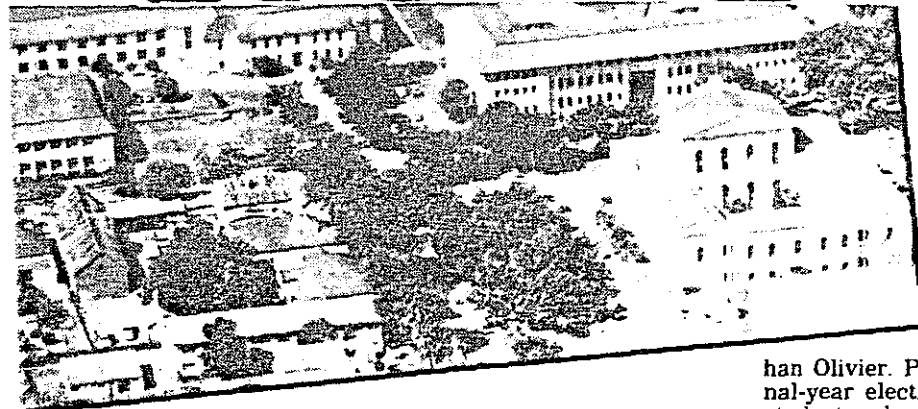
● The Government is like an ostrich with its head in the sand. But I also think the ANC has let down blacks by agreeing to talk to Stellenbosch students. The campus is not even open to all races. How can there be talks with the ANC if there are no talks at grassroots level? (Helet Herholdt, ex-president Current Affairs Society.)

● That the invitation came from the ANC gives the lie to P W's assertion that the ANC is not interested in dialogue. It's important that a holy cow like Stellenbosch has been seen to make this move. (Craig Watt-Pringle, ex-president Current Affairs Society.)

● If we had any doubts that we were living in a police state, today has erased those. (Andrew Breitenbach, student.)



RUMPUS



The doorbell rang: 'Your passports, please' a man said

man the Rev Carel Anthonissen motivated by his belief that the church should be represented at talks with the ANC.

Anton Steenkamp, 23-year-old law student, is a previous editor of Die Matie and he and fellow law student Eric le Grange, 22, present editor, look just a fraction more like the

student stereotype than their colleagues, Anton in his hand-made sandals and Springbok boy Eric wearing a decidedly contemporary shirt.

This initial group expanded to become the Matie 8 with Annami, present student council president Phillip Verster, and his SC member colleague, Jo-

han Olivier. Phillip, 22, is a final-year electrical engineering student and son of a Worcester dentist. Johan is 23, another law student, and from Bellville.

Each group member stresses that they came together with different political convictions and persuasions (a member of the Student Parliament described them as a gathering of right-ish and left-ish students, the "ish" emphasised).

Concerned

"The thinking that unites us though is that we're all deeply concerned about the future and all committed to peaceful change for which dialogue is the only non-violent way," says Eric.

"And we have had tremendous support — from unknown

people too," says Annami.

"From students known to be National Party supporters ..." says Anton.

So what is it like for them now to walk through the Neelsie (the student canteen in the Langenhoven building).

A chorus: "Wonderful!" Any negative reaction has been more than counter-balanced which was borne out in the Student Parliament on Thursday night.

Support

Parliament member and history masters' student Andrew Day said most of the audience came just for the ANC talks motion. Support for the talks was carried resoundingly with 38 votes to 16 and three abstentions.

"And as hands shot up the students stood up to applaud the group," he said. "That done, they left parliament to carry on its business."

Back in the student flat, obviously a neat and orderly abode under normal circumstances, but cluttered now with bodies and papers and talk and lunch and more talk, the Matie 8 knock about ideas but stand still undivided.



8: the group who took the initiative and created a campus by proposing dialogue with the ANC Youth Front, from left: Anton Steenkamp, Eric le Grange (group's leader Hennie Bester. Back row, from left: Hans Muller, Phillip Verster, Hendrik du Toit and Annami Oosthuysen.

smiles easily and is student, chairman of Bosch Debating Society Christian Fellowship Wellington, a "seun," he quips.) There are a number of people who mistrust us, accused us of ego-

tripping," says Annami. "The whole thing is out of our hands. We can't take positive action. We've made our statement."

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The idea

"They approached Hendrick, Hans, Anton, Eric and myself and we worked on making the idea concrete. Once the ANC had been contacted we received confirmation from them immediately."

Hendrik du Toit is an ex-student council member. He's 23, from Cape Town and studying economics honours. Hans Muller is a forcibly Christian presence in the group. From Sabie, at 23, he is the chairman of the Church Youth Action Committee and, with Ned Geref clergy-

church should be represented at talks with the ANC.

Anton Steenkamp, 23-year-old law student, is a previous editor of Die Matie and he and fellow law student Eric le Grange, 22, present editor, look just a fraction more like the

made sandals and boy Eric wearing a contemporary shirt.

This initial group to become the Matie president Phillip Verster, present student president Phillip Verster, his SC member co-



ANC still want to talk . . .

Willie Nel, chief spokesman for black students on the Stellenbosch campus: "It's 25 years since the ANC was banned and they still want to talk . . ."

WHAT THEY SAY

Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN, The Argus



At the Student Parliament on Thursday night, students rose to their feet to applaud the success of a motion in favour of dialogue with the ANC.

HENDRIK: I'm an economics student and I've looked at disinvestment and its potential catastrophic impact on South Africa. If foreign investors have to justify their interests here we have to give them reasons to use in that justification, proof that something is being done in a practical way. Our dialogue with the ANC would be one small, humble step towards this; a step which might open the way.

HENNIE: This was not a self-righteous act and not ill-considered. We all want to be part of Stellenbosch University. It means so much to us. All of us have had contact with black youth and every time I've made some contact it's been so meaningful. Black youth expect, I think, to meet arrogant children of the ruling class and they have gone away encouraged in the past. And we have been encouraged.

ANTON: We've all been fed second-hand preconceptions.

HENDRIK: I accept that a certain degree of idealism is inherent in this. But without idealism and mutual trust in the citizens of South Africa this effort is not worth it.

ANNAMI: We would have illustrated to the ANC that we're thinking about our future. We acknowledge the fact that they claim a certain interest in the future but so do we. That is our common ground.

ANTON: The ANC has great influence, even if it is symbolic. And we have to take account of that.

PHILLIP: I have my ideals and my personal view of the future and I'm worried about things like the State of Emergency. For me that was motivation enough for anyone to seriously consider any opportunity that might have a role to play in improving our situation.

HENDRIK: We wanted to show them that the Afrikaner can and does think . . .

but the disappointment is evident too. How do they feel, days of pressure having culminated in this strong-arm move?

Committed

Their voices sound all at once, but the common gist is: "We are still totally committed to dialogue with the ANC. More so than ever now, in fact."

One voice summarises: "You don't know how we can get hold of some passports do you?"

The eight students who have been at the centre of a Matieland storm this week are not radical fringers. They are, broadly, a politically moderate group — by their own description and that of observers.

Serious

They seem older than their average 22 to 23 years; a serious bunch with serious convictions about the statement that has outgrown them.

Annami Oosthuysen is a 23-year-old law student. She is from Port Elizabeth and was vice-president of the Matie Students' Council for '84/'85.

"We didn't actively seek publicity," she says.

"We wanted to keep it all as quiet as possible, although we decided we would notify the Government and the university authorities," says Hennie, who



The Matie 8: the group who took the initiative and created a campus rumpus by proposing dialogue with the ANC Youth League. Front, from left: Anton Steenkamp, Eric le Grange and the group's leader Hennie Bester. Back row, from left: Johan Olivier, Hans Muller, Phillip Verster, Hendrik du Toit and Annami Oosthuysen.

is 22, who smiles easily and is also a law student, chairman of the Stellenbosch Debating Society and the Christian Fellowship. ("From Wellington, a ware boeresen," he quips.)

"But now there are a number of students who mistrust us, who have accused us of ego-

tripping," says Annami. "The whole thing is out of our hands. We can't take positive action. We've made our statement."

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WHAT THEY SAY

CRITICISM on campus for Matie 8 actions has focused on the university's already established links with Inkatha, concluding that ANC dialogue would alienate what is considered the more valuable Inkatha connection . . .

PHILLIP: I received a call this morning from the Inkatha Youth Brigade. Full support. Total support for us from Ntwe Mafole.

● THE group has been accused of disloyalty to fellow young men fighting on the country's borders.

HENDRIK: Anton was an officer in the navy, Johan a corporal in the army and I was an officer in the army. Johan and I have both done more than six months operational duty.

● THERE have been reports in the local Afrikaans Press quoting vociferous opposition to the proposed talks.

PHILLIP: A number of small groups have jumped on the bandwagon to get publicity without proof of how much student support they really have.

HENDRIK: The student's council is now supporting us unanimously.

ANNAMI: When the storm started to brew we received a lot of support and criticism. Isn't that a reflection of the turbulent society we live in now?

● HOW did they feel about relinquishing their passports, even though they did it so politely?

ANTON: We expected pressure but we didn't expect such a drastic move. They realised it was the only way they could prevent us going.

ERIC: I want to know what their motivation was for stopping us. They've shown no grounds, given no reasons. That upsets me.

● FINALLY, how do they think and feel, these young people? What drove them to make a move which, in Matieland, must have guaranteed a certain controversy?



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ANTON: We've all been fed second-hand preconceptions.

HENDRIK: I accept that a certain cynicism is inherent in this. But mutual trust in the citizens of our country is not worth if . . .

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ANTON: The ANC has great symbolic value. And we have to take . . .

PHILLIP: I have my ideals and I'm worried about the State of Emergency. For me it's not enough for anyone to seriously consider a situation that might have a role to play in our situation.

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Picture: PIERRE C

CAPE TIMES 19/10/85

Mourners run amok in Jo'burg

JOHANNESBURG. — Policemen and bystanders were beaten and stabbed and shops looted in the Johannesburg city centre yesterday after a memorial service for Benjamin Moloise, who was executed in Pretoria Central prison earlier in the day.

The trouble started after the lunch-hour service at Khotso House in De Villiers Street was addressed by Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

Chanting

Mrs Mandela, who went to the prison in the morning, pledged support for the Moloise family in what was her first public appearance at a gathering with political overtones in more than 10 years.

As the approximately 800 people left the building singing, they were confronted by police. The people gathered in the streets chanting.

Policemen charged at the crowd and arrested six people — three of whom were members of the National Union of Mineworkers. In the melee, a policeman was stabbed in the back and another beaten when he was caught by a section of the crowd between two parked cars.

White residents of a block of flats opposite

Khotso House threw pots and tomatoes into the crowd and people in the street retaliated with gravel, stones and milk bottles looted from

More reports and pictures, on unrest, pages 2 and 7

a nearby cafe. Several cars were damaged.

A policeman with a dog chased part of the crowd away and a white man who did not run was bitten by the dog. Some white people were accosted and beaten up. Screams could be heard coming from several points at once over an area of about six blocks.

Looting

The crowds swelled as people from nearby Park Station and the bus and taxi depot were attracted by the noise. Youths chanted and shopfronts were broken and clothing and liquor stores looted.

Black people who were found in some of the shops were dragged out and told there was a boycott on and that they should buy in the townships.

Policemen chased youths with sjamboks, but the crowds regrouped elsewhere.

A white man who tried to stop a group looting a

shop was attacked by the crowd. He was chased over Plein Street, beaten to the ground and left senseless on the pavement.

A plainclothes policeman who tried to grab a youth outside St. Mary's Cathedral was attacked by the crowd. He was beaten to the ground, but he got up and ran towards the station where he escaped.

When other policemen tried to arrest some youths, fights broke out. Youths dug out paving stones near the station and threw them at the police. A white man who was caught in the crowd as it moved towards the station was beaten up. The youths kept the police at bay with the stones, until a passerby drew his firearm and the youths scattered.

The unrest dissipated at the station when many of the people ran towards the platforms.

By 6pm the area was quiet.

Ambush

Moloise was executed after being convicted for the murder of a Pretoria security policeman who had given evidence in several trials.

According to court evidence, Moloise ambushed the policeman as he came home and killed him in a hail of bullets from an AK-47. — Sapa

ceased altogether since schools re-opened for the last term on October 2.

In Soweto, Holy Cross, a prestige Roman Catholic institution which provides education from pre-school level right up to matric, and Pace College, a commercial post-primary school, have closed down "until next year."

Pace, the only school of its kind in Soweto, if not in the country, was established a few years ago by the American Chamber of Commerce with support from local commerce and industry.

Thousands of pupils from the two schools are to lose a year of their education as they

will have to repeat this year — if schooling is resumed next year. Many parents fear that many thousands more pupils countrywide will once again not write the crucial end-of-year examinations.

When the end-1984 examinations were held, 5 900 of the 83 000 pupils who had registered for Standard 10 exam did not write. Of the 5 900, 5 000 said at the time they would write in May 1985 while the other 900 boycotted the exam entirely.

But the school situation became worse. Even pupils who were prepared to write found it difficult to do so because of disruptions by those children who were opposed to

the exams being held.

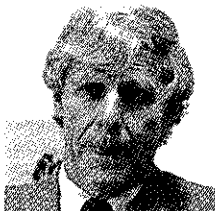
This year 91 331 full-time candidates have registered to write Standard 10 examinations — which are scheduled to begin on October 25, ending on November 25. In addition, there are 58 525 private candidates scheduled to write the examination.

The unrest has so hampered teaching in black schools this year that the usual high failure rate is likely to rise even higher among those children who may be lucky enough to write.

Although only 174 schools, involving at least 140 000 pupils, out of a total of 7 000 schools countrywide had no attendance

ALEX BORAINÉ

The ANC — A human face?



Alex Borainé is the chairman of the Federal Council of the Progressive Federal Party and member of the PFP delegation that met with the African National Congress in Lusaka last week.

Last Thursday evening, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and I were on a Zambian Airways flight from Frankfurt to Lusaka. We had already begun our descent and the yellow embarkation cards had been handed out.

The usual question: Purpose of visit? Business — very serious business. We were going to Lusaka to meet with the top leadership of the African National Congress. Below us stretched the unending, dry African terrain. Within us, feelings of anxiety, a measure of trepidation and even doubt about the wisdom of the step we were about to take.

After all, the ANC is a banned organisation and the conventional wisdom is that they are a band of terrorists, armed to the teeth and Moscow-controlled. Jumbled thoughts and mixed emotions were brought to a head as we were met on the tarmac by Thabo Mbeki, director of publicity; Simon Makana, administrative secretary; and Mac Maharaj, a member of the central executive.

The immediate impression was that these men were fellow South Africans who had been deeply involved for decades in the agony of SA. As we exchanged greetings, and began to talk of events, names and places, it was easy for poignancy to lapse into sentimentality, but this was swiftly dispelled by a growing awareness that these men and those whom we met later were tough, experienced and determined people who were totally committed to the struggle for a non-racial democracy in SA.

Nevertheless, an abiding memory of the weekend in Lusaka was that, in strong contrast to the discussions we had just had at an international conference in Madrid and

seminars and debates in Bonn, we had now met with South Africans — and the ANC has a human face.

Early on Saturday morning, the real purpose of our visit began in earnest. Those who had met us at the airport were joined by Alfred Nzo, secretary-general; Thomas Nkobi, treasurer-general; and Gertrude Shope, head of the women's section. We, in turn, had been joined by Colin Eglin and Peter Gastrow.

In the initial discussions, it became clear that there was a large measure of common ground. We all agreed that apartheid lies at the heart of the present crisis, and shared an urgent commitment to dismantle apartheid and to establish a united, non-racial, democratic SA.

Secondly, it was equally clear that all of us shared a concern to conserve the human and natural resources of our country. Therefore, this concern would inform the strategies which we adopted. But we were soon past the stage of "apartheid is not for sale inside or outside of SA" kind of discussion and began to talk about how apartheid could be dismantled and what strategies should be adopted.

Areas of difference soon surfaced, and were met head-on. No attempt was made to gloss over any of them and inevitably, the question of "the armed struggle" was debated fully and extensively. We made it quite clear that we were opposed to violence, whether from the State or against the State, even if the objective was to bring about change.

In affirming their commitment to the armed struggle, the ANC stressed that this strategy was forced on the movement. They reminded us that ever since 1912, the ANC had for almost 50 years adopted peaceful, moderate measures to enable blacks to share in their own country, but when every constitutional channel was denied them, and when they were on the receiving end of institutionalised violence, they reluctantly opted for revolutionary violence.

Even today, however, they do not absolu-

tise violence. They were not prepared to glorify violence, but stated clearly that they could not sit still and be dominated forever — and had decided to fight back. It was a sobering experience to listen to men and women who had been at the brunt of apartheid and who, as Thabo Mbeki put it, "lived on the other side of the street" and had all their lives experienced the ugliness and the hurt of apartheid.

It is our view that it is futile to expect the ANC to abandon the armed struggle if the conditions which led to the armed struggle persist. For them the continuation of apartheid and the armed struggle are inextricably linked. Therein lies the tragedy and potential violence of the future.

There was a long discussion on the question of the desirability of a national convention. We emphasised that we saw no alternative to negotiations which would lead to a new constitution for a non-racial, democratic SA. We made it clear that certain pre-conditions had to take place before such a convention could happen.

While the ANC expressed the view that the present climate in SA was not conducive for it to even consider a negotiated resolution of the crisis, *it did not rule out for all time either a convention as a means of devising a constitution, or negotiations as a means of resolving the crisis.*

The real challenge therefore, lies not with the ANC but with those of us within SA who state that non-violent change is possible in SA. We have to demonstrate clearly and effectively that apartheid must go so that negotiation politics would be a genuine viable option. We have no doubt that our journey was worthwhile, and we would have no hesitation in meeting the ANC again.

We came away even more determined that if the spiral of violence is to be contained, and peaceful change is to happen, all the major actors in the South African drama will have to participate in a negotiated settlement and this includes the African National Congress.

IN MY
OPINION



By **MONO BADELA**

THE African National Congress is out to assassinate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the UDF is the ANC's "terror wing" - and City Press is in the pay of the Nats.

So said a bitter Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as he returned to SA this week.

He had just landed at Jan Smuts Airport after nine days in Switzerland.

Chief Buthelezi also

'The ANC, UDF and City Press are the REAL villains'

slammed the SA Council of Churches and Durban's Diakonia church group - which he blamed for the refusal by Swiss church leaders' to see him on his trip.

He said the ANC wanted to assassinate him to win the support of "the Zulu people". And he accused the ANC's "external wing" of a vicious "character assassination" of him.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC was using its "media

advantage" to "scandalise me internationally" - and he showed reporters a number of European media articles critical of Inkatha, including a French magazine containing a cartoon of President PW Botha riding a donkey with the face of Chief Buthelezi.

On last weekend's PFP-ANC talks in Lusaka, he said: "Although I have nothing against people committed to liberation talking to each other, I am not a

political beggar." He would never run up, down and across Africa, he said, chasing after ANC president Oliver Tambo.

"I am prepared to meet Mr Tambo ... from a position of strength. I realize that we are not going to achieve anything if we remain divided."

Chief Buthelezi also launched a scathing attack on South African newspapers and in particular City Press, saying: "This paper

is playing into the hands of the ANC and the UDF. It (City Press) has launched the most vicious attacks against me - but ironically they work for the government.

"They think they will be purged for being on the payroll of the National Party by this anti-Buthelezi campaign."

He said there was no doubt the UDF was a "terror wing of the ANC".

20/10/85

(11A) (103)

C Press

Cape Times
21/10/85 (11A)

Power 'out of hands of govt'

Staff Reporter

THE determination of "so-called moderates" to speak to the African National Congress was an admission by them that real power in South Africa was out of the hands of the government, a United Democratic Front rally was told on Saturday evening.

Addressing a crowd of about 2 500 which packed the Hanover Park Civic Centre, the Western Cape Regional Secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, said President P W Botha had "lost confidence and direction". He was being "publicly embarrassed" by people openly going off to speak to the banned organization.

"While Botha tries to brand the ANC a bunch of bloodthirsty terrorists, the Progressive Federal Party and businessmen are finding that the members of this organization are well-equipped to run our country," he said to loud applause.

Barricades

"By going off to meet the ANC, these so-called moderates, together with the Stellenbosch university students, are saying to Botha: 'Real power does not belong to you. It lies elsewhere'."

He said the burning of barricades and searching people's parcels for goods bought from white shops was not enough if it did not "take the struggle forward".

"Our struggle for people's power demands that we organize ourselves wherever we can — on the shop floor, in our communities and in our schools," Mr Manuel said.

"We must work politically to persuade people to join the boycott."

● Because of a restriction on the meeting which prohibited people from gathering outside, a second rally, attended by roughly the same number of people, was held in the St. Dominic's church hall in Hanover Park to accommodate those unable to fit into the civic centre.

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Blast guts

Watson's PE home

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two men were seriously injured and the luxury home of anti-apartheid activist Mr Dan "Cheeky" Watson and his family was completely destroyed in an explosion which rocked Park Drive shortly before midnight on Saturday.

The two men, Mr Jeffrey Makanda and Mr Archie Mkele, both employees of Mr Watson, were rushed to Livingstone Hospital after sustaining multiple burns from the inferno which swept through the house immediately after the explosion.

The cause of the blast and subsequent blaze, which reduced the stately Port Elizabeth home to a charred shell within minutes, is not yet known.

Mr Watson, his wife Bobby, two of their sons, Ronnie and Valence, and Valence's family, who all live in the house, were away at the time of the explosion.

The blast scattered debris and huge shards of glass up to 45 metres from the house and shook several buildings in the area. Witnesses reported that flames four storeys high leapt up from the inferno.

A police spokesman said an arson docket has been opened.

Freedom to negotiate essential, says chief

Mercury Reporter

THERE would be no worthwhile solutions in South Africa unless they were negotiated ones in which blacks as negotiating partners were given the freedom to say 'yes' or 'no'. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a message to the NRP's Natal congress.

Negotiations undertaken thus far by President Botha had unfortunately taken place within the four corners of National Party thinking, said the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president.

Inkatha had declared its willingness to seek compromise solutions with whites and the goodwill behind this offer should not be trampled upon, he said.

Combined voice

KwaZulu/Natal had all the ingredients for successful negotiation. The interdependence between whites and blacks in the region had long resisted Verwoerdian blueprints that had dominated the rest of the country.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed a combined voice from blacks and whites in Natal/KwaZulu calling for compromise solutions in mutually acceptable forms of first- and second-tier government would be heeded by Pretoria.

Faced with the continued escalation of black violence, it was time for everybody to stop looking to the Government for approval. The Government did not know what to approve.

The KwaZulu Government was represented at the congress by the Minister of the Interior, Dr D R B Madide, and the Minister of Education and Culture and secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

MARRIAGE, say people who have experience about such things is better the second time round. Well, the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha must be hoping it will be better the second time around as they spearhead the move for the National Convention Alliance.

The first time around, it was a bit of shambles. That was in 1984.

At the time, the President's Council had come into existence, and the Government was still planning the tricameral Parliament. The PFP and the Labour Party had refused to participate in the PC. African were excluded, as they still are.

Late in 1984, a leading Black Sash member started a hush-hush round of meetings to launch a convention movement, advocating a national convention to formulate a new constitution for the country.

Among those who attended preliminary meetings were Bishop Desmond Tutu, PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Inkatha's Dr Oscar Mkhomo and Mr Gibson Mula. Mr Clarence Sepemba and Mr Miley Richards of the Labour Party, Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash, Dr Esop Jassat and Mr Cassim Algorjee (then unaffiliated) and Dr Rashid Saajee of the People's Organisation in Lenasia.

Meetings

The Azanian People's Organisation and the National Indian Congress were invited, but didn't attend. Mr Nthato Motiana of the Soweto Civic Association, as also said to have attended a meeting, but he strongly denied it.

According to a working paper presented at a preliminary meeting in Johannesburg in November, 1980, the goal of the convention movement would be to demonstrate, on as wide a basis as possible, grassroots support for the idea of a national convention at which a fair and acceptable constitution could be negotiated.

The idea was that it had

FOCUS

2/11/85

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

to be a public demonstration of the ability of various organisations which might differ — and even be antagonistic towards one another — to rally together and mobilise grassroots support for a convention movement.

No pre-conditions were to be set for the convention, for example on the question of first releasing politicians from jail. "The overriding issue of the convention should be consensus."

One suggestion in the working paper was that a countrywide registration campaign be launched. A person wishing to join would sign a pledge: "I am a citizen of this land. I want peace with justice. Although we may differ, I believe in negotiations."

This, it was hoped, would demonstrate that citizenship was non-negotiable in a new constitution, that no constitution could be unilaterally imposed, and show the willingness of people to talk if genuine negotiations could come about at a convention.

Unfortunately for the organisers, Azapo wanted no truck with the PFP, Labour and Inkatha, or with any white-initiated movement. And one disgruntled senior Labour member, who was angry about statements attributed to Inkatha

The second time around

(114) Sowetan

about the coloured and Indian educational boycotts that year, wanted the whole thing exposed.

On December 30, 1980, the Rand Daily Mail published an article about the movement. Azapo immediately rejected such a movement as "a bankrupt idea" and a "gimmick".

Others who were against participation in government-created political institutions said they had strong reservations about working with the PFP, Labour and Inkatha.

Strategy

Dr Slabbert said: "The less the likelihood of starting such a movement is exposed in public, the greater the likelihood that it will succeed."

It didn't. The Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister, the Rev Alien Hendrickse, said last week: "It did not last a year because of the differences in strategy."

The differences in strategy didn't of course deter Labour from being a member of the South African Black Alliance led by Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi. Nor has it deterred Mr Hendrickse from joining the National-dominated Cabinet.

Now Labour and the Black Alliance have parted company because of Labour's participation in the tricameral parliament and Inkatha's opposition to it. All the same, there is not that much



PROG: Van Zyl Slabbert.



INKATHA: Chief Buthelezi.

strategic difference between Inkatha, Labour and the PFP, nor much difference about their calls for a national convention.

Mr Hendrickse has described the proposed National Convention Movement as "still-born".

Yet, in 1980, he had this to say about the convention movement: "The fact that our conference has taken a decision calling for a convention movement is indicative of the seriousness with which the Labour Party regards the situation."

At its annual conference in Johannesburg last year, Labour adopted this resolution: "Conference gives its blessing to the proposed initiatives of the (party) leadership to unify all opposition groups to discriminatory government. This will serve as complementary to the convention movement."

The major difference today is that Labour is now part of "discriminatory government".

The 1980 version of the movement has been weakened by the fact that Labour has withdrawn from it; the PFP, by its own admission, lost much white support for calling for a "no" vote in the 1983 white referendum; the

movement has been strengthened by Inkatha's increased membership, and in Labour's place come some representatives of Big Business.

But ranged against the 1985 version are Azapo, the United Democratic Front (which came into existence in 1983), the growing trade union movement, and significantly, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The ANC, which originally called for a national convention, now is in favour of a convention only if it is called to hand over power. This means the ANC, PAC and Azapo are now much closer in their thinking on the issue.

Clout

The inclusion of Big Business in the proposed movement is important in the sense that it carries clout with the Government, yet it is doubtful if it can win the support of its black workers through the trade unions.

If the convention movement of 1980 couldn't succeed, in the present climate and with greater politicisation of black people since then, its chances of success look even slimmer.

CALLING LUSAKA

LUSAKA: Suddenly the telephone and telex lines to the African National Congress' offices have become some of the busiest in the Zambian capital.

An increasing number of white South Africans are trying to contact the ANC for meetings.

Although the ANC has not backed off its publicly-stated determination to intensify the "armed struggle", the dominant theme today is dialogue and discussion, the identifying of interests and the need to eliminate misconceptions and misunderstandings.

Clearly, dialogue with the ANC, despite the gulf that must be bridged between the

organisation and South Africa's white establishment, has captured the South African imagination.

Within the ANC there is buoyancy.

In an interview, Simon Makana, a member of the ANC executive, said the dialogue was "good" because it was the duty of all South Africans to help solve their country's problems.

"We cannot pretend nothing is happening."

Asked whether there had been an increase in the number of white South Africans seeking contact and dialogue with the ANC, Mr Makana conceded:

"There have been many, many more contacts than those that

Whites keep the lines to ANC offices buzzing

have been made public. I think the tempo is increasing and I think it will increase further."

He declined to say who had contacted the ANC, but he said that among those who had done so were students, churchmen, journalists and individual businessmen.

"I think there has been some melting on both sides. This is something we welcome. We think it is a healthy trend. We must talk to one another."

If the Stellenbosch University Students had been allowed their passports to travel to Zambia, they would have met a delegation of leaders of the ANC Youth Section led by a young man who uses the name Andrew Mkhize.

The ANC Youth Section is a political generation born largely out of the fires of Soweto in 1976 and steeped in conspiracy.

In this respect, its members differ from the Tambos, Mandelas and Sisulus who, be-

tween 1942 and 1944, formed what was known as the ANC Youth League. Where that generation was essentially public, the ANC youth of today are involved in clandestine methods.

The youth Mkhize's 15-member secretariat leads are referred to within the ANC as the "young lions" because of their reputation for fearlessness and there appears to be a good deal of respect for them among the older section of the ANC leadership.



Oliver Tambo... ANC president

'Black front being destroyed'

Buthlezi blames ANC for violence

2/11/85 B. Day



● BUTHELEZI

Business Day Reporter

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the ANC vilifies him more than it does State President P W Botha, and that the banned organisation has indicated he is the only person it will not deal with.

In a hard-hitting Press release, issued yesterday, Buthelezi attacks both the ANC and the UDF, saying they are causing black-on-black violence and diminishing the chances of creating an effective negotiating front.

He says the delegations of businessmen and the PFP which have recently returned from Lusaka were told by the ANC that it would not hold discussions with Buthelezi.

The number of deaths, and the destruction of property of Inkatha members and of the KwaZulu government during the violence which took place in the Durban area, has been quickly swept under the carpet and forgotten, says Buthelezi.

He says Inkatha is being accused of unleashing violence against members of the UDF in the townships, and he alleges these accusations are orchestrated by "white liberal organisations" such as the Black Sash, Women for Peace, Diakonia and certain clerics in the Durban area.

"I am often surprised that, when I and

members of Inkatha are vilified internationally, more than any other politician or group in South Africa, white or black, by the external mission of the ANC and the UDF and also by their friends in the Anti-Apartheid movement, I am the one who is accused by the media of attacking the UDF and/or ANC, when all I do is respond to their attacks on me," Buthelezi says.

He claims the UDF attacks anybody who, in its judgment, it terms collaborators, or anybody it regards as "working within the system". In this the UDF is encouraged by the ANC mission in exile.

"Black-on-black violence is instigated by them in their official policies. They actually desire to attack blacks who do not agree with them. This is their official policy."

On the other hand, Inkatha's official policy is non-violence, he says, adding that for him black unity is essential for effective negotiation politics.

"Unless there can be unity among blacks on the basis of accepting the need for a multi-strategy approach, the black front is destroyed and black negotiating powers are minimised."

GOV defends Moloise hanging

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Following worldwide condemnation of the hanging last week of African National Congress guerilla Mr Benjamin Moloise, the Department of Justice has taken the unusual step of issuing a statement giving reasons for its refusal to grant clemency.

The execution evoked heated feelings worldwide as it was claimed by the ANC that members responsible for the killing of Pretoria security policeman Phillipus Selepe had since left South Africa.

According to the Department of Justice statement, Mr Moloise waited for the policeman to return to his Mamelodi home and then cold-bloodedly shot him from behind with an AK-47 rifle. More than 20 spent cartridges were found at the scene.

He subsequently confessed to the crime and showed investigators where he had hidden while waiting for the policeman to return.

However, during his trial, Mr Moloise claimed he had been forced to make the confession and denied he had murdered the policeman.

Murder

Mr Moloise was found guilty of murder without extenuating circumstances and sentenced to death in September 1983. Leave to appeal was refused by the trial court and later by the Chief Justice.

Mr Moloise obtained a stay of execution on August 20 this year and during subsequent proceedings an affidavit signed by him was submitted to the court. In this Mr Moloise admitted he had murdered the policeman.

"Moloise was convicted of the common law crime of murder for which the supreme penalty is imposed if no extenuating circumstances are found," said a spokesman for the Department of Justice.

CAPE TIMES 21/10/85

SRC head dies after attack

TZANEEN. — The head of the Students Representative Council at Modjaji College of Education in Kgapale, Mr Ngoaku Ramalepe, died on Friday after being attacked by unknown assailants wielding pangas and sjamboks.

Mr Ramalepe, who was badly injured in the attack on Thursday night, was rushed to Gabame hospital and died after being discharged at 5am on Friday.

A second-year student at the college, Mr Ramalepe was credited with having made the SRC the strongest in the Northern Transvaal, with the exception of that at the University of the North.

He was founding president of the Kgapane Youth Congress of the United Democratic Front which this weekend expressed its grief and anger at his death.

Another student, whose name could not be established, was also said to be in a serious condition following a similar attack.

Police were unavailable for comment. — Sapa

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Pressure on ANC, SA for dialogue

CAPL TIME 22/10/85

114

From JOHN BATTERSBY

NASSAU, The Bahamas. — The African National Congress is under pressure from the Commonwealth to embark on a course of dialogue with Pretoria.

A key paragraph in the Commonwealth declaration on Southern Africa adopted here on Sunday night calls on Pretoria to initiate a process of dialogue "in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

It is understood that the phrase was inserted largely on the initiative of the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who described the paragraph as "the heart of the accord", adding that it was worthwhile making some minor concessions to sanctions to secure a statement on renouncing violence.

At a press conference on Sunday night, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, recalled that the liberation groups in former Rhodesia — Zanu and Zapu — had been a "little uneasy" about the Commonwealth declaration in Lusaka in 1979 which led to Lancaster House.

"But today they would all admit that what was done in Lusaka was the beginning of a process which led to the fulfilment of their expectations. I believe it will be the same with the ANC," he said.

Group of eminent persons

Sir Sonny said it would be the task of a group of "eminent Commonwealth persons" — still to be appointed — "to work through all of this".

"But nobody is talking about renouncing violence. That would probably have to start with Pretoria itself. What the declaration talks about is the suspension of violence on all sides. One would expect something of the nature of a truce while negotiations were under way," he said.

But an ANC spokesman said at a press conference that the ANC rejected the concept of a group of "eminent persons" because it was a repetition of the Western contact group on Namibia which has so far failed to bring independence to the territory.

The ANC was not prepared to consider negotiations and the calling of a truce until its demands were met for the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and political prisoners, an amnesty for exiles, the dismantling of apartheid legislation

and the lifting of the emergency. The Commonwealth calls for a declaration containing a commitment to dismantle apartheid and "meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent".

The Commonwealth accord will simultaneously launch a top-level bid to encourage black-white dialogue, implement a package of economic and political sanctions and set a timetable for the implementation of specific demands.

The sanctions to be applied immediately embrace the EEC sanctions package adopted by Britain last month, plus several new measures.

- These are:
- A ban on all new government loans to the SA Government and its agencies.
- A readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of Kruger rands.
- An end to government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa.
- A ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military, police or security forces.

A list of demands — which will be monitored and progress reviewed after six months — include:

- A declaration by President Botha renouncing apartheid.
- The termination of the state of emergency.
- The immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.
- The lifting of the ban on the ANC.
- The initiation of a process of dialogue — in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides — leading to the establishment of a non-racial government.

In Pretoria, a government spokesman said the full text of the Commonwealth sanctions package against the Republic would have to be studied before any comment could be made.

- Thatcher: Far cry from ban, page 4
- South Africans must decide, page 6

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UDF trialists plead not guilty to treason

Cape Times, 22/10/85

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Own Correspondent
MARITZBURG. — Sixteen United Democratic Front leaders pleaded not guilty to treason but acknowledged having spoken "strongly" against government policies and apartheid, at their trial here yesterday.

Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, told Mr Justice Milne, Judge President of Natal, that his clients would not make a statement concerning their plea but would not deny having made speeches "strongly opposing" government policies.

They had also spoken against the present constitution which they considered to be "unwise and undesirable".

The 16 have been charged with treason, with alternative charges of terrorism and furthering the aims of an unlaw-

ful organization, for their part in an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence between 1980-85.

In sharp contrast to previous hearings there were no groups of demonstrators outside the court's gate and there were some empty places in the public gallery.

'Active'

When Mrs Albertina Sisulu, one of the trialists and a co-president of the UDF, arrived to take her seat in the dock her co-accused sang "Happy Birthday Ma Sisulu". She is 67 years old.

In his opening address Mr Nic Gey van Pitius, SC, for the State, said the 16, through their speeches and the documents, had been "very active in mass mobilization of the people, underground structures, denigration

of institutions of authority and making the government the enemy".

The case against the 16, he said, was "not against people because of their attitude against apartheid, nor against the UDF as such as the organization was not party to the conspiracy".

The trial concerned members of the National Executive Committee of the UDF or other leaders who were "knowingly used" by the "revolutionary alliance" to overthrow the State by violence, he said.

Mr Gey van Pitius said the UDF had been formed in 1983, when in January that year Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the ANC, called for South Africans to form a unit-

To page 2



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2 Cape Times, Tuesday, October 22, 1985

DU



From page 1

ed democratic front for national liberation.

In outlining the history of the African National Congress (formed in 1912, banned in 1960), the SA Communist Party (formed 1921, banned 1950) and the SA Congress of Trade Unions (formed 1955), he tried to show how the three "conspired together" to form the "revolutionary alliance".

Quoting from the "Diary of the ANC", Mr Gey van Pitius said the alliance saw "political struggles, trade union activity including strikes, school boycotts, struggles on the religious front, peasant revolt and military actions such as the Sasolburg explosions" as part of their strategy to overthrow the government.

He said the alliance also saw the building of support to violently overthrow the government through the popularization of "revolutionary symbols".

"In this connection

songs, dances, slogans and poems are very important. These songs are therefore not songs but are very important to inspire the people for a revolution and rally them together."

Of the SA Allied Workers Union, Mr Gey van Pitius said Saawu "was nothing less than the SA Congress of Trade Unions internally".

"Saawu has the same constitution, same slogan and the same logos as SACTU. The State will lead evidence to prove that Saawu officials had to report to Sactu regularly from whom they received funds and instruction."

Mr R Birch, Australia's ambassador, a representative from the Swedish legation and the Canadian embassy in Pretoria and Durban-based consulates from Britain, Germany, the US and Italy attended the trial as observers.

The trial continues today.

KwaThema School boycott brought death to

JOHANNESBURG. — For months KwaThema was not part of the anti-apartheid violence that swept up other black communities in South Africa.

Its amenities, above-average by black township standards, and the status of the mayor, Mr James Mzamane, an Anglican minister, seemed to delay for months attacks on his 10 council members.

Council members in other townships have often been attacked following accusations

of having collaborated with the white government.

Many of its 100 000 residents have found work in the industrial town of Springs east of Johannesburg.

But when the trouble came in May, it came with a bitter vengeance.

So far, at least 34 blacks have been killed and the mayor's house is under constant police guard.

As elsewhere, KwaThema's unrest was sparked by school boycotts. These started a year

ago when students demanded elected student councils.

The education department rescheduled exams for January, then reversed itself and moved exams back to November, said Anglican Bishop Simeon Nkoane, an apartheid foe who lives in KwaThema.

The authorities ignored Bishop Nkoane when he intervened for the children who wanted January exams.

In February, students, parents and community groups proposed a student council

constitution and set an April 30 deadline for a response.

When none came, the boycott took hold again in early May. Rock-throwing youths battled police armoured cars almost daily.

The story of KwaThema is one of youthful fury, of stones against police guns, of men with hands blown off by grenades and funerals that beget more funerals.

Four of the victims of violence in the township, along

with three others from Duda, died in late June in grenade explosions that remain a major dispute.

Police said the seven young men, leading members of the outlawed Congress of South African Students, were attacking the houses of black policemen when the grenades went off in their hands.

The outlawed African National Congress said police agents posing as guerillas had recruited the men and trained

them wrongly so that the grenades exploded before they were thrown.

At a night vigil before the grenade victims' funeral, police fired teargas into a cinema, according to the Rev Abel Nkabinde, an Anglican priest who was there.

Eight people were shot dead in rioting during the night, two more in attacks by crowds on the mayor's house the next day and three more after the funeral.

At one funeral, Bishop Nkoane saved the life of a suspected informer whom the crowd was about to beat to death and set on fire.

The government imposed a state of emergency in 36 cities and towns on July 21. KwaThema was among the townships covered.

Mr Nkabinde said that on August 12 soldiers and police swept through KwaThema, going from house to house to force children back to school,

whipping some in the streets. An 11-year-old girl had fallen off a first-floor balcony and died.

The boycott persists on and off. Dozens of KwaThema activists and people who were members of the banned Cosas are among those detained under the emergency powers.

There is a 10pm to 4am curfew, and armoured personnel carriers carrying soldiers and police roam the streets almost every day. — Sapa

REC-22/10/25 (11A)

Inkatha youth condemn

passport move

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi, today condemned the Government's withdrawal of the passports of the Stellenbosch students who were set to have discussions with the ANC Youth League.

He said the move prevented people from talking.

Asked whether talks between the ANC and Inkatha's youth wings were likely in the foreseeable future, Mr Zondi said that, while his group was willing, the ANC Youth League was "deliberately avoiding granting us an opportunity to meet with them".

The ANC regarded itself as being at the helm of the struggle and did not want to recognise Inkatha, he said.

"So it's futile to make discussions with them a priority, as we know they're not willing."

But Inkatha, he said, was always willing to talk with anyone.

PW warns ministers not to meet ANC

By Hannes de Wet LIA

LIQUOR CATERING S.W.

Lift Attndt	13.70	19.50	22.00	25.00
	24.80	19.76	14.68	14.97
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Driver <450kg	18.11	24.75	31.00	35.00
	32.61	26.94	21.92	23.96
Current Hours: 51	Hourly Chan:			
Driver >450kg	21.00	28.70	35.00	40.00
	39.17	34.37	23.65	23.92
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Night Watchman	13.00	19.15	26.00	30.00
	23.55	21.74	17.59	17.96
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Offsales Attndt	40.00	55.00	60.00	67.00
	72.45	65.87	40.60	40.12
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Off Cler Asst	30.00	41.25	49.00	56.00
	54.35	49.40	33.15	33.53
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Page	13.20	15.40	20.00	22.00
	23.91	18.44	13.53	13.17
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Porter	17.00	23.65	29.00	33.00
	30.80	28.72	19.62	19.76
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Night Porter	19.00	26.40	34.00	39.00
	34.42	31.62	23.00	23.35
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Receptionist	26.00	35.75	49.00	56.00
	47.10	42.81	33.15	33.53
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Chan:			
Restaurant Mngr	42.00	57.75	70.00	79.00
	76.09	69.16	47.36	47.31
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Change			
Waiter	18.60	26.40	33.00	37.00
	33.70	31.62	22.33	22.16
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Change			
Waitress	14.50	20.35	33.00	37.00
	26.27	24.37	22.33	22.16
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Change			
Check out	0.00	0.00	49.00	56.00
	0.00	0.00	33.15	33.53
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Change			
Liquor Attndt	0.00	0.00	65.00	73.00
	0.00	0.00	43.98	43.71
Current Hours: 55	Hourly Change			

A clash is looming between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and a group of ministers from the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and some of its sister churches who are planning a meeting with the African National Congress.

A statement from Mr Botha's office today warned the ministers that a decision to go ahead with the meeting would amount to a challenge of the State's authority.

A spokesman for the State President's office told *The Star* that the Government had clearly stated its viewpoint regarding talks with the ANC.

"Any further attempts by South Africans to talk to the ANC can only lead to serious embarrassment for the Government.

'CHALLENGE AUTHORITY'

"A continuation of these naive talks, despite all the pleas of the head of State President and all his Cabinet Ministers, would amount to a challenge of the State's authority," he said.

The leader of the group of ministers, Dr Nico Smith, told *The Star* earlier today that he knew that the Government would try to stop the meeting. "But we are not going to pull out now," he said.

Dr Smith, minister of the NGK in Africa in Mamelodi, said a date has not yet been set for the Lusaka meeting.

He said it would be a great pity if the Government decided to withdraw their passports.

"The church's task in the present situation is to be an agent for reconciliation. The only way to play a role of conciliation is to talk to all the parties."

Dr Smith said the group of ministers came from the NGK, the NGK in Africa, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk and the Indian Reformed Church in Africa. He declined to name them.

Dr Smith said the decision by the group of ministers to meet the ANC was taken before the recent discussions between business leaders and the ANC.

Current Real Weekly Wage: R	34.75
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	35.84
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	22.79
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	17.09
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	38.15
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	31.91
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	12.54
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	15.63
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	22.22
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	31.91
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	45.61
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	21.05
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	21.05
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	31.91
Current Real Weekly Wage: R	41.61

1975 to date: Nominal	+89.17	Real	-40.81
1975 to date: Nominal	+95.31	Real	-38.62
1975 to date: Nominal	+150.52	Real	-21.22
1975 to date: Nominal	+0.01	Real	-0.01

A small chink in apartheid's armour

By WEEKLY MAIL
REPORTER

THE President's Council recommendation that influx control be abolished has pointed the way to the end of a key element of old-style apartheid — but it remains uncertain if and when the suggestion will be accepted by the government.

It is also unclear what form of urbanisation policy is likely to replace the current influx control.

The PC recommended a "positive urbanisation strategy" aimed at economic growth and the creation of employment. It called for the replacement of the black reference book system with a common identity document for all.

●See Page 2.

11A

11/11/85

UDF will come to conference table only if . . .

22/10/85

11A

STAR

The idea of negotiating a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems is being advocated by a broad range of individuals and organisations here and abroad. We are unable to agree on the form, content and outcome of such negotiations. Often we cannot even accept the bona fides of those who claim to be committed to this idea.

We are explaining our position at a time when there is an all-out effort by the Government to destroy or at least cripple the United Democratic Front. The loss of life in the townships in the last year is already higher than in 1976. Talk of peace has become increasingly abstract but the UDF hopes it is still possible to negotiate a just peace in our land.

The National Party says it is prepared to negotiate only with those leaders who reject violence and the concept of one person, one vote in a unitary state. Parties to negotiation must accept the broad parameters of apartheid, it says.

The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, for example, remain non-negotiable. So

The myth is that a think-tank of leaders meeting under the shadow of the SADF or the SAP, and over the heads of the people, will be able to arrive at an acceptable deal.

when Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis talks about an "open agenda" for negotiations, he is trying to mislead us that the Nationalists are really prepared to listen to people whose views differ fundamentally from their views.

The stated objective of the Inkatha-Progressive Federal Party-sponsored Convention Alliance is to bring about by non-violent means and in the shortest time possible complete dismantling of apartheid and the negotiation — through a national convention — of a constitution based on one citizenship in one country.

The end product of such a convention would be some form of "power sharing" between various

groups — a solution that implies that all participants will have to agree to some form of compromise.

For the UDF negotiation does not mean South Africa's "leaders" can sit around a table and work out a solution while the people sit outside the conference room waiting to hear the outcome.

The myth is that a think-tank of leaders meeting in effect under the shadow of the South African Defence Force or the South African Police and over the heads of the people will be able to arrive at an acceptable deal. This is a fundamentally undemocratic and elitist view.

The UDF believes that any negotiation must be the product of a democratic process which involves the masses. After all, the outcome of negotiation requires mass acceptance if peace is to be attained.

A climate favourable to mass participation needs to be created. This means that the African National Congress and other political organisations must be unbanned. All detainees and political prisoners must be released unconditionally. Apartheid must have been totally dismantled and there must be free political activity.

These are not bargaining chips — they are conditions which must prevail for democratic participation in free negotiations.

When we call for the release of Nelson Mandela it is not so that he can be whisked off to some top level negotiations behind closed doors (assuming that he would allow this). We demand that Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees be released to play their full role in the development of a mass-based democratic participation.

It is meaningless to push for a national convention while the basic preconditions have not been met.

It is unfortunate therefore that the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, chose a time when no semblance of democracy exists to call for the formation of a convention alliance.

Those who genuinely want to see peace and justice brought to our country and believe this can come

The United Democratic Front was presumed by many to support the idea of a national convention to negotiate South Africa's political future. Yet it has remained resolutely opposed to the present initiative to launch a Convention Alliance. In an article specially written for *The Star* publicity secretary MURPHY MOROBE explains the front's stance.

about through negotiations must struggle side-by-side with the oppressed people to create the atmosphere for negotiation.

To assert the need for a convention alliance now undermines the very concept of negotiations. Indeed we must conclude that the Convention Alliance is no more than a front intended to act as a buffer between apartheid and the genuine

Indeed, we must conclude that the Convention Alliance is no more than a front intended to act as a buffer between apartheid and the genuine aspirations of our people.

aspirations of our people. It is an attempt to find a solution above the heads of the people.

Both the Government and the Convention Alliance appear to accept concepts such as "a united South Africa with one citizenship" and "universal franchise". The Government appears to see the outcome of negotiations as some form of "power sharing" — but through structures which are racially defined. This is in fact only apartheid being restructured and the UDF will have no truck with it.

Leading proponents of the Convention Alliance would also like to see full adult suffrage based on "power sharing" without any domination. Where those who presently control the instruments of power and privilege agree to share power with the powerless and under-privileged this must inevitably perpetuate the subject condition of the latter.

Unless we begin to address ourselves to redistribution of wealth and the creation of conditions of equality in all spheres of life, power sharing will remain hollow and will continue to be rejected by the UDF.

The front believes that political negotiations must be directed toward achieving a non-racial democratic South Africa and a unitary state. While the process of achieving this is negotiable the creation of democratic rule is not. This is the demand of the majority of the people and the international community.

We reject the notion that this is an extremist view, regarding it as the only reasonable alternative to white domination. Only when the vote becomes the embodiment of true people's power in a united South Africa can we realistically address the other problems of this land.

ANC president meets Portuguese leader

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, met Portuguese President Ramalho Eanes yesterday. *11A*

A diplomatic source said the talks, occurring during the final days of the present Portuguese government — elections will be held in January — seemed targeted "more for purposes of international prestige for the ANC than for palpable results".

Mr Tambo's 24-hour visit came at the invitation of African ambassadors in Lisbon.

There was speculation that

Mr Eanes had encouraged the visit in order to ease Lisbon's relations with its former colonies after hosting South African officials, including President Botha, last year. *STAR*

After meeting Mr Tambo the Portuguese President flew to New York for the United Nations' 40th anniversary celebrations and to meet the leaders of Lisbon's ex-colonies. *22/10/85*



Report restricted

This report has been restricted because in terms of the Internal Security Act. Mr Tambo may not be quoted in South Africa.

Cape Times 22/10/85

Three killed in bloody Soweto clash

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG. — Three men were shot dead and hundreds of migrant workers were injured during fierce fighting at the Mzimhlophe Hostel, in Soweto, at the weekend.

Scores of young men were also arrested in and around the hostel and held under the state of emergency curfew regulations.

Colonel James Beeslaar, Divisional CID officer of Soweto, said yesterday the incident was sparked on Friday night after a group of youths approached a 46-year-old shopowner and asked him for a donation towards the burial costs of a dead youth. When he refused the youths allegedly attacked him and set his shop alight.

Later in the evening, a group of hostel inmates armed with knobkerries and other dangerous weapons swept into town on a vengeance mission and attacked residents of neighbouring townships. Three elderly men were shot dead by a group of hostel inmates.

On Saturday police and soldiers rushed to

the hostel when renewed fighting broke out. Thousands of township residents and hostel dwellers, armed with axes, pangas, knives and spears, clashed on the open space between the hostel and the townships and turned the hostel grounds into a battlefield.

On several occasions they defied orders by the police and soldiers to stop fighting.

Township residents wore white headbands and were easily identifiable.

Teargas

Police and soldiers fired teargas and used sneeze powder to disperse large groups of hostel dwellers and residents.

People in Killarney, Mzimhlophe and Meadowlands townships yesterday complained that they have spent sleepless nights and days of fear as a result of retaliatory raids by hostel inmates.

Yesterday afternoon police entered the hostel after fears that new violence might flare up between the two groups.

11A
11/6/85 22/10/85
NGK determined
to meet ANC men

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The group of ministers from the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) and some of its sister churches is going ahead with arrangements for a meeting with the African National Congress although its plans have become public.

"We know that the Government might want to try to stop us. But we are not going to pull back now," the leader of the group, Dr Nico Smith, said.

A date has not been set for the meeting which will take place in Lusaka, according to Dr Smith, minister of the NGK in Africa in Mamelodi.

In view of the Government's decision to withdraw the passports of Stellenbosch students to prevent them from meeting the ANC, Dr Smith said:

"It would be a great pity and to the detriment of the country if the Government decides to the same to us."

"The country is in such a crisis that one has to try and do something.

"The church's task in the present situation is to be an agent for reconciliation. The only way to play a role of reconciliation is to talk to all the parties.



Dr Nico Smith.

"We can't provide a solution to the country's problems but we can attempt to see how the different viewpoints can be reconciled.

"We will also try to impress on the ANC that reconciliatory solutions must be found."

Dr Smith said the group of ministers came from the NGK, the NGK in Africa, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk and the Indian Reformed Church in Africa.

"They will all be taking part in the meeting in their personal capacity. We have been in contact with the ANC about such a meeting and their reaction was positive."

Inkatha 119 attacked in Holland

Mercury Correspondent

AMSTERDAM—Inkatha's information office here has been badly damaged by an extremist group calling itself the 'ANC-Benjamin Moloise Commando'.

Police believe the same group is responsible for an escalating and increasingly dangerous wave of bomb and arson attacks on South African-linked targets in Holland.






Miss Reiner Steenwijk, director of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Amsterdam office, said petrol and acid bombs had been used at the weekend.

'They smashed two windows, stole some documents and did as much damage as they could with paint and acid bombs.'

22/10/85
She added: 'Our office represents the biggest liberation movement in South Africa. But we stand for the non-violent achievement of a democratic multiracial society and they do not like that at all.'

Office Times 22/10/85
Hooliganism direct

product of apartheid

   Staff Reporter  

A MEETING between the residents of Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu and workers living in men's hostels in the area has blamed the tension between the two groups on apartheid and the presence of troops and police in the townships.

The meeting in the Nyanga Zolani Community Centre was called by the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) after hostel residents threatened to take action against youths who raided shebeens in the townships on Friday.

According to the WCCA secretary, Mr Pro Jack, the 1800-strong audience passed a resolution blaming the government for "all the condemnable actions perpetrated by young unruly elements in our townships".

"Hooliganism is a direct product of the apartheid system which is mother of corruption."

He said they had sufficient evidence that the army and police presence would worsen the crisis.

City Times 22/10/85

Councillors resign

THREE councillors from Guguletu and Langa yesterday resigned from their councils. The men announced that their decision had been prompted by pressure from both their families and communities.

One of the men, Mr W M Zantsi, of the Guguletu Residents Association, Ward 6, yesterday said he had received calls from relatives as far afield as Johannesburg and Durban urging him to resign. Speaking on behalf of Mr C Z Mateta, also of the Guguletu Residents Association, Ward 3 and Mr Tyson Kobus, of Ward 3, Langa, Mr Zantsi said that due to political and family pressure it had become impossible for them to continue.

Methodist leader backs ANC talks

Argus Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The church has no alternative but to encourage communication with the outlawed African National Congress, according to the Rev Jack Scholtz, president-elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

Mr Scholtz was elected president for the 1986 national conference yesterday.

Those who opposed contact with the ANC needed to recognise the banned organisation's origins, he said shortly after his election.

"The ANC's desire at the outset was for peaceful change and I would plead that those very deep roots be recognised."

Mr Scholtz said he would emphasise two aspects during his term as president. The first was the continuation of the prophetic witness of the church against injustice.

Live together

The second aim would be to try to develop a vision of what a post-apartheid society would look like.

"I believe the church must increasingly provide a model of what it means for people to live together and to regard one another without racial distinctions," he said.

Mr Scholtz is minister at the Trinity Methodist Church in Bloemfontein, which is hosting this year's national conference. He has been in Bloemfontein for the past nine years. Previously he ministered at Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church.

He said he believed there was a growing readiness for change, not only in predominantly conservative Bloemfontein, but throughout South Africa.

He believed also that South Africa's young people had to be taken seriously when they came to the fore on matters concerning justice.

Undaunted

Meanwhile, the seven ministers from the Ned Geref Kerk and its sister churches who plan to visit the ANC in Lusaka are reported to be undaunted by the State President's warning that they should abandon the trip.

"Mr P W Botha's statements that the ANC is a murder-organisation which rejects religion is even more reason for us to talk to them," Dr Nico Smith, the leader of the group, said in an interview in Johannesburg today.

"The Gospel teaches us to love our enemies. How can you love your enemy if you don't even want to talk to him?"

The ministers were warned in a statement from the State President's office yesterday that to talk to the ANC would seriously embarrass the Government and amount to a challenge to the authority of the state.

Dr Smith, a Mamelodi minister of the NGK in Africa, said: "I realise that Mr Botha is talking as a politician. But he is also a Christian. One would ex-

(Turn to Page 3, col 7)

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ANC talks backed

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(Cont from P1)

pect that he would allow the church to fulfil its duty.

"If he regards our action as a challenge to the State's authority, that is his interpretation. We have no deliberate intention to embarrass the Government or to cross swords with the State President."

Dr Smith said the passports of some members of the group were in order, "but others will have to apply".

The Government recently withdrew the passports of eight Stellenbosch University students who intended to visit the ANC Youth League in Lusaka.

And the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, warned at the weekend

that the Government would "reconsider" the passports of all South Africans who proposed to talk to the ANC.

From New York, The Argus Foreign Service reports that spokesmen for the ANC have informally told the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, that they would be ready to suspend all armed struggle in South Africa if President Botha agreed to negotiate with representative black leaders.

Sir Sonny and other Commonwealth authorities see this as a sign that their proposals that South Africa proclaim the end of apartheid within six months or face harsh new sanctions could bear fruit.

Cape Times 23/10/85

11A

'Scholar of revolution' testifies on UDF

MARITZBURG. — It would be impossible to prove the UDF was a front for the banned African National Congress, an expert witness said during the treason trial of 16 UDF leaders yesterday.

Mr Isaac de Vries said revolutionaries themselves, however, suggest through the medium of their publications that the UDF or its leaders

were involved in the revolutionary struggle.

Mr De Vries is a political science lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University and a "scholar of revolution".

He was giving evidence before the Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice A J Milne, and two assessors.

Mr De Vries referred the court to an article in

which the launch of the UDF was declared a milestone for the liberation struggle, as was the trade union movement.

He added that the present leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, had called on the people to form a united democratic front and had suggested that the organization could only be guided by the ANC if it had its own underground structures

within the UDF.

At the start of the hearing, Mr De Vries said revolutions did not take place spontaneously, but followed a pattern of activities known as a revolutionary strategy. The trial continues today. — Sapa

Before the court are: Mr Mawalan Ramgobin, 52, Mr Chandero Sewpershad, 43, Mr Moorooqib Jayahajapathy Naidoo, 53, Dr Essop

Essack Jassat, 52, Dr Dundubela Aubrey Mokoena, 52, Mr Ephraim Curtis Nkondo, 56, Mr Archibald Joseph Gumede, 70, Mr Devadas Paul Dayid, 40, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 66, the Rev Frank Chikane, 34, Mr Cassim Saloojee, 49, Prof Ismail Mohammed, 54, and four members of the South African Allied Worker's Union, Mr Sisa Njikaleni, 29, Mr Sam Kikine, 36, Mr Isaac Ngcobo, 36, and the national chairman, Mr Thozamile Gqweta.

ANC will consider 6-month truce

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From JOHN BATTERSBY

NASSAU. — The African National Congress will consider calling a six-month truce in its armed struggle if the South African Government meets Commonwealth demands within six months, the heads of state meeting here was told.

Commonwealth delegates say the ANC truce proposal was made during extensive talks with its representatives at the historic Bahamas summit.

The Commonwealth Secretary General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, was told the truce also depended on the South African Government suspending violence.

The vital "suspension of violence" by Pretoria, say senior Commonwealth spokesmen, includes the so-called structural violence of the Internal Security Act, the bantustan system and the influx control laws.

More intransigence?

Leading anti-apartheid sources said the ANC truce proposal was serious but they feared Pretoria's response would be "more intransigence".

It was felt President P W Botha's rejection of the Commonwealth's six-month timetable could have made the ANC truce call academic.

The Commonwealth Secretariat says a truce proposal is based on the fifth of five Commonwealth demands, which calls on the South African Government to initiate a dialogue "in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

Commonwealth demands

The ANC truce proposal is welcomed as a significant sign of the organization's willingness to respond to the calls of the heads of government.

Other Commonwealth demands which have to be met by South Africa before the ANC laid down its arms are:

- The renunciation of apartheid.
- The release of imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.
- The lifting of the ban on the ANC.
- The lifting of the state of emergency.

The ANC is understood to be upset

that the Nassau demands have not placed enough pressure on South Africa.

It lends weight to the opinion in Nassau that the ANC truce offer was made in sure knowledge that it will be dismissed out of hand by Pretoria but would place still further pressure on South Africa as the intransigent party.

The real significance of the Commonwealth summit is the unwritten deal between Britain and the Frontline States under Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

In simple terms the deal is: Britain has agreed to deliver the white minority government and the Frontline States have agreed to deliver the ANC.

Britain has given its full backing to the concept of a ceasefire before the talks begin.

Vaguely structured

The Nassau declaration has accorded the Commonwealth a central role in the search for a political accommodation between black and white South Africans — but it will be largely on Britain's terms and under British control. There are no deadlines other than Mrs Thatcher's remaining term of office — two years.

The Commonwealth's six-month timetable for progress or further sanctions is sufficiently vaguely structured to allow some flexibility.

There has been consultation between Mrs Thatcher, President Ronald Reagan and President P W Botha on the broad outlines of the plan.

Mrs Thatcher's plan has President Reagan's full backing and is seen as the only way to secure Western interests in a multiracial South Africa and curb the influence of the Soviet bloc, which has been creeping southwards.

● A spokesman for the office of the State President said last night that he had no comment on the offer.

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Recognise peaceful roots of ANC, pleads church leader

By Estelle Trengove
Religion Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN

The Church had no alternative but to encourage communication with the banned African National Congress, the president-elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa said.

The Rev Jack Scholtz was yesterday elected president for the 1986 national conference.

Those who opposed contact with the ANC needed to recognise the banned organisation's origins, he said shortly after his election.

"Their desire at the outset was for peaceful change and I would plead that those very deep roots of the ANC be recognised."

Mr Scholtz said one of his aims during his term would be to try and develop a vision of what a post-apartheid society would look like.

"I believe the church must

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increasingly provide a model of what it means for people to live together and to regard one another without racial distinctions," he said.

Mr Scholtz said he believed there was a growing readiness for change among people.

He also believed South Africa's young people had to be taken seriously when they came to the fore on matters concerning justice.

"In many cases their perceptions are clearer than those of the people who have been living with this situation for a long time," he said.

He said that in spite of all its mistakes, he could not be cynical about the Church and believed that it could bring about a peaceful solution in South Africa.

At the Methodist conference there were many present who had been detained or harassed.

"The stoning of the prophets has become a phenomenon of our time," he said.

ANC ready to halt armed struggle if Govt will talk

The Star's Foreign News Service

STAR

plan. She will be conferring with the US leader in New York this week at the United Nations.

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23/10/85

NASSAU — Leaders of the African National Congress have sent informal word to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Shridath Ramphal, that they would be ready to suspend all armed struggle in South Africa if the South African Government agreed to enter a political dialogue with representative black leaders.

Despite President Botha's initial negative reaction to the Commonwealth accord hammered out in Nassau in week-long summit talks, the ANC move was interpreted by Sir Sonny and other Commonwealth authorities as a sign of some hope that their proposals might yet prove to be a mechanism that will achieve progress in the next six months.

Commonwealth leaders set an April deadline for the South African Government to proclaim an end to the apartheid system.

A senior ANC official confirmed the organisation's conditional readiness to halt military operations.

In another development reported by British officials, Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has let it be known she will seek President Reagan's broad backing for the Commonwealth's

More than 60 heads of government this week will be addressing the General Assembly to mark the 40th anniversary of the UN. The troubles gripping the South African subcontinent are likely to be a major theme.

Some of Mrs Thatcher's colleagues here have called attention privately to what they considered were inconsistencies in Britain's stance.

The Prime Minister of one of the old Commonwealth countries, who declined to be identified, said: "Formally the British Government declines to deal with the ANC pending its renunciation of violence just as South Africa has done. Yet Thatcher joined the rest of the Commonwealth in urging the Botha government to begin a dialogue at once with the ANC and other representative black leaders."

Bahamian Prime Minister Mr Lynden Pindling, who chaired the meeting, shrugged off Mr Botha's threat to halt chrome exports to the US and other countries as "senseless".

He observed: "If he does that it will be a good deal for Zimbabwe which also has lots of chrome resources awaiting development."

● See Page 11.

Britain takes over lead role

Thatcher given job of arranging PW-ANC talks

11A (circled) B. Day (circled)
223/10/85

JOHN BATTERSBY

NASSAU — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has paved the way for a direct British role in helping South Africa set up a constitutional conference.

Britain has the task of seeing the SA government attends talks in Lusaka with the African National Congress.

The tentative offer of a six-month truce by the ANC once Commonwealth demands are met is the first signal that Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda has played his Frontline card.

The offer was made by ANC international department head John Makatini, who has been a guest of the Bahamas government.

Kaunda, who is chairman of the Frontline States, said at a Press conference before his departure: "In every liberation war — big or small — there comes a time for talking."

The Nassau declaration on South Africa has accorded the Commonwealth a central role in the search for a political accommodation between SA's blacks and whites — but it will be largely on Britain's terms.

There are no deadlines other than Thatcher's remaining term of office — two years.

The Commonwealth's six-month timetable for progress or further sanctions is sufficiently vaguely structured to allow some flexibility.

There has been consultation between Thatcher, President Ronald



● THATCHER

● REAGAN

Reagan and President P W Botha on the broad outlines of the plan.

Thatcher's plan has Reagan's full backing and is seen as the only way to secure Western interests in a multiracial South Africa and curb the influence of the Soviet Bloc which has been creeping southwards in the region.

The recent Soviet offensive against Unita, and indications that President Mikhail Gorbachev has further plans to capitalise on South Africa's internal and international vulnerability, is key motivation for the plan.

It means Britain will once again assume the leading role on South Africa, after the failure of five years of US foreign policy initiatives in the region.

Reagan now accepts that the chance of a diplomatic settlement to the Namibia/Angola/Cuban troop conundrum is remote and is prepared to let Thatcher use her influence with South Africa.

Thatcher's concession to a package of limited economic sanctions is the clearest indication that time is running out.

Omar, McMaster in court

City Times 23/10/81 Staff Reporter 119 (3) 207

A CITY ADVOCATE, Mr Abdullah Omar, and a University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council member, Mr Llewellyn McMaster, appeared in the Bellville Regional Court yesterday on charges related to an illegal gathering.

No charges were put to Mr Omar, 50, of Athlone, and Mr McMaster, 27, of the Theological Hostel at UWC.

The case was referred to the Attorney General and postponed until December 5.

Mr A N Louw was on the Bench. Mr B R Buys appeared for the State. Mr S Desai, instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for Mr Omar and Mr McMaster.

KaNgwane group plans to see ANC

By BARRY STREEK

THE RULING Inyandza movement in the KaNgwane homeland, has approved plans to visit the ANC in Lusaka — despite President P W Botha's strong opposition to talks with the ANC.

The group will hold discussions about "the current situation in the country and about the need to resolve the political-constitutional impasse".

It adopted the resolution after its president, Mr Enos Mabuza, the chief minister of KaNgwane, told the congress that a visit to the ANC was necessary because Nyandza was committed to the evolution of "an equitable and democratic constitutional solution for our country and because of its belief that the ANC would have to be a party in the evolution of such a solution".

They called for the release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, and "all political prisoners as well as those leaders who are in detention".

Govt condition rejected

They also called for the unbanning of the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other banned political organizations, as well as negotiations with "all recognized black leaders in order to bring about an acceptable and democratic constitutional dispensation".

In his presidential address, Mr Mabuza rejected the government's condition that the ANC renounce violence before negotiations could be held, contending that "it was the institutionalised violence of the apartheid policies of our country which forced the ANC to resort to the armed struggle".

Inyandza believed there was scope for a ceasefire followed by negotiation even if this meant the question of violence was at the top of the agenda.

He said there were white parents who were opposed to the use of the South African Defence Force to quell the current unrest in the black townships but they could not disown and ostracise their sons.

'Leave their fatherland'

"Similarly, even if we may disagree with our sons and daughters who have left this country to joined the armed struggle, we cannot disown them.

"It is our duty to help create an internal political climate which will render it unnecessary for our children to leave their fatherland."

Mr Mabuza also criticised the withdrawal of passports from the Stellenbosch University students who wanted to meet the ANC Youth League.

"It is ironic . . . that it is the patriarchs of Afrikanerdom who have exercised their political power to put paid to dialogue which might have proved to be the open sesame for future dialogue between the ANC and the Nationalist government," he said.

The bitter battle for black allegiance

11A B. Day
23/10/85

PETER WALLINGTON

looks at the Inkatha-UDF-ANC split

THE RAPIDLY deteriorating relationship between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the African National Congress — and between Buthelezi and the United Democratic Front — could have serious implications for all South Africans.

In an already sharply polarised political climate, the bitter slanging match comes with the ANC riding the crest of an international wave and the UDF weakened through the detention of much of its leadership.

On the other hand, Inkatha has reasserted its authority in the townships around Durban following recent bloody clashes that took place after the death of lawyer Victoria Mxenge.

Also Buthelezi has sought to broaden his support base internally — Inkatha is a senior partner in the recently launched Convention Alliance — and has enhanced his international prestige, travelling to the US, Britain and Europe, where he met a number of influential political leaders, including US President Ronald Reagan and British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

A noted political observer warns that unless the tension is defused, the "unofficial civil war" could develop into major conflict within the Natal region. "The battle for black allegiance is particularly intense in Natal, Inkatha's stronghold. The UDF and the spirit of the ANC are trying to create certain 'no-go' areas for Buthelezi, and that is being resisted."

Buthelezi has said repeatedly that black-on-black violence hampered the cause of liberation, and that it held within it the seeds of civil war. Nevertheless, despite Inkatha's re-emergence in Durban's townships, surveys by academic researchers show that its support in the townships has decreased.

These surveys also show that Buthelezi's personal following in the Durban area trails that of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. According to the Institute for Black Research at Natal University, Inkatha has lost support to the UDF amongst black people, while support for Buthelezi himself (5%) lags behind that of Mandela (54%).

Black support for Inkatha in the townships has dropped from 20% to

5% because of township unrest, while support for the UDF increased from 36% to 56% (Buthelezi has angrily rejected the polls, saying they have been conducted by his enemies to discredit him).

Wits University political lecturer Dr Tom Lodge points out the tension goes back a long way, and has been exacerbated by rising tension generally in SA. This flared into open conflict in Natal, Inkatha's traditional support base (approximately 75% of its 2 000 branches are there).

When the UDF was launched in August, 1983, Buthelezi welcomed it as a healthy development, but the UDF made it quite clear that Inkatha was not welcome as an affiliate.

At the same time Buthelezi's relationship with the ANC has worsened. He met ANC leader Oliver Tambo in 1979, but the two fell out soon afterwards.

According to a Natal-based political scientist, the UDF has won support much more successfully than the black consciousness movement in the Seventies. The Institute's Fatima Meer says the reason for the fall-off in Inkatha's support is that the structural system is unable to satisfy the demands of the people and Inkatha are seen as part of the system.

Particularly strong in the Eastern and Western Cape and in the Transvaal, the UDF draws support from

blacks disillusioned with government-created institutions.

Observers point out that a strong political challenge could cause problems for Buthelezi: his credibility as a force in negotiation politics depends on the extent of his support. "Therefore, any alternative in his 'own backyard' cannot be allowed, no matter who the opposition is. The Inkatha line is that all Zulu people prefer to be under KwaZulu and Inkatha — if large numbers don't, it means trouble for Buthelezi," the political scientist said.

There have been bitter clashes between UDF and Inkatha supporters, with both sides accusing the other of starting the feud. Buthelezi told *Business Day* the UDF had even sought a

Supreme Court interdict to prevent him from entering Lamontville.

"UDF members attacked Inkatha members, and even killed some, for example at the function to unveil the tombstone of councillor Msizi Dube. UDF members attacked members of Inkatha and petrol bombed their homes near Tongaat. When Inkatha retaliated the media forgot UDF violence and talked only of Inkatha attacking UDF members."

The UDF have accused Inkatha "vigilantes" of fanning the violence, and the ANC accuses Buthelezi of "declaring war on the democratic movements in SA". But Buthelezi angrily rejects these charges. "The people in the townships in the greater Durban area organised themselves after at-

tacks on them which caused losses amounting to millions of rands. Inkatha leadership did not help to quell the unrest at the time".

A complicating factor for Buthelezi has been the enhanced stature of the ANC following its recent talks in Zambia with business leaders and the Progressive Federal Party.

The business meeting, particularly, was not a welcome development from Buthelezi's point of view. Says Lodge: "If there is a black candidate to deal with capitalism then Buthelezi sees himself as that man".

More recently, Stellenbosch University students were barred from going to Lusaka, and a NGK delegation is planning to go. Lodge said recently that there were other developments that have testified to the measure with which the ANC is regarded as a central and inescapable fact of SA political life.

Nevertheless, for all the rhetoric, the observer says he does not think the gulf between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF is unbridgable — yet. He says were the ANC to be unbanned, it would have to prepare a political agenda or manifesto. "It's easy to be ideological in Lusaka but not if you have to face the crowds in Soweto. Tambo and Buthelezi would both be in the townships, trying to sell their policies."

Buthelezi has already positioned himself in the middle ground of moderate and pragmatic politics and, says the observer, it is quite possible the ANC would not be too far from that. But he warns the longer the hardening of attitudes continues, the less likely a compromise will be found.

Cape Times 23/10/85

Clergy to go ahead with ANC meeting

From CLARE HARPER
JOHANNESBURG. — A group of ministers from the sister churches of the Ned Geref Kerk are going ahead with their planned visit to the ANC in spite of a warning yesterday from the State President's office.

Mr P W Botha's official press spokesman, Mr Jack Viviers, said that if the clergymen continued with their planned visit, "it could only be seen as a defiance of State authority".

Yesterday leading South African clergy said they supported the move although the moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk, the Rev Kobus Potgieter, said he wished to "dissociate himself from the standpoint of Dr Smith".

Dr Nico Smith, the leader of the group of

ministers and moderator of the NG Kerk in Africa, said members of the NG Kerk in Africa, the NG Sendingkerk, the Indian Reformed Church as well as members of other churches, would be visiting the ANC in Lusaka.

He declined to name the clergymen.

'Very sad'

Dr Smith said that it would be "very sad" and damaging to the government if the meeting was prevented.

"The idea is to go as individuals, not representatives of any church, and bring back information so that other churches can decide how they can fulfil their duty to bring about reconciliation between the ANC and the South

African Government," Dr Smith said.

He said the decision to meet with the ANC was taken at a meeting of theologians and ministers of religion in August this year at the University of South Africa "long before" before the Progressive Federal Party and business leaders had gone to Lusaka.

"The two real conflicting partners in South Africa are the government and the ANC, and it is the Church's responsibility to do all they can to fulfil a reconciliatory function between the two parties," he said.

Mr Viviers, said the State President had clearly stated his viewpoint regarding talks with the ANC which "is

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To page 2



C.T. 23/10/85

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From page 1

controlled by communists and their rejection of Christianity is well known".

Mr Viviers said that talking to the ANC was tantamount to supporting them.

Yesterday the acting general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Dan Vaughan, said the SACC "welcomed any such initiative from the Church by people concerned with universal freedoms in South Africa".

The provincial liaison officer for the Church of the Province of South Africa, Bishop John Carter, said in his personal capacity he was in favour of consultations with the ANC.

The new head of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Rev Ernest Baartman, said he believed there should be dialogue between the ANC and South African clergy.

UK will talk to ANC — if it rejects violence

ANC led 24/10/85

(11)

Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — The British Government will talk to the ANC — but only if it rejects violence, the Commons has been told.

And the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who unexpectedly returned from New York to take part in a special debate on South Africa, has reiterated that Britain is not committed to imposing further sanctions on South Africa in six months.

"There is no question of us giving South Africa an ultimatum," Sir Geoffrey said.

He was trying to quell an incipient revolt in the Tory backbenches. One of his own backbench MPs, Mr Anthony Nelson, had demanded a guarantee that Britain would not follow other Commonwealth

countries and impose more sanctions.

Mr Nelson said: "Only with that guarantee will some of us go along with you."

Labour leader Neil Kinnock interrupted Sir Geoffrey to challenge him to meet the ANC.

The challenge came as Sir Geoffrey told the ANC to end violence. Responding to Mr Kinnock's challenge he said: "We do not engage in meetings with organisations of this kind. They are indulging in violence. It is for this reason I'm urging them to reject violence."

In the ensuing uproar he insisted that he had answered the question directly and that he would meet the ANC if they rejected violence.

Labour Party speakers pointed out that the Government was prepared to meet

Swapo and Unita without demanding that they reject violence.

Mr Dennis Healey, the Labour Party's main speaker, said the only hope of peaceful solution in South Africa was for P W Botha to meet the ANC.

He called for a policy of "constructive disengagement" from South Africa, saying that Britain risked "losing everything" by supporting Mr Botha.

The Government won the debate by 302 votes to 194 after a division.

Tougher sanctions

Meanwhile it was reported from Canberra that the Australian government is to consider moving almost immediately to implement the tougher economic sanctions against South Africa which other Commonwealth countries have deferred for at least six months.

Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke, who is on his way back to Australia from the Bahamas, has sent word ahead that he wants a Cabinet meeting on Monday to consider the possibility of moving quickly to bar South African Airways flights into Australia.

The meeting would also consider banning the promotion in Australia of tourism in South Africa and new restrictions on Australian private investment in South Africa.

It will also discuss a suggestion from Mr Hawke that Mr Malcolm Fraser, the man he took the prime ministership from in 1983, be appointed to a Commonwealth committee established to try and achieve a dialogue with the South African Government and community leaders about reform in South Africa.

One of the reasons Mr Hawke appears to be prepared to move more quickly than the other Commonwealth countries is the strong pressure building in the Australian labour movement for tougher action against South Africa.

CAPE TIMES 24/10/85

Death threats to NG clergyman

From CLARE HARPER
JOHANNESBURG. —

The leader of the group of clergymen planning to hold talks with the African National Congress has received a barrage of anonymous death threats and abusive telephone calls.

Dr Nico Smith, Moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk in Africa, said that he was "saddened" by the negative feedback from individuals and churches, but said the group would nevertheless proceed with the meeting.

'Challenge'

Dr Smith said yesterday that so far only the Afrikaans churches had voiced their objection to the planned talks in Lusaka.

The government has described the continuation of the talks as "a challenge to State authority" which would lead to the embarrassment of the president, Mr P W Botha.

But yesterday the government declined to comment further on the intended talks by the seven clergymen until they received "official confirmation" of the trip.

Conviction

However the deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, said recently the government would reconsider the passports of all South Africans who proposed to talk to the ANC.



Dr Nico Smith

Dr Smith said yesterday that he did not intend to inform the government officially of the talks as he felt it was a personal conviction and a "necessity in order to serve the churches in South Africa".

He said, however, that he had no intention of crossing swords with the government or of embarrassing Mr Botha.

"I feel sad that some churches feel it is not the responsibility of the church to bring about reconciliation between warring parties, and that the shedding of blood is not the Church's concern," Dr Smith said.

Yesterday the president of the South Afri-

can Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, added his support to that of clergy from the South African Council of Churches, the Church of the Province of South Africa and the Methodist Church of South Africa.

'Delighted'

"I am thoroughly delighted and very excited that members of the Dutch Reformed Church would decide to want to travel to Lusaka to talk to the ANC — it is a wonderful move and I hope it succeeds," he said.

He said that the ministers were "very brave" and had given a "glimmer of hope to the South African scene".

The group of ministers comprises members of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, the NGK in Africa, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and the Indian Reformed Church in Africa as well as ministers from other mainstream churches.

Desirability

Dr Smith said yesterday that he would not name the other members of the delegation.

• Yesterday the chairman of Stellenbosch University's Students Representative Council, Mr Philip Verster, who had intended to meet the ANC Youth Wing along with other Matie students, said talks with Mr Botha had done nothing to change their minds about the desirability of the Lusaka trip.

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Tambo invited to testify in Commons

The Star Bureau
STAR 24/10/68
LONDON — Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, has been invited to give evidence to a British all-party select committee of the House of Commons next week.

The invitation contrasts starkly with a statement yesterday from Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, who told Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock: "We do not engage in contact with organisations of this kind which are actually engaging in violence at the moment."

But Sir Anthony Kershaw, Conservative chairman of the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs, defended the decision to take evidence from Mr Tambo.

"I think there is a difference between the IRA, who represent a small number of people equally hostile to the Republic of Ireland and the UK, as opposed to the ANC, who clearly speak for a very large number of people."

Some MPs are noting the contrast between the British Government's attitude to the ANC and some other groups.

Last week's aborted talks with the Palestine Liberation Organisation members had been partly based on a demand for an outright renunciation of violence.

In the wake of this week's Nassau agreement, which called for dialogue "in the context of violence on all sides," the Government appears to have modified its line.

However Ministers will undoubtedly be embarrassed by the select committee's invitation to Mr Tambo.

'Unspeakable ANC brutality' slammed

Buthelezi calls for end to violence in SA

UJA
24/10/85 STAR

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Violence in South Africa must stop, says Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, who last night launched a ferocious attack on the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front.

Speaking at a banquet of the South Africa Club in the Savoy Hotel, Chief Buthelezi was being guarded by security men after the offices and home of his European representative, Dr Reina Steenwijk, had been firebombed by a "commando" allegedly from the ANC.

He said: "If the forces of violence end up overthrowing the South African Government, they will do so only after the whole of white South Africa has resorted to scorched earth policies in response to the scorched earth policies of the forces of violence.

"Any such victory will be horribly empty in a destitute South Africa."

STATE CONTROL

Chief Buthelezi accused the media of telling lies by presenting blacks as being united, and prepared to use violence and die for democratic ideals.

The ANC, he said, wanted "a socialist-marxist military government which will nationalise South Africa's industries and exercise total State control over the economy".

He added: "It is only political propaganda that blacks are drawing closer together to use violence constructively and make the country ungovernable.

"The truth is that blacks employing violence are using it against other blacks more than against apartheid. Stayaways flop unless there is substantial intimidation.

"This intimidation is ugly. People are stoned, beaten and hacked to death with bush knives and axes.

"Violence is dividing black South Africa."

He said the ANC was exhorting people to acts of unspeakable brutality. Elements in the UDF were

frontline actors in this ANC "butchery" of those who opposed them, he claimed.

"This butchery is glorified by the media. The repugnance of all this burns fiercely in my very soul," Chief Buthelezi said.

The South African Government had used only a fraction of its potential lethal power against perpetrators of mob violence.

"The killing capabilities which the South African Government can unleash are awesome and too horrible to contemplate. The ANC is driving towards a position in which this white retaliation could become a reality.

"My soul revolts against a South Africa destroyed by South Africans brutally killing South Africans," Chief Buthelezi said.

"Black strikes are not held unless there is black on black violence to support them. Millions of black South Africans go to work every day because they need their jobs.

"If intimidation stopped tomorrow, the boycott of white-owned businesses in Port Elizabeth, East London, Queenstown and elsewhere would come to an immediate end.

"On no single occasion has a genuine, open, mass meeting of black South Africans endorsed disinvestment as a strategy that blacks accept."

Chief Buthelezi said never before had South Africa been nearer to a situation in which negotiation could bring about change. He occupied the middle ground between the government and the ANC.

Mr P W Botha was tragically underachieving in bringing meaningful reform, although he had been bolder than any previous South African Prime Minister.

He was pandering to the lunatic fringe and had to be carried, struggling and kicking, into real change.

Political bargaining was inevitable, and the international community should not be stampeded into precipitous action, Chief Buthelezi said, expressing his support for Mrs Thatcher.

Commenting on the Amsterdam bombing, Dr Steenwijk, who is with Chief Buthelezi, said: "Our office was badly damaged. We are all well aware of the threat from the ANC."

Prog-ANC indaba arranged before Relly meeting

W. Mail

11A
24/10/75

By ANTON HARBER

THE Progressive Federal Party emerged from last week's meeting with the African National Congress "a bit more optimistic about the future".

This description of the PFP's reaction came from Peter Gastrow, the MP for Durban Central, who played a key role in setting up the meeting.

In an interview this week, Gastrow told how he travelled secretly to Harare to organise talks; what was discussed with the ANC; and the impact the meeting had on the PFP leaders.

The meeting was planned and set up long before last month's discussions between the ANC and business leaders.

"In July I made contact with an acquaintance who I knew had direct access to the ANC in Lusaka. I asked him to establish what their attitude would be to a meeting. I asked him to test the water.

"The response was positive, and in August it was arranged that I would meet two ANC representatives in Harare.

"I met them in September to discuss

the particulars of a meeting. We arranged the time and the place for last weekend's discussions," Gastrow said.

Nobody outside of the party leadership — including the government — was told of the meeting.

Asked why the PFP chose this particular time to meet the ANC, he said: "That's a good question. It's a sign of the times. It's clear that even in the PFP it required a crisis to motivate us to make contact with other groups."

Gastrow said the contact in recent months between PFP leaders and black community leaders had made it clear it was necessary to speak to the ANC.

"My personal hope (for the meeting) was that our perceptions of each other would be either confirmed or corrected. We hoped to get a clearer idea as to where we differ and where we agree and how wide the differences are.

"It was also important to get to

No deals struck, no

IF there is one recurring image in the ANC's current political offensive within the white bloc it is ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki's pipe.

It invites all manner of gauche journalism about "pipes of peace" and deals being "cooked up" and the observation that "there's no smoke without fire".

At Saturday's talks between the ANC and PFP in Lusaka, Mbeki again had a fellow pipe smoker. This time it was PFP MP Peter Gastrow, the man who apparently arranged the get-together.

Again, the ice was broken at an important point in proceedings by pipe-smoking. One of Mbeki's comrades warned Gastrow not to leave his tobacco pouch unattended on a cabinet.

By HOWARD BARRELL

Mbeki, Gastrow was warned, would probably nick it.

ANC sources say the meeting was very friendly. But, again, no deals were made, no peace was agreed — political/armed struggle continues and will be escalated.

"We are not being killed by kindness," remarked an ANC source.

All that the smoke indicates is the further development of what is turning out to be a skilled ANC political offensive within the white bloc.

Among the ANC's current intentions are the maximum political isolation of the Botha government and to show it is a serious-minded.



PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert describes the PFP delegation's wide-ranging talks with the ANC on his return from Lusaka. With him on the trip — and at an airport press conference — is fellow MP Alex Boraine. Picture by Wendy Schwegmann (Reuters)

know the people in the ANC leadership: what makes them tick; do they have the same perceptions about the situation as we do; are they informed about what is happening; do they have insight into white politics?"

Gastrow said the PFP and the ANC leaders had arranged in advance not to have a formal agenda for the meeting.

The first half of the meeting dealt broadly with different perceptions of what was happening in the country. Slabbert described his views, the ANC leaders described theirs and Slabbert gave his interpretation of the way the

government saw the situation.

The second half of the lengthy meeting was devoted to an exchange of views on specific issues, such as armed struggle, sanctions, the Convention Alliance, the PFP participation in parliament and its involvement or non-involvement in extra-parliamentary activities.

"They put their view (on armed struggle), we put ours, they asked questions, we asked questions and that is how the discussion went.

"They made it clear that they had only opted for armed struggle when

all internal means of legal protest had been shut down and they had no option but to resort to arms," he said.

"It was surprising how, once our bona fides were accepted, we could discuss things that in other circumstances would have become very heated issues.

"Views were strongly stated, but at no time did anyone become irritated, or was discussion sharp or personal."

Gastrow was impressed by the humour and wit of some of the ANC leaders.

For example, ANC publicity secretary Tnabo Mbeki was able to joke about the fact that they were drinking South African wines during the meeting, despite the international boycott.

Gastrow said he was most impressed by how strongly the ANC delegates saw themselves as South Africans, and how much they longed to return home.

"They are very well informed. The talk that one sometimes hears, that they can't possibly be in tune with what is happening because they have been outside for 20 years, is not correct."

Gastrow said he emerged from the meeting a bit more optimistic about the future of South Africa. "These chaps genuinely want a non-racial, democratic and peaceful South Africa and, unless I am a naive optimist, I still think one can achieve that without revolution or civil war," he said.

"This meeting satisfied me that it is still a possibility."

peace arranged

responsibly led national liberation movement which, according to one source, is at war only until the conditions have been created for a credible peace. That means the death and burial of apartheid, and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The ANC believes it got that message across to Van Zyl Slabbert, who at one state was jokingly called "Comrade President". Colin Eglin, Alex Boraine and Gastrow

"They definitely came away with a better idea of the ANC's stand," an ANC spokesman remarked.

"The atmosphere was warm. Here were two groups of South Africans meeting to talk to each other. You could say there was a spirit of friendship."

In response to PFP queries, the ANC is understood to have made clear its alliance with the South African Communist Party was based on certain shared interests in ending apartheid. The ANC would never indulge in anti-communist phobias.

The ANC team led by secretary general Alfred Nzo, and comprising also treasurer General Thomas Nkobi, Mbeki, administrative secretary Simon Makana, women's section head Gertrude Shope and senior political official Mac Mahara — criticised the PFP's links with Gatsha Buthelezi as shortsighted.

Tambo sent a message of apology for not being there — he was in Ethiopia at the invitation of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, according to an ANC source. There was no snub.

King funeral ban ruled invalid

DISPATCH

Dispatch Correspondent GRAHAMSTOWN — A blanket order issued by a King William's Town magistrate which places restrictions on all funerals of blacks in the area until November was ruled invalid by the Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Kannemeyer, who heard an urgent application challenging the validity of the order last week, noted leave to appeal against the judgment. Mr Eric Leach, for the magistrate, applied for leave to appeal.

The application was brought by Mr William Mbeka, the father of a youth who died after he was shot on October 2, the same day the order was issued.

In terms of the order, funerals and memorial services in King William's Town must be conducted inside a building on weekdays. No more than 100 people may attend, and no flags, banners, posters, pamphlets or stickers may be displayed or distributed. Joint funerals are prohibited.

Mr Leach told the court yesterday he had been instructed that the funeral of the youth, Gimba Mbeka, had been held on Monday, that over 100 people had attended, and that there were other "unlawful acts". He said the police had used tearsmoke after incidents of unrest had resulted.

He requested the court to hold the question of costs for a decision at a later stage in order to place all the facts before the court.

Mr J. Eksteen, who appeared for Mr Mbeka, said he did not object to a postponement of the decision on costs.

Mr Justice Kannemeyer said that when the matter was concluded last Wednesday, it had been indicated that Mr Mbeka would await the decision of the court and did not intend to act unlawfully. He added that if the funeral had taken place on a weekday, as stated by Mr Leach, Mr Mbeka had not breached the magistrate's order.

"Little blame" could be placed on Mr Mbeka if over 100 people had attended the funeral, as invitations were not extended for funerals. It was unreasonable to expect Mr Mbeka to restrict the number of people who did attend his son's funeral, the judge said. That incidents of unrest had resulted and tearsmoke had been used was regrettable, he added.

Mr Justice Kannemeyer said no information presented to the court could alter his order, and granted the application with costs. He said the magistrate had acted in his capacity as an administrative officer and a servant of the state, and not in his

capacity as a judicial officer. 24/10/25

He found that the magistrate, Mr Pieter Nell, could not possibly have had reason to apprehend that the public safety would be endangered by all funerals of black people if he had correctly applied his mind.

He said Mr Nell's apprehension, as stated in an affidavit presented to the court, that, in the exercise of his discretion and after much thought to the matter, he was at all material times convinced that the public peace would be endangered were funerals to go ahead unrestricted, was unreasonable.

"In my view, the necessary apprehension has not been established. The order is therefore a nullity because the jurisdictional fact is not applicable," he said.

The magistrate's order also did not apply to the proposed funeral of Gimba Mbeka, Mr Justice Kannemeyer said. He added that Mr Nell could not have considered whether the youth's funeral, in particular, would endanger public peace.

Mr Justice Kannemeyer said he did not "for one moment" believe the order would be applied at all funerals, but that it was rather an attempt to issue a blanket order which would be applicable to a specific type of funeral.

Dhlomo (IA)

hits out
24/10/85
at attack
MERCURY
on offices

**African Affairs
Correspondent**

THE secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, says the 'cowardly attack' by the African National Congress on the Amsterdam offices of the organisation means that the battle lines have now been drawn by the ANC and not by Inkatha.

Referring to the wrecking of the offices earlier this week, Dr Dhlomo said those Western countries which still allowed the ANC to establish 'so-called information centres' in their countries should now be aware that the 'so-called struggle of the ANC' was against the victims and not the perpetrators of apartheid.

'We trust that all those individuals and organisations who profess support for peaceful political change in South Africa will come to the assistance of Inkatha now that it has been so openly on the receiving end of ANC violence,' he said.

Boesak finds bail rules 'like house arrest' major

Staff Reporters

DR Allan Boesak found his bail conditions as strict as house arrest and he had said he would find it difficult not to break them in the course of his church duties, a police officer told the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court today.

Major F Nel of the security police, investigating officer in Dr Boesak's case, was cross-examined during the application for relaxation of bail conditions.

In evidence-in-chief Major Nel said Dr Boesak, at a meeting on June 4 in Graaff-Reinet, had called on the audience of largely black youths to stay away from school the following day in sympathy with "our people" who had been shot.

He said that after the meeting the home of a policeman was stoned and shots were fired from the house which was later set alight. The policeman's body was found the next day and it appeared he had been stoned to death.

FIRST UNREST

On July 25 a meeting at UWC was addressed by Dr Boesak and others and on July 26 unrest flared up near UWC — the first unrest in the Western Cape.

Unrest between then and mid-October caused 60 deaths and damage of R2,76-million. Major Nel said 1 950 incidents of violence had been reported, involving petrol-bombs, hand-grenades, stoning, robbery, arson, intimidation and bomb threats.

On August 22 Dr Boesak spoke at a meeting in the Samaj Centre, Athlone, organised by Nusas, Cosas and Azaso, Major Nel said.



Dr Allan Boesak

The main topics discussed were the consumer boycott and the Freedom Charter. In the hall posters bearing the words "Beware P W Botha, Oliver Tambo is coming," were displayed.

"BE READY"

Dr Boesak told students they "must be ready for something that is coming — it will be well known," said Major Venter.

That morning no unrest was reported in the area but after the meeting ended at 1pm 11 incidents took place within a 4km radius of the Samaj Centre, including the looting of a delivery van, looting and burning of a bread van and stoning.

Major Nel said he thought Dr Boesak was prepared to break the law because Dr Boesak had told him he found many of the country's laws "abhorrent" (afstootlik) and "unacceptable".

He said it was necessary for Dr Boesak to report daily to the Bellville police station to make sure he would stand trial and to enable police to see that he fulfilled his bail conditions.

(Turn to Page 3, col 5)

AR 6615 25/10/85 (11A)

Boesak: Bail conditions 'like house arrest'

(Cont. from Page 1)

He said if Dr Boesak travelled overseas it would be impossible to ascertain if he was keeping to his bail conditions.

After the first hearing on September 20 where bail conditions were set, Dr Boesak told Major Nel he would have to break his bail conditions in order to perform his duties.

Under cross-examination by Mr H Viljoen, SC, Major Nel said Dr Boesak told him the bail conditions were as strict as house arrest.

Mr Viljoen said the context in which Dr Boesak said this was that if a member of his church needed him urgently at

night he would not necessarily obtain permission to leave his home.

Mr Viljoen said Major Nel advised Dr Boesak not to break his bail conditions but rather to apply for an amendment. Major Nel confirmed this.

"SKIP BAIL."

"It is one thing for Dr Boesak to say he cannot keep the bail conditions but it is another thing for him to skip bail," Mr Viljoen said.

Mr Viljoen asked Major Nel if it was true that the "vast majority of non-whites in South Africa find many of the country's laws abhorrent".

"Yes, it may be so," answered Major Nel.

"Then a member of that community who finds the laws abhorrent is not necessarily a dishonest man," said Mr Viljoen.

Major Nel agreed.

Mr Viljoen asked if it was logical that because Dr Boesak did not agree with many of the laws and had said he would find it difficult to do his duties without breaking his bail conditions he would not stand trial.

Major Nel's answer was that he thought that if Dr Boesak's "duties called him, he would not mind not being at court".

(Proceeding)

PROFILE

Oppenheimer favours contact with ANC

11A
B. Day
25/10/85

ANGLO AMERICAN former chairman Harry Oppenheimer says he would like to talk to the ANC.

The 76-year-old doyen of industry also backs the release of Nelson Mandela.



● OPPENHEIMER

Oppenheimer, in an interview in a leading US and international business magazine, *Fortune*, says: "I think the (SA) government is very ill-advised not to release him."

In a wide-ranging question-and-answer feature, he says he is against foreign disinvestment, but is adamant that SA will survive sanctions.

"All the change for the good that has come about in South Africa has really been due to the growing economy. Growth depends on having the foreign investment in South Africa go on."

Fortune describes Oppenheimer as a lifelong foe of apartheid, a "system he calls immoral and impractical".

Asked if disinvestment could be headed off by releasing ANC leader Mandela, Oppenheimer says: "I think the release of Mandela certainly has a very great symbolic importance. Of course, I think their (the SA government's) position on the ANC is an understandable one, so long as the ANC says that their only way of handling the situation now is by increased violence. But the ANC might be willing to think again about the use of violence if the government thinks again about its attitude, first of all to Mandela but also about the rate of change."

Oppenheimer says: "Government ought to talk to the ANC. In fact, it's the only hope."

Oppenheimer reveals in the interview that he met Mandela before he was jailed more than 21 years ago.

"I met Mandela twice. He came to see me once in my office. He was an impres-

BILL CAIN

sive fellow, a tall, powerful-looking man with a strong voice, a good speaker. But that's a long time ago. I haven't met with ANC people, but I would like to."

Oppenheimer warns the US business community, as well as international commerce, that disinvestment will cause only more misery and bloodshed.

"It is going to result in even greater unemployment, a major factor in the disturbances that are taking place. The rhetoric behind the disinvestment campaign adds to the disposition of unemployed people to go for violence. It also forces government to take steps to insulate the South African economy from the rest of the world.

"South Africa will certainly end up suffering a great deal but, if it is forced to cut itself off financially and economically, it lessens the ability of foreigners to influence what is going on."

Fortune, in an in-depth survey of US companies operating in SA, asked Oppenheimer if SA could survive disinvestment.

"Of course; what is more, I am sure change will come. There is a major consensus among business people in South Africa that influx control and the pass laws associated with it must go. But change by violence and change by peaceful negotiation are not the same.

"When you make changes in Africa by violence, you get one-party states. There are many people who don't only want to get rid of racial discrimination, they also want to get rid of the private enterprise system," Oppenheimer says.

He cuts short any suggestion that Anglo American is moving money out of South Africa.

"No, that is not so. We are very willing to diversify outside the country, but only if we see good business."

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1.001	The disclosure of accounting policies	(July 1974)
1.002	Taxation in the financial statements of companies	(July 1975)
1.003	Extraordinary Items and prior year adjustments	(September 1976)
1.004	Earnings per share	(September 1976)
1.005	Disclosure of leases in the financial statements of lessees	(April 1982)
1.006	Depreciation Accounting	(July 1982)

THE nettle- some problems in the townships, which seem to grow by compound interest to our lethargy or even inability to address them, look impossible to solve.

And yet every nerve in our bodies tells us something has to be done; desperately, urgently.

Fortunately, we have the advantage of precedent before us, and history does tend to repeat itself. We have to look back to events of 1976 onwards, which generally follow the same pattern, albeit now, at perhaps greater speed and depth, as events of this day.

When the Committee of Ten was started in Soweto in 1977, with considerable fanfare, later turning to jeers, the townships faced a practical crisis. It needed only two to three men to put the idea on the agenda, and wonderful solutions seemed to be within grasp.

It is with the wisdom of hindsight that we can spot some of the tactical mistakes that led to the dissolution, in some disarray of the Ten.

Dr Nthato Motlana and his helpers in the Committee of Ten were angry and perhaps in a hurry to take the vacuum of leadership in the urban areas by the scruff of its neck and shake it to life.

The urban Bantu Council had been disgraced, discredited. There was need, they thought for people of credibility, with an actual blue-print, to sort out the mess.

If mistakes had not disrupted the process,

We need to create a climate for debate

IIA
FOCUS
25/10/85
SOWETAN

By AGGREY KLAASTE

we could now perhaps have had a solid group of urban adults, directing and controlling events in the townships. For, whatever, its detractors had to say about the Ten, the idea was picked up in other communities as far as Port Elizabeth.

Dr Motlana and his men decided they would not be puppets like the previous local bodies. They would negotiate directly with the Government. The timing was unfortunate, the political climate scarcely conducive to such dramatic innovation.

People like the then Prime Minister, Mr J B Vorster and his aggressive Minister of Justice,

Mr Jimmy Kruger, were not cast in the same mould as the P W Bothas, the Pik Bothas of today. They believed in the grand design for apartheid, the homelands, and not even an act of God could shake them from pursuing it.

Today's Government admits apartheid has failed.

Planning

This is why parent organisations like the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee have to move with speed and with careful planning. While the climate for change has improved, the instability has grown national and is pretty grave.

Mr Vorster and Mr Kruger in desperation, or for show, locked up the whole Committee of

Ten.

There was in the meantime a group of excellent teachers, who had respect from students, who were in close contact with the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). Their demise, as well as the banning of the SSRC, was also a damaging blow for unity and direction in urban black townships.

The Teachers Committee was harrassed and finally threw in the towel. Many of them, some of the best teachers we have had, sought jobs elsewhere.

If we cast our minds back we will perhaps remember how the SSRC took up the ugly situation of lawlessness and anarchy that always happens in times of crisis.

They cleaned up the townships in less than a week.

Today we have similar movements springing forth. We have the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco). I believe there are other student

organisations and even youths in our churches, who are trying to sort out the situation now, which is after all their future.

So the business of the Crisis Committee needs to be to co-ordinate these movements. They do not have to work as one. They need to form a dynamic urban movement, for there are things that only the students and pupils can do. Parents spend half their lives in town, at work.

The road ahead will be rocky. There are political ideologues who welcome the chaos, as they believe making the townships, and hopefully the country ungovernable, will lead to its destruction.

The major flaw in this equation is that the country is not exactly getting ungovernable. Instead there is massive anger and disillusionment — even at political organisations in the townships.

Mothers and fathers do not understand what type of struggle this is, that is eating at the core of black family life. They desperately want unity, a coming together. They need direction.

The students themselves need a structure to direct and control their struggle, and if it comes to that, even their anger. Nobody is fool enough to believe the revolution can be stopped in its tracks.

A revolution is, however, not a gigantic vehicle going out of control. History tells us that even at the height of the Russian and French revolutions, there were minds directing, there was a focus of ideas, things were, if haphazardly articulated, so they could understand their sacrifices; their deaths.

Lebowa police killed UDF man — claim

Case Times 25/7/83

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG. — A Northern Transvaal man yesterday told how his friend, a leading United Democratic Front activist, died after they had been assaulted by Lebowa police.

Mr Ngwoako Ramalepe, 26, who was also president of the Students Representative Council and Azaso at the Modjadji Training College, died in hospital on Friday last week.

An autopsy was conducted on the body on Wednesday and results are expected in his lawyer's office today.

Colonel P Moloto, chief of the Lebowa Police, yesterday confirmed the death and said the matter was be-

ing investigated.

Mr Robert Makokga, 24, a student of the Modjadji Training College in Duiwelskloof, told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday he and Mr Ramalepe were held by police at Kgapane on Thursday last week after a meeting in protest against the hanging of ANC activist Mr Benjamin Moloise.

Police at the local police station had assaulted them, he said.

Mr Makokga had then been thrown into a police van from where "I could see them busy assaulting Ngwoako and I could hear his screams".

Minutes after the screams died down, his friend was also thrown into the van by police,

his white-T shirt "red and soaked with blood".

"We were driven to a dark bush where Ngwoako was dumped and left for dead while I managed to escape," he said.

Mr Makokga said the police were under the impression that he too had died.

The UDF yesterday condemned the death of Mr Ramalepe and said in a statement that his death, that of another UDF activist in the Transkei, Mr Bathandwa Ndondo, "and numerous other cold-blooded murders of anti-apartheid activists whilst in the hands of the security police must act as a pointer to the remoteness of peaceful change in South Africa".

COMPANY WP (PTY) LTD.

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Times and Mr Craig Mathew (WJN).
The first journalist arrested yesterday was

Cape Times 25/10/85

Botha alleges 'ANC trap'

From COLIN HOWELL

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha last night attacked recent initiatives by the Progressive Federal Party and prominent businessmen to meet the ANC for talks.

Addressing about 1 000 people at a by-election meeting in Springs, Mr Botha said the ANC would "smile, shake hands and drink South African wines, while secretly plotting to destroy those sitting before them".

"I am still being criticized for preventing well-meaning young people from being led into this trap," he said, referring to the seven Stellen-

bosch students who were barred from visiting Lusaka.

He said the PFP delegation, led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the group of prominent South African businessmen had made "divergent reports on what allegedly emanated from the discussions". Initially the ANC had not offered much reaction.

Mr Botha then quoted the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, as having said that the role of the businessmen was a "weak" one and one which, "if it serves its purpose of weakening the ability of the regime to resist — if it helps to destroy the system — then we welcome it".

COPY Tmfs 25/10/85



UDF man shot 'in self-defence'

BEAUFORT WEST. — The police constable who shot dead UDF Karoo executive member, Mr Mandlekosi William Kragshi, said yesterday he had done so in self-defence.

Constable Pieter Andries de Villiers, 23, told the inquest: "I am very sorry it happened, it's the first time I have killed someone. I did it in self-defence and to stop him."

Mr Kragshi, 25, was shot dead on January 22 this year.

Three days earlier a police patrol van, driven by Constable De Villiers, was stoned by six men who Constable De Villiers alleges were

From TONY WEAVER

led by Mr Kragshi.

The hearing was delayed at 3pm for over 30 minutes when the magistrate, Mr C P Kloete, left court after receiving a note.

Security and uniformed police searched more than 60 people in the court and cleared out officials saying they were "searching for bombs".

Under cross-examination by Mr Michael Donen, Constable De Villiers denied that he had shot Mr Kragshi because he was in a rage.

He said he had first encountered Mr Kragshi on January 19 when Mr

Kragshi walked towards his police van, raised his fist, shouted "Amandla" then slammed his fist on the roof of the van.

Constable De Villiers then tried to arrest Mr Kragshi on charges of malicious damage to State property but Mr Kragshi struggled, swore at him, and then five other men pulled Constable De Villiers away.

He said the men then began stoning him.

His lip was gashed and his back bruised while about R250 damage was caused to his vehicle.

On January 22 he and three other policeman went to Mr Kragshi's house to arrest him.

'Agitator'

"I wanted to arrest him very badly because in my eyes he had committed serious crimes. I knew that during previous unrest he had been one of the agitators. We expected problems from him because of the way he acted that day and because he was an agitator."

While arresting Mr Kragshi, he was attacked with a table fork. He grabbed Mr Kragshi's hand and pushed him against a wall with his shoulder.

"He bit me twice on my shoulder, the skin was broken and he tried to stab me with the fork again."

One of his colleagues hit Mr Kragshi on the head with a baton and the two men broke apart. He then backed off, cocked his revolver and as he reached the door he looked up to see Mr Kragshi lunging for him with the fork, Constable De Villiers said.

'Effective'

"I had told him that if he stabbed me I would shoot him. My firearm was aimed at his chest the whole time. I am not going to stand aiming at his feet if I have warned him I am going to shoot. The most comfortable, or let me say, the most effective, is to aim at his chest.

"As he came forward I shot him in the chest. I shot him because I believed my life was in danger because of the aggressive attitude he had adopted."

The inquest continues today.

Mr Donen is instructed by Mr Ebrahim Mohamed of Essa Moosa and Associates, Cape Town. Mr J Vorster instructed by Gird and Derksen, of Beaufort West, appeared for Constable De Villiers. Mr C F Niewoudt led the evidence for the State.

AKGUS 25/10/83

White pupil body meets UDF and ECC campaigners

Staff Reporter

WHITE school pupils of the newly formed Pupil Awareness and Action Group have met representatives of the United Democratic Front and the End Conscription Campaign.

The pupils heard Mr Andrew Boraine of the UDF and Crossroads doctor and conscientious objector Dr Ivar Toms of the ECC outline the aims and ideas of their organisations at a meeting at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Boraine told the group that because the UDF was a political organisation without political power, it had to use alternative methods of struggle.

ALTERNATIVES

Their aim was mass mobilisation in a defence campaign using the international community, mass meetings, suckers, posters and negotiation.

Dr Toms, who recently completed a 21-day fast for a "just peace", told the group about alternatives to national service and about the ECC.

He said conscription began in schools with cadet programmes and pointed out that the pupils might one day have to go into townships and shoot their friends.

Arkas 25/10/81
**P W above
law with ~~114~~
ANC quotes**

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha is above the law when it comes to quoting banned people, Government law advisers confirmed today.

Mr Botha quoted the leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, at a meeting last night.

Mr Tambo may ordinarily not be quoted unless specific permission is granted by the Minister of Law and Order.

Government sources were today hazy about the legal position of newspapers which quoted the President quoting Mr Tambo.

In this case, the position of newspapers was a matter for their own legal advisers, according to the Office of the State President.

FM 25/10/85

chancellor is circulating on campus.

The eight students, meanwhile, are lying low and still hoping Botha will change his mind. At a press conference at US after the withdrawal of their passports, the group leader, Hennie Bester, said: "Despite all that has happened, we kindly request the government, for the sake of SA, to let the meeting go ahead." Alternatively, Bester asked government to give safe passage to the ANC representatives to travel to SA for talks.

The row at US and the latest move by Smith indicate growing acceptance in white ranks of the need to talk to the ANC if there is to be any hope of resolving the country's crises.

In the case of some of the US students, it indicates even more — an awareness in Afrikaner Nationalist ranks of the need to talk to the ANC. Botha, however, remains adamant: no talks until the ANC renounces all violence.

The row at US was, no doubt, belatedly satisfying for Corinne Oosthuizen, a former editor of the student newspaper, *Die Matie*. In March last year she was temporarily suspended from her post by rector De Vries for suggesting in an editorial that an active politician such as P W Botha, might not be the best man for the post of chancellor. She was later re-instated after publishing an apology, but her editorial at the time was amazingly prophetic. It read:

"It is a pity that the new chancellor of Stellenbosch University is such a politically-linked figure. The chancellorship is a prestigious position and the person who fills it carries with him a certain image which reflects on the university. No university must distance itself from politics, but, unfortunately, no political figure is neutral.

"To have the head of a political party (no matter which one) as chancellor also binds the university's image to a party-political line. Stellenbosch is well known for its wide spectrum of attitudes. The most important qualification of the new chancellor is unfortunately his party-political ties. A more academic person would be able to promote the image and idea of Stellenbosch University as being 'open to all viewpoints' — something which Stellenbosch needs."

ANC CONTACT

(11A) (circled)

Now the dominees

The row over contact with the African National Congress (ANC) mounted this week when an NG Kerk missionary, Nico Smith, said he and six other churchmen intended to have talks with the ANC in Lusaka. He declined to name his companions, but indicated they were all ministers of Afrikaans churches in the NGK-family.

A spokesman from the State President's office called the planned discussions "naive" and warned that it would embarrass government and amount to a defiance of the State's authority.

The latest disclosure is expected to put further pressure on President P W Botha, who last week ordered the confiscation of the passports of eight University of Stellenbosch (US) students because they announced plans to meet ANC youth leaders in Lusaka. Botha is facing unprecedented opposition over his action.

Rapport said at the weekend that all Nationalist daily newspapers were unanimous in their criticism of the withdrawal.

Only the SABC has slavishly toed the party line.

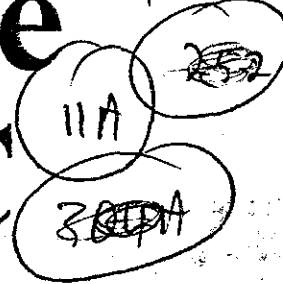
At US there are demands that Botha should quit as chancellor. At Botha's request, there will be a special meeting of the university council on Saturday to discuss the issue. On campus there are persistent reports that the hand of the authorities may have been forced by the threat of withdrawal of financial support by companies which disapprove of contact with the ANC.

The rector, Mike de Vries, who strongly condemned the initial announcement of the planned talks, has publicly criticised the withdrawal of the passports. Botha has been sent a petition signed by 160 members of the US teaching staff condemning the withdrawal. Another petition calling on him to quit as

A question of 'morality, not law'

Only State can quote the ANC

STAR 26/10/85



by
David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Legal experts have confirmed that the State President is "above the law" when it comes to quoting banned persons, but they have questioned the morality of his doing so.

President Botha quoted the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Oliver Tambo, extensively this week to support his view that the organisation was committed to violence and that it would serve no purpose to talk to the outlawed organisation.

Newspapers and others must, by law, get permission from the Minister of Law and Order before quoting a banned person.

Government legal advisers said yesterday that the State was not subject to the provisions of the Internal Security Act with regard to restrictions on the quoting of banned people, and did not have to apply for permission.

Top legal experts and academics agree, but say that this is not a satisfactory state of affairs.

Professor Johan van der Vyfer, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said it seemed that the argument that

the State President did not require permission to quote Mr Tambo appeared to have some merit.

"But at the same time it is unfortunate that the State President should indulge in activities which are denied to members of the public," he said.

"It is morally deplorable that Mr Botha should do something that others can't," he added.

Professor John Dugard, also of the University of the Witwatersrand, agreed with the view that the State President could quote a banned person, but said it was not a satisfactory state of affairs that a banned person could be quoted on a selective basis.

Blanket ban

The Star's lawyers confirm this view, saying that had the Internal Security Act provided for a blanket ban on quoting a banned person, the President would not have been able to quote Mr Tambo.

However, the fact that there was provision for the Minister of Law and Order to grant permission to enable such quotation, and that the State President was the supreme authority in the country, meant that Mr Botha did not have to comply with the law.

(Report by D. Braun, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

(11A) ~~11A~~

2 Cape Times, Saturday, October 26, 1981

Slabbert's plea on ANC

Political Staff

THE restrictions on the quoting of ANC statements should be lifted so that the real position could be discovered, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

"I find it astonishing and grossly unfair that this government does not allow the ANC spokesmen to be quoted whilst the State President uses by-election platforms to quote them, and with impunity," Dr Slabbert said in a statement.

"Is he above the law? Is he the only one free to tell us what he thinks of what others say?"

"Let him lift this ridiculous ban and let us find out exactly what the real position is," Dr Slabbert said.

He also said he took the strongest exception to the SABC not conveying this point when it had interviewed him on his reaction to the president's speech.

"I wish to remind them that I am not yet a banned person and they are free to quote me in full and not for any tendentious purposes," Dr Slabbert said.

Boesak bail conditions relaxed

Supreme Court Reporter
 THE bail conditions imposed on Dr Allan Boesak were relaxed slightly yesterday pending a final decision by a Malmesbury magistrate on an application by Dr Boesak for the scrapping of all but two of the conditions.

The magistrate, Mr W A de Klerk, said he would give judgment on November 4.

Dr Boesak has asked for two conditions only: That he agree not to interfere with State witnesses, and that he does not commit the alleged offences for which he is to stand trial under the Internal Security Act.

A deputy Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr H Klem, SC, agreed at the hearing yesterday to a relaxation allowing Dr Boesak to:

- Report to the Bellville Police Station twice a week instead of daily.

- Visit the Peninsula Technikon and the Bellville Training College in addition to the University of the Western Cape, which was previously the only educational institution he could enter.

A restriction on his leaving home between 9pm and 6am was also removed.

Earlier, Major Frederick Nel, a Pretoria security policeman who is the investigating officer in the case of subversion facing Dr Boesak, said he could not contest a submission that Dr Boesak was out of the country on June 25, the day he allegedly addressed a meeting at UWC.

Major Nel had said in evidence that the unrest in the Western Cape had started "in earnest" on July 26, the day after he claimed Dr Boesak had addressed the meeting.

After the submission by Mr H. P. Viljoen, SC, for Dr Boesak, Major Nel said his information had

come from others. He could not contest that Dr Boesak had not been at the meeting.

Major Nel had said Dr Boesak encouraged Graaff-Reinet youths not to attend school on June 5, "according to my source". Mr Viljoen said those youths had already been boycotting classes for a year.

'Obnoxious'

Mr Viljoen asked Major Nel whether he doubted Dr Boesak's undertaking that he would obey his bail conditions. The major replied that Dr Boesak's opinion of some of this country's laws was clear.

Mr Viljoen submitted that the overwhelming majority of people who were not white in this country would also find many of this country's laws obnoxious.

"That may be so," Major Nel replied.

He agreed with Mr Viljoen that a member of the non-white community could find many of the laws offensive without being a dishonourable person.

Mr Viljoen was assisted by Mr Seraj Desai and instructed by E Moosa and Associates. Mr Klem was assisted by Mr P J A van der Merwe.

Statue beheaded

PAARE.— The statue in Wellington of the Rev Andrew Murray, a clergyman from Scotland who became a personality in the NGK ministry in the nineteenth century, has had its head chopped off.

The head was found lying on the ground. The latest vandalism came three months after a previous act of vandalism on July 15 when the entire statue was painted blue.

To repair the present damage will cost R2 000. — Sapa

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Cape Times
26/10/85

INSIDE

CAPE TOWN 26/10/85
119/32
Councillor shoots at crowd

Municipal Reporter

THE chairman of the Mbekweni Community Council, Mr Benjamin Nobula, fired two revolver shots at a crowd of people who were throwing stones at his house on Wednesday night.

According to the chairman of the Mbekweni Residents Association (MRA), Mr George Bongo, a youth was shot in the arm.

The shooting occurred when an angry crowd of

people marched to Mr Nobula's house after a report-back meeting called by the MRA after "unsatisfactory and disappointing" talks between the MRA and the Chief Commissioner, Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, to discuss the squatter problem in the area, Mr Bongo said.

Mr Nobula confirmed yesterday that he had fired two shots but said he was not aware he had hit anyone.

Invest more in SA, chief tells West

LONDON — The surest way of ending apartheid was for the West to invest more in South Africa, not less, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a meeting in London on Thursday.

He told top international executives of Nestlé that economic progress would lead to negotiated peace while disinvestment opened the way to more violence, deaths and Marxist revolution.

Black South Africans valued immensely the building up of world pressure to destroy apartheid. But the last thing they wanted in their "11th hour" was inept Western diplomacy and ill-conceived punitive measures.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, whose earlier speech to the South Africa Club received a standing ovation from an audience of nearly 500, said economic progress would strengthen black bargaining power.

The world had no longer to be told that institutionalised apartheid was a "hideous form of racial injustice".

It needed to know, however, that the vast majority of black South Africans wanted the kind of moral, diplomatic

and material aid that would strengthen the forces of reconciliation.

In spite of the pro-violence ANC mission-in-exile's efforts to escalate support for violent revolution (after which it intended to establish military rule) by distorting facts, his black compatriots overwhelmingly favoured the politics of peaceful negotiation.

"It is sheer madness," he said, "to think that disinvestment and the economic isolation of South Africa will favour the circumstances in which an open, free and democratic society can emerge."

He pointed out that, according to Wits University research, the ANC's worldwide membership was 11 000, of which only 2 000 were in South Africa.

By contrast Inkatha, the biggest black political movement in the country's history, had over one million paid-up members.

Inkatha was a mass movement dominated by peasants and workers, and what he said as its democratically elected leader reflected the black people's rejection of violent solutions. — Sapa.

26/10/85

STAR

11A

Tambo on ANC violence in SA 11A

LONDON — The leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, told an international news conference yesterday what the ANC proposed to do about violence in South Africa, Reuter reports from London.

In terms of the law his significant statement, affecting human life in South Africa, may not be published without permission from the Minister of Law and Order. (Permission is usually

denied but, in any case, *The Star's* normal policy is not to apply because of the danger of manipulation of the news by authority.) 26/10/85

Mr Tambo spoke not only about violence but also made an equivocal and mainly negative statement on the ANC's attitude to negotiations with Pretoria.

At the same news conference he launched bitter attacks on British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Pres-

ident Reagan. The British Government has refused to speak to Mr Tambo until the ANC renounces violence. But he has been invited to address a parliamentary foreign affairs committee next week.

 Report restricted

In terms of the Internal Security Act, Mr Tambo may not be quoted. Therefore, this news report has had to be heavily censored. STAR

Boesak waits

Bail conditions a 'restriction order'

Weekend Argus Reporter

JUDGMENT was reserved in Dr Allan Boesak's application for the relaxation of bail conditions after legal argument was concluded in the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court yesterday.

After concessions by the State some of the 10 conditions were relaxed pending a decision on November 4.

Dr Boesak will now have to report to the Bellville police twice a week instead of daily and will be allowed out of his house between 9pm and 6am.

Still in force

The eight other conditions are still in force.

Dr Boesak has asked that only two conditions be applied to enable him to fulfil his role as minister and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

They are that:

- He does not interfere with State witnesses.
- He does not act in any of the ways attributed to him in the four Internal Security Act charges he is facing.

Summing up his case Mr H Viljoen, SC, for Dr Boesak, said there was "not a jot" of evidence to suggest that Dr Boesak would avoid his trial.

"The community would see it as a stab in the back if he left them to continue the struggle alone," he said.

Dr Boesak's bail conditions read like a "restriction order" issued by the Minister in terms of Section 19 of the Internal Security Act.

"The courts cannot be used as a vehicle for ministerial action, which is clearly the intention here."

In reply to argument by Mr H Klem, SC, he said there was "no question of the State being threatened by this man's freedom. The opposite is the case".

"Exception"

Mr Klem, a Deputy Attorney-General of the Cape, said he had seen fit to relax certain of the conditions.

However, as the present charges were "related to the security of the State, it would have been cogent to argue that bail be refused".

He said that Dr Boesak should be treated as an "exception" to the rule.

W/S ARGUS 26/10/85
NGK men
ask for
passports

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

FORMER Stellenbosch theologian Dr Nico Smith is going ahead with his plan to lead a delegation of clergymen to Lusaka for talks with the African National Congress (ANC) and the group has already applied for travel documents.

He confirmed that he and other members of the group from the Ned Geref Kerk and its sister churches were undaunted by President P W Botha's warning that they should abandon the trip.

Speaking from Pretoria yesterday, Dr Smith said: "Unless obstacles are put in our way — such as a withdrawal of passports by the Government — we are going ahead."

As soon as all the travel documents were in order, a date would be arranged for the proposed talks.

Dr Smith, a former professor of theology and missionary science at the University of Stellenbosch, emphasised that he and members of the group had no wish to clash with President Botha about the proposed talks.

Peaceful solution

They regarded the role of the church as vitally important in seeking a peaceful solution to South Africa's present crisis. That was why they intended going ahead in spite of the Government's disapproval and warnings.

Dr Smith also emphasised that it was not the intention to negotiate with the ANC but merely to discuss matters.

His argument was that the church did have contact with the South African Government and was able to discuss the situation with Government authorities. It was, therefore, essential for the church also to talk to people on the other side of the conflict so that the church's influence could be brought to bear on both parties with a view to a possible reconciliation.

Xundu won't return to Lamontville

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

DETAINED Natal UDF chairman Rev Mcebisi Xundu has left his Lamontville parish, and has been appointed Port Elizabeth hospital chaplain.

Natal Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall told City Press Rev Xundu had asked to be transferred before he was detained by Transkei security cops two weeks ago.

The church has arranged the transfer to Port Elizabeth, where he'll start work on November 1.

This announcement is expected to bring relief to the Inkatha leadership and the pro-Inkatha Ningizimu Community Council which for years have called for his removal from Natal.

The council recently made an urgent request to Bishop Nuttall to remove Rev Xundu, a rector at Lamontville's St Simons of Cyrene and also Joint Rent Action Committee vice chairman.

They accused Rev Xundu of using church buildings as a "nest" to plan violence. They even threatened to cancel the church lease agreement.

Rev Xundu and other UDF leaders were released from detention in Pretoria three weeks ago, and he was detained by Transkei security police at his Engcobo home.

His wife Thandiwe told City Press that Rev Xundu was taken to hospital at the weekend on a doctor's recommendation and was treated for "anxiety". She said the police had warned her not to identify the hospital.

Mrs Xundu said when she saw him last Friday he had complained about conditions in jail.

Bishop Nuttall said Mr Xundu's redetention was a terrible blow to the church, and they were pressing hard for his release.



XUNDU
Gone

11A C. Press
27/10/85

We won't end the struggle, says ANC

CP Correspondent

THE AFRICAN National Congress is committed to armed struggle and has given no undertaking of a six-month ceasefire to Commonwealth leaders.

The ANC has rejected as false a report that it sent a message to Commonwealth leaders saying it was willing to suspend the armed struggle for six months if the Government agreed to enter a political dialogue with representative black leaders.

The ANC said a statement by its representatives at the Commonwealth summit had been taken out of context.

"We would not be surprised if this was done deliberately, to cause confusion among our people inside the country," a top ANC source at the movement's headquarters in Lusaka said yesterday.

The source said: "We are on the receiving end of violence. Botha is not renouncing violence. We are the victims of violence, so how can we renounce violence?"

"As far as the ANC is concerned, the armed struggle is going to continue, like all other forms of struggle in which our people are involved."

The ANC's position on talks remains unchanged. The ANC has demanded that before talks begin jailed ANC leaders and other political prisoners would have to be freed, exiled ANC leaders and members would have to be allowed to return home, the State would have to cease violence against the black population, and the Government would have to be prepared to dismantle apartheid and establish a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

"Our strategy remains the transfer of power to the people. We are not going to surrender to anybody, or surrender our right to defend ourselves," the top ANC source said.

★ Meanwhile, SAPA reports that ANC president Oliver Tambo will be questioned by British parliamentarians in London next Tuesday on sanctions demands against South Africa and why he believes violence is necessary.

The ANC leader has been invited to give evidence to the House of Commons All-Party Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Reform 'without violence'

Mercury Reporter

THE coloured Labour Party of South Africa has achieved more reform than any liberal institution in the country since 1910 without throwing a single stone, petrol bomb or taking any lives, Mr Jewelynn Landers, the Deputy Minister of Popu-

lation and Development, said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing the party's Natal congress, he criticised organisations like the Black Sash and Nusas whom he described as underlings of the United Democratic Front for their silence on activities of the organisation.

'While the UDF divides and attempts to break down the very fabric of our society, we in the Labour Party are striving to build a better society through effective negotiation,' he said.

He added that his party realised that the UDF was as much a problem to

them as apartheid which the party was trying to break down.

Mr Landers said it was often said that in order to be part of the struggle one would have to identify with the community of the people.

'But who identified with a Cape Town man

when a grenade was thrown into his house blowing a hole the size of a football in his body?' he asked.

He said hundreds of people were being murdered in South Africa by their own brothers because they disagreed politically.

'The thunderous silence of the Black Sash and Nusas can only be interpreted as condonation,' he said.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and leader of the party, ruled out any hope of a merger or co-operation with the Progressive Federal Party or a conven-

tion to map out South Africa's political future.

He said reform in South Africa could only be achieved through negotiation with the people in power.

'We tried a national convention in 1980 and it failed, therefore it will be pointless in having another one,' he said.

Mr Hendrickse appealed to religious leaders to reassess their positions in connection with the escalating violence in the country.

He warned that churches or mosques should not be used as a means of assisting a marxist takeover of South Africa.

He said that coloured schools were being used by organisations as a base for violence and it was for this reason they had been closed in the Cape.

Mr Hendrickse told congress that the party was looking at a unitary system of education and several other matters affecting coloureds.

Labour Party call for private job-relief cash

Mercury Reporter

THE Natal region of the Labour Party of South Africa called on the private sector to supplement the Government's R600-million relief fund for the unemployed yesterday.

It also resolved that December 1 be declared a

paid public holiday to commemorate the emancipation of slaves on December 1, 1934.

Regarding the call on the private sector, Mr Albie Stowman, Natal leader of the party, said the R4 a day paid to unemployed people to clear

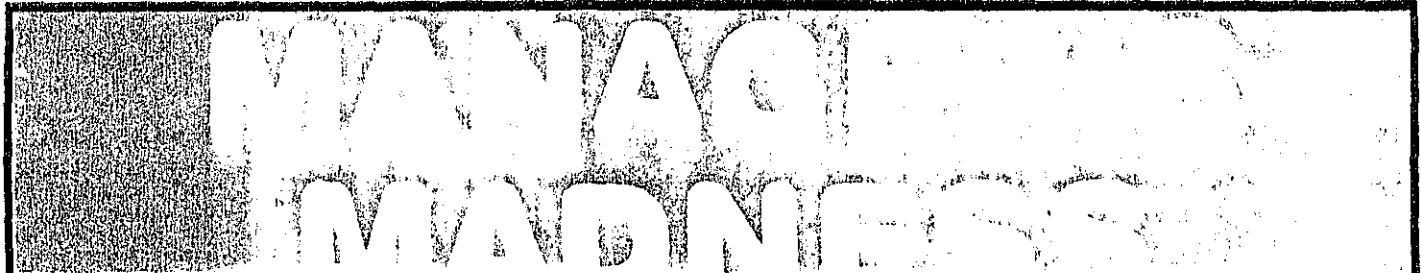
verges and cut down bushes was not enough.

He urged the private sector to add to the funds so a better wage could be paid or more unemployed people could be employed.

The congress also urged the Government to

encourage the private sector to form a national pension fund for retired employees and to prepare for a fusion of the several education departments into a unitary, integrated system of education for all.

(Reports by D Moodley, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



No experience is required as we supply all

B. Day 28/10/25

Buthelezi says ANC armed struggle is futile without Zulu support

(11A) ~~(11A)~~ ~~(11A)~~
CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday said it was sheer stupidity for ANC Mission Exile leader Oliver Tambo to think his organisation could possibly win an armed struggle without the might of the Zulu people behind it.

He told a big King Shaka commemoration meeting in Obaka, Zululand, it was tragic that the Mission in Exile was not allowed to propagate its views openly because, if it were, the Zulu people would reject its policies of violence.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha

president quoted extensively from ANC broadcasts as evidence of the organisation's aim of making South Africa ungovernable by encouraging blacks to kill, burn and maim their own people

He said, "When so called leaders attempt to make black people fall on one another like a pack of rabid dogs, to bite and tear each other apart, then all sanity demands that we, the ordinary people, say 'enough is enough -- no more'."

He asked where Tambo was when one so-

called homeland after another fell into the apartheid trap and began accepting the ridiculous kind of quasi-independence Pretoria was offering.

He said that when Pretoria had tried to do the same thing on Zulus he had stopped the government in its tracks.

Tambo had not learnt the lessons of history, he said.

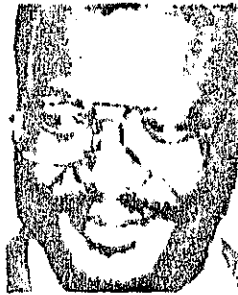
After 25 years there was not one base in a neighbouring state from which the exiled organisation's military wing could spring

attacks against apartheid, nor was there one "liberated zone" in South Africa from which it could do this.

Buthelezi said his people would struggle to make brothers of their enemies and to make whites fellow citizens.

"I strive for equality between black and white which will give every one of your children, and their children after them, the right to be who they are and to walk, work and live where they will."

The country needed the strength and harmony of unity, said Buthelezi. — Sapa.



● MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Ministers may press ahead with trip to talk to ANC

Pretoria Bureau ~~Steps~~ **STAR** steps to prevent the discussions.

The seven Ministers planning to hold talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka may still decide to go ahead with their mission in spite of Government threats to stop them, the group's leader, Dr Nico Smith, said today.

Dr Smith said the Ministers had a "real conviction that we must do something to contribute to reconciliation" and would consider pressing on with plans to visit Lusaka.

Last night, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, threatened to bar the group from going to the Zambian capital for talks, saying such negotiations would be "self-destructive".

Mr Botha said the Government reiterated its aversion to such activities and would, where possible, take "appropriate

The Ministers have found themselves walking a minefield of criticism during the past week as a result of their plans.

They have been only too aware that the Government could decide at any minute to withdraw their passports, as was the case recently with eight Matie students who were headed for Lusaka for talks with the ANC's youth wing.

The first rumblings of Government censure came last week when the State President's Office said the clerics' visit would amount to defiance of the State.

Dr Smith said he would be meeting shortly with other members of the group to decide whether to go ahead with the trip.

He was "deeply disappointed" at the Government's attitude.

ANC chief leads sanctions row

Thatcher faces a rising storm

28/10/85

STAR
11A
202

The Star Bureau

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has flown home from her defence of South Africa at the Commonwealth conference to face a storm of protest over sanctions — led by African National Congress (ANC) leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mrs Thatcher refuses to speak to Mr Tambo, who is in London for a week and is being feted like a visiting head of state.

He is to appear before the all-party House of Commons foreign affairs committee tomorrow and Conservative MPs will hear what he has to say.

Mr Tambo, with Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock, will be the keynote speaker on Wednesday at a conference of international maritime unions, jointly sponsored by the United Nations, which plans to refine strategies to disrupt South Africa's oil supplies.

On Thursday he will tour Sheffield which has been at the forefront of the local authority campaign against apartheid.

His visit will culminate in what organisers hope will be a massive anti-apartheid rally in Trafalgar Square on Saturday. He will share the platform with the Rev Jesse Jackson.

He has already criticised Mrs Thatcher ferociously over her stand at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in the Bahamas.

Support is growing for Labour's demand that she apply mandatory sanctions but right-wing Tory backbenchers are furious at what they see as her first step on the sanctions road — her agreement to the Commonwealth package.

Unless some dramatic signal from President Botha breaks the tension, the question can only become more vexed.

BID TO QUELL THUGS!

11A

SOWETAN
28/10/85

A SOWETO Youth Congress meeting decided yesterday to embark on a programme to rehabilitate thugs who have been molesting residents in the name of "the struggle".

The meeting called by Soyco's Jabavu branch, resolved no violence be used against culprits because "our struggle is a clean one".

Thugs, it was heard, had been harassing residents, claiming to represent student organisations.

Irresponsible youths and criminal elements had taken ad-

vantage of unrest by raping women and robbing residents, claimed speakers.

They added it would be futile to form impsis and use violence to solve the problem because Soyco was non-violent.

It was decided Soyco should form sub-committees in every township in Soweto. These would approach the "political thugs" and re-educate them. It was pointed out that fighting back would only please the system which had created them.

A Soyco speaker said some of the thugs they had apprehended, had told them that they were engaged in crime for money. He said Soyco had since found out that an official was allegedly behind the action of some youths.

Mr Vusi Khanyile, a member of the Soweto Parents' Crisis

Committee (SPCC), said in every struggle there are bound to be people or individuals who lose direction.

He added: "We should not eliminate our opponents, but rather embark on strategies to make sure our struggle is not diverted and confused."

• Mr Isaac Mogase, another SPCC member, said they had asked education officials in Pretoria for postponement of the examinations because they wanted to avoid confrontation between those who wanted to write and those who did not.

He was cheered when he said that no-one was going to tell them that those who did not write were not going to be accepted at school next year. "As parents and taxpayers, we have the right to decide for our children," he said.



PART OF the crowd which attended the meeting called by the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) to discuss the harassment of residents by thugs.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

ANC 'can't win without Zulus'

1117
Mercury
28/10/85

OBUKA—The ANC could not hope to win an armed struggle without the Zulus, and they would never join the banned organisation while it insisted on violence to bring about change, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

It was 'sheer stupidity' for the ANC president Oliver Tambo to think his organisation could possibly win an armed struggle without the might of the Zulu people behind it.

The chief told a King Shaka commemoration meeting it was tragic the ANC was not allowed to propagate its views openly because, if it were, Zulus would reject its politics of violence.

The Zulus were the only blacks whom the Government had had to force into its homelands system.

Where was Oliver Tambo, when, beginning with Transkei, one homeland after another 'fell into the apartheid trap' and began accepting 'the ridiculous kind of quasi-independence' Pretoria was offering? asked Chief Buthelezi.

He pointed out that when it had tried to do the same to the Zulus he had stopped the Government in its tracks, thus ensuring they remained South Africans.

'I did not flee to leave you at the mercy of Pretoria and now I am being sworn at for doing this thing for you.

'Because I have re-

mained here to struggle with you, the ANC mission in exile is calling me a stooge, a sell-out and a puppet of Pretoria.'

Mr Tambo had not learned the lessons of history.

'He continues in the sheer stupidity of thinking that the ANC could possibly win an armed struggle without the might of the Zulu people behind them.'

Chief Buthelezi said his people would struggle to make brothers of their enemies and to make whites fellow citizens.

'I strive for equality between black and white, which will give every one of your children, and their children after them, the right to be who they are and to walk, work and live where they will.'

Freedom

Inkatha's struggle was for a future race-free South Africa in which blacks and whites could live in freedom with each

other. The country needed the great strength and harmony which could come from the complete unity of these groups.

The ANC, and the UDF in part, had abandoned the noble ideals of the black struggle. Like the old ANC, Inkatha was an organisation formed and led by blacks and cherishing the same ideals.

'King Shaka taught us how to be black. He taught us how to struggle together and, in this part of his domain, we have a great deal of work ahead of us.

'Those who try to enter into our midst to stir up black' internecine strife must be sought out, and the hornets nest from which they operate must be eradicated. — (Sapa)

Reform 'without violence'

Mercury Reporter

THE coloured Labour Party of South Africa has achieved more reform than any liberal institution in the country since 1910 without throwing a single stone, petrol bomb or taking any lives, Mr I. Jewellynn Landers, the Deputy Minister of Popu-

lation and Development, said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing the party's Natal congress, he criticised organisations like the Black Sash and Nusas whom he described as underlings of the United Democratic Front for their silence on activities of the organisation.

While the UDF divides and attempts to break down the very fabric of our society, we in the Labour Party are striving to build a better society through effective negotiation,' he said.

He added that his party realised that the UDF was as much a problem to

them as apartheid which the party was trying to break down.

Mr Landers said it was often said that in order to be part of the struggle one would have to identify with the community or the people.

'But who identified with a Cape Town man

when a grenade was thrown into his house blowing a hole the size of a football in his body?' he asked.

He said hundreds of people were being murdered in South Africa by their own brothers because they disagreed politically.

'The thunderous silence of the Black Sash and Nusas can only be interpreted as condonation,' he said.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and leader of the party, ruled out any hope of a merger or co-operation with the Progressive Federal Party or a conven-

tion to map out South Africa's political future.

He said reform in South Africa could only be achieved through negotiation with the people in power.

'We tried a national convention in 1980 and it failed, therefore it will be pointless in having another one,' he said.

Mr Hendrickse appealed to religious leaders to reassess their positions in connection with the escalating violence in the country.

He warned that churches or mosques should not be used as a means of assisting a marxist takeover of South Africa.

He said that coloured schools were being used by organisations as a base for violence and it was for this reason they had been closed in the Cape.

Mr Hendrickse told congress that the party was looking at a unitary system of education and several other matters affecting coloureds.

Labour Party call for private job-relief cash

Mercury Reporter

THE Natal region of the Labour Party of South Africa called on the private sector to supplement the Government's R600-million relief fund for the unemployed yesterday.

It also resolved that December 1 be declared a

paid public holiday to commemorate the emancipation of slaves on December 1, 1934.

Regarding the call on the private sector, Mr Albie Stowman, Natal leader of the party, said the R4 a day paid to unemployed people to clear

verges and cut down bushes was not enough.

He urged the private sector to add to the funds so a better wage could be paid or more unemployed people could be employed.

The congress also urged the Government to

encourage the private sector to form a national pension fund for retired employees and to prepare for a fusion of the several education departments into a unitary, integrated system of education for all.

(Reports by D Moodley, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



No experience is required as we supply all the...

MP lays charge against UDF leader after fracas

Mercury Reporter
POLICE have opened a docket and are investigating charges of *crimen injuria* following a complaint against the Umhlatuzana UDF branch chairman, Mr Sundra Reddy, by the National Peoples' Party MP for Bayside, Durban, Mr Muthusamy George Thaver.

Mr Thaver said he laid charges against Mr Reddy after he and his wife, Pushpavati, were allegedly insulted by Mr Reddy

at a meeting of the Umhlatuzana Civic Association which started at 10 a m yesterday.

Mr Thaver also alleged Mr Reddy threatened to assault him.

'He was calling us all sorts of terrible names but I did not want to get involved in the fracas,' said Mr Thaver.

'These UDF youngsters are trying to politicise the association, and Mr Reddy is trying to drive a wedge into the body and use it for his own pur-

poses.' *28/10/85*
Mr Thaver said Mr Reddy started provoking him and tried to call him out the meeting to assault him.

'The behaviour of this chap (Mr Reddy) was terrible and we had to call the police to remove him,' he said.

Mr Thaver said he intended proceeding with a civil action for defamation after the criminal case was dealt with.

Mr Reddy could not be reached for comment.

Woman jailed for pass law to be released

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Marion Crawford, the Orchard's woman who was jailed for her principles last week, is to be released tomorrow.

Five days after she left court for the women's prison in Mondor after refusing to pay a fine for failing to register her domestic worker, 45-year-old Mrs Crawford will be reunited with her family.

"In our 20-odd years of marriage this is the longest we have ever been apart," said her husband Euan.

"I am so proud of the stand she has taken."

In going to prison Mrs Crawford stuck to the resolution she made 16 years ago. "If I am ever arrested for an apartheid offence I will go to jail. I will not pay a single fine."

Last week she chose to serve a 10-day jail term rather than pay a R100 fine for failing to register 32-year-old Mrs Pauline Makanye, who offered to pay her employer's fine.

The term served was reduced due to a complicated system of automatic remission, said Mr Crawford.

"It is easy enough to pronounce one's principles, but being prepared to go to jail is something else — that is where the test of character comes in," she said.

Govt to prevent contact with ANC

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Anyone planning to hold meetings with the African National Congress in future will be prevented from leaving the country, according to a senior Government source.

The Government is determined not to allow the NGK delegation's planned talks with the ANC to go ahead and could take away their passports by the end of the week unless the meeting is cancelled.

The same would apply to Progressive Federal Party leader Dr F van Zyl Stubbart if he announced any future meeting with the ANC.

VERGING ON TREASON

However, in spite of Government warnings that meetings with the ANC were seen as verging on treasonous, it was unlikely that any criminal action would be taken against people who attempted to see the ANC.

Earlier the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who this month prevented a Stellenbosch student delegation from visiting Lusaka by taking away their passports, issued a statement saying that where possible the Government would prevent any such discussions taking place.

Dialogue with the African National Congress in the present circumstances was self-destructive, he said, and the Government's view was "that no South African citizen should negotiate with an enemy of the Republic of South Africa."

Mr Botha said the ANC was a banned organisation which had repeatedly rejected evolutionary reform.

"According to the media, a number of clergyman also intend visiting the ANC for the purpose of discussion. The Government reiterates its aversion to any such action and shall, where possible, take appropriate steps to prevent the discussions," Mr Botha said.

Black teachers back 'no exams' decision

CAPE TIMES 28/10/85

Education Reporter THE Peninsula African Teachers' Association (Penata), representing teachers in the Peninsula's black townships, has thrown its weight fully behind the resolve of black matric pupils not

to write final examinations. After a series of meetings, the teachers came to this decision because they felt their pupils had not been able to prepare for the exams. Penata emphasized to

the government the importance of replying to the demands and grievances of pupils if the writing of exams was to be relevant.

However, it said in a statement at the weekend that the organization itself wanted also to be able to specify what kind of education their pupils needed and to marshal other organizations and resources "to assure academic excellence for our students and community".

The association said it should be remembered that they were "part and parcel" of the black community.

The teachers said they were compelled by their consciences to work and suffer with the community they served.

Hendrickse warns pupils

CAPE TIMES 28/10/85

DURBAN. — The Labour Party leader, the Rev. Allan Hendrickse, yesterday warned coloured pupils of the consequences of refusing to sit for year-end examinations.

Addressing his party's Natal provincial congress here yesterday, he said his council of ministers backed the decision of Education Minister Mr Carter Ebrahim for exams to go on as scheduled.

Pupils who had been given study grants and skipped examinations would have to repay the amounts.

"Those who write their examinations and fail can be assured of a second chance in the supplementary examinations, but those who refuse to sit for exams will not be allowed to return to school." — Sapa

Govt threat on NGK passports

CAPE TIMES 28/10/85

Own Correspondent DURBAN. — The government will withdraw the passports of the eight Ned Geref Kerk ministers who are planning talks with the ANC in Lusaka "if possible", the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said last night.

He also said the government would consider reinstating the travel facilities of the Stellenbosch students who were denied passports because they wished to see the ANC Youth League, but only if they wanted to travel abroad for "any other reason".

From Mr Botha's statement last night it would appear the government would withdraw the

passports of the clergymen immediately if it knew who they were.

So far the only name mentioned is that of the leader, Dr Nico Smith, an NGK minister.

Mr Botha re-emphasized the government's continuing opposition to private discussions with "an enemy of South Africa".

Mr Hennie Bester, leader of the group of Stellenbosch students said last night: "It is especially the youth who are victims of violence and dialogue is the only non-violent way that will lead to an abatement of violence. Even if the ANC has been singled out as as perpetrators of violence, aren't they then the right people to talk to?"

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

At the height of the crisis in 1976 the Black Parents Association (BPA) was born and it was banned the following year.

Almost 10 years later the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) emerges in almost identical circumstances, with the country in turmoil.

The SPCC, like the BPA, which surfaced during a crisis, comes because fathers and mothers have decided to take the bull by the horns and stop hiding behind their children's skirts.

The parents and the whole community did not envisage the blow that felled the BPA along with 18 other black organisations.

Parents, trying to solve a genuine problem, were regarded as saboteurs and thrown into jail.

Stability

The SPCC comes when the whole community is at the fringes of helplessness, when the country is in a state of emergency.

The SPCC, like the BPA, has a simple objective; to restore family life in the townships.

The SPCC has 11 members, parents mandated by residents to help bring back peace and stability.

The committee has a mammoth task ahead.

There are armed soldiers in the townships, examination time is here and the future of the hundreds of matric pupils hangs in the balance, crime is rife and there is the state of emergency. Mayhem.

Problems

Mr Vusi Khanyile, secretary of the SPCC, analyses the complexities of the task and

Now parents try to bring back peace

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29/10/85



Mr R L PETENI... asset to SPCC.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

makes suggestions.

The task of the SPCC is three-dimensional, observes Mr Khanyile.

• Parental involvement in the pupils' problems is almost nil.

"The pupils see their parents as unsympathetic to their plight.

"The children are getting impatient because the adults seem reluctant to take up their grievances and this has strained relations between parents and children."

• There are no leadership structures through which pupils could address their problems at schools and liaise with parents.

Accept

"If such structures existed, parents could hear the pupils and the pupils themselves could start respecting leaders from their own ranks," Mr Khanyile says.

• There is also a communication breakdown between pupils and teachers at the schools.

Mr Khanyile says teachers need to regain credibility among their

charges.

"The pupils no longer have faith in their teachers because they regard them as being aloof.

"The teachers also seem not to be involved except when they teach in class.

"The problem is aggravated by the state of emergency, which has resulted in the disruption of schools. Teachers do not seem bothered and just accept the situation.

Mr Khanyile believes teachers should be more intimately involved with pupils' problems and they could begin by encouraging leadership among pupils.

"The role of the SPCC, therefore, is to co-ordinate and encourage communication between parents, teachers, pupils and the communi-

ty," says Mr Khanyile.

He says better communication through distinct structures would create a strong community — and mutual respect among members.

He also says the SPCC was boosted by the involvement in its ranks of two top Soweto educationists, Mr H H Dlamlenze and Mr R L Peteni.

The two men are executive members of the African Teachers Association of South Africa, which represents teachers countrywide.

Mr Khanyile sees the involvement of the two men in the SPCC as a breakthrough because of their leadership of teachers.

"Their participation will surely encourage more teacher involvement," he says.

UDF backs decision not to write exams

Cape Times 29/10/85 11A

Staff Reporters

THE ban on meetings of 100 anti-apartheid organizations in terms of emergency regulations will force the United Democratic Front to "adopt other methods of organizing our campaign".

The organizer of the interim executive, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, said from hiding last night that "the UDF gives its full support to the students who have decided not to write their final exams".

"Unban meetings, release detainees, lift the state of emergency and extend the academic year, then will we be creating conditions for a proper decision on the possibilities of exams."

The UDF condemned the ban on pupils being on the streets during school hours, saying the police should move off the streets: "It is the police who made our streets battlefields, it is the police who are killing our children."

● The South African Council on Sport (Sacos)

condemned the declaration of the state of emergency and the "gestapo-like" detention of its vice president, Mr Y Ebrahim, and others.

The Sacos president, Mr Frank van der Horst, also condemned the "arbitrary banning" of its meetings and those of other organizations.

● The president of the Muslim Judicial Council, Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, said the ban on meetings of five Islamic organizations and other groups was "a blatant provocation of our people and an infringement of their rights".

"Islam is not a religion in the conventional sense — it is a system and ideology of life. Hence to prohibit our meetings is an infringement of our basic human rights and freedom of worship."

● The End Conscription Campaign said it viewed the meetings ban with the "utmost contempt".

"The State, by withdrawing the right of

people to meet and air their views will never stop people from holding those views and acting on them.

"It is totalitarian actions like these, reinforced by the might of the SAP and the SADF, that has led to so much agony and bloodshed."

● The vice-chairman of the Civil Rights League, Mr Brian Bishop, said "the declaration of a state of emergency gives the police no power they have not already been using, but seeks to give them immunity from answerability".

● A spokesperson for the UDF-affiliated Women's Movement for Peace said last night "in banning meetings in black, so-called 'coloured' and Indian areas, President P W Botha has once again managed to blind himself to the glaringly obvious fact that it is his policies which are causing the disturbances, not the organizations which are working towards a just society".

The Buthelezi, Tambo confrontation

ITS OFFER

11A

Soweto

29/10/85

BY THAMI MAZWAI

THE anticipated eyeball to eyeball confrontation between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Oliver Tambo is off. The two were today to appear before a select committee of the British Parliament in London.

While Tambo was last night still to appear before the Foreign Affairs select committee, Chief Buthelezi has instead sent a memorandum — and according to official sources has not requested a hearing.

Meanwhile Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, was last night due to address a committee of the United Nations in New York. He was to appear with another South African, Mr Johnson Mlambo, recently elected chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress.

While the Mlambo and Tutu addresses to the UN are important in their own right, a Buthelezi-Tambo confrontation would have been the highlight of the year.

Tambo is leader of the African National Congress and Buthelezi leader of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu. They both claim leadership of black South Africa. Buthelezi has persistently argued that his stature as the legitimate leader for black South Africa is unassailable, but other commentators have put Tambo far ahead of Buthelezi in the leadership stakes.

Meeting

A meeting between the two in the House of Commons, whether separately or at the same time, would have given the international community two sides of the current debate in South Africa on violence and sanctions.

Tambo's ANC, with the PAC, have successfully sustained the international campaign against South Africa that has put the country in its present crisis, in addition to other domestic matters that are equally effective. The ANC and PAC have also condemned participation in Government created structures while they are involved in an armed struggle against the country.

Tutu: 6 months for SA

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu has told the United Nations General Assembly he has altered his timetable and is giving the South African Government six months to begin dismantling apartheid.

If South Africa does not heed his call, he says the international community should "impose punitive sanctions" against Pretoria.

Bishop Tutu spoke in the assembly hall yesterday at the invitation of the General Assembly's special political committee.

He urged pressure to be applied against South Africa until it ended the state of emergency, dismantled apartheid, released all political prisoners and detainees and began talks with the authentic representatives of each sector of South African society.

29/10/85 - FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS STAR
If these steps were not taken, then financial institutions should curb credit and bank loans to South Africa.

Bishop Tutu brushed aside the recent reforms announced by the South African Government in his assembly speech.

"Apartheid must be dismantled. You don't reform it. You don't reform a Frankenstein.

Later Bishop Tutu accused America, Britain and West Germany of being the "greatest stumbling blocks" to the resolution of the crisis in South Africa.

Bishop Tutu is in the United States to raise money for a fund for refugees who have left South Africa for political reasons.

7/29/81

'Leave me alone' begs ex-councillor

Staff Reporter

A FORMER community councillor has appealed to the people who burnt down his home, destroyed his possessions and continually harassed him to leave him alone.

"I've done what they wanted. I resigned from the council. Now they must leave me alone so I can live my life in peace," said Mr Tyson Kobus, the former councillor for Ward 3 in Langa.

"I have lost possessions worth R40 000. Even now I cannot go into Langa. I am living in other people's clothes. I am living day by day, sleeping at night in my car," said Mr Kobus, a



Mr Tyson Kobus

driver for a hardware firm.

"I am living a dog's life."

Mr Kobus, 50, said his home was attacked three weeks ago and as a result he had resigned from the Cape Town Community Council

Kwazulu Assembly member killed

Argus Correspondent
Ad (62) 29/10/85 (117) 20

DURBAN. — A member of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly was gunned down and killed by a gang as he and his son fled their blazing house in Kwamashu early today.

Mr Francis Dlamini, 37, and his son Mr S Dlamini, were alone at their home in J section at about 1.30am when they were awakened by shots fired at the windows of the house.

The house was set alight when petrol bombs were thrown in.

According to police, Mr Dlamini and his son were shot at as they fled from the home.

Mr Dlamini was hit several times before he collapsed and died on the road. His son escaped with a bullet wound in his shoulder.

A spokesman for the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly said Mr Dlamini was a member for Kwamashu and joined the Assembly in 1983. He was also a member of the central committee of Inkatha.

Other 2, Finance 16-19, Letters 20, Racing 22, Sport 23-24, TV p

SA 'would suffer under black govt'

Argus 29/10/85 11R
Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC would change the colour of government in South Africa but would not end repression, says Mr Denis de la Cruz, Opposition member of the House of Representatives.

Mr de la Cruz, on a month-long private visit to Britain and Europe, says coloured youths supporting the ANC and the UDF are "not fully aware" of what they are doing.

"The ANC is not interested in democracy. They are not concerned at the amount of violence. In the rest of Africa liberation has brought dictatorship and one-party states.

"Coloured people, Asians and whites have all suffered under black governments.

"I've never been a sell-out or a stooge but I don't think the ANC would bring freedom in South Africa."

He said the Government would have to make "radical" changes to prove their bona fides. But, he said: "The removal of all discrimination will not satisfy the ANC or black radicals. They demand the sharing of power.

"Apartheid began before Union. All South African whites are guilty of it because they have benefited from it. We need a period of living together in an integrated society, to break down the polarisation.

"The only way out is a federal solution. I believe blacks have to be given a qualified franchise," Mr de la Cruz said.

Convention and UDF have same aims really

29/10/85 STAR 11A

In an article in *The Star* on October 22 ("UDF will come to the conference table only if..."), Mr Murphy Morobe makes a number of points with which the Steering Committee of the not-yet-launched Convention Alliance is in total agreement.

1. "The UDF believes that any negotiation must be the product of a democratic process which involves the masses." When the Convention Alliance talks of a meeting of the "leaders" of the people it is with the firm resolve that they shall be democratically elected and acknowledged by their constituencies as their true representatives. On-going consultations with their constituencies is in no way precluded.

2. "A climate favourable to mass participation needs to be created." In its Draft Manifesto, which is open to amendment, the Steering Committee states its intention to "persuade the Government as matters of extreme urgency, inter alia, to repeal all discriminatory legislation, to unban banned organisations, and to set free unconditionally all political prisoners presently detained because of their political beliefs."

These are only its first and most basic preconditions. The urgent need to establish due democratic process including freedom of association and speech and the demolition of apartheid is fully acknowledged.

3. "The release of Nelson Mandela," and all political prisoners is viewed by the Steering Committee in the context of their playing "their full role in the development of a mass-based democratic participation". There is no question of an "undemocratic and elitist view".

4. The Steering Committee believes with Mr Morobe that "it is meaningless to push for a national convention while the basic preconditions have not been met". It is for this reason that one of its first priorities is to treat as a matter of urgency the application of pressure on the Government to dismantle apartheid.

The strength of this pressure will be directly proportional to the degree of public support enjoyed by



JOYCE HARRIS, national vice-president of the Black Sash, who is a member of the Steering Committee of the Convention Alliance, spells out exactly what the convention hopes to achieve in getting all parties to the conference table. Partly her article is in answer to a rebuttal by the United Democratic Front last week of the Convention Alliance and most of its aims and objectives. The article was written by the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe. Mrs Harris seeks to prove that the aims of the two organisations are, in fact, almost identical.

the Convention Alliance, and this in turn depends upon the willingness of such people as Mr Morobe to throw their weight behind it.

5. Mr Morobe says, "The front believes that political negotiations must be directed toward achieving a non-racial democratic South Africa and a unitary state." The

"To be effective a national convention must be representative of all sections of the community on an equal footing — and that includes the government of the day ..."

Convention Alliance calls for the "thrashing out of an agreed constitution", which by its very nature would create a "non-racial South Africa". The draft manifesto has purposely been left unspecific, because the Steering Committee believes that it is not the business of the Convention Alliance to pre-empt a National Convention. It is at the

Convention table itself that differences will be thrashed out and specifics will be designed to meet the needs of all the people, and spelt out.

The rejection of words and concepts such as "power sharing" is understood for their possible apartheid connotations, but care should be taken lest perfectly good words and concepts such as "negotiation" or "power sharing" become unacceptable because of the semantic games played over the years. Sharing power and negotiation are the essence of democracy.

There seems to have been a failure to communicate what the Convention Alliance is and what its objectives are. It is NOT a national convention. It does NOT seek power nor does it propose to compete with any existing organisation. It appreciates the urgent need to create a climate where negotiation is possible before a national convention can be called. To be effective a national convention must be representative of all sections of the community on an equal footing, and this includes the government of the day.

The Convention Alliance is a vehicle through which all people and organisations, irrespective of their affiliations and ideologies, who want a negotiated solution to our problems can express their determination to do so.

It presently envisages a step-by-step progression through enlisting support to prevail upon the Government to dismantle apartheid and repeal all repressive legislation; to the creation of a climate favourable to a national convention; to an examination of the manifold problems inherent in the holding of a national convention; to the eventual calling of that convention by the government of the day, which is the only body with the power to do so. The Government would be represented at the convention on the same basis as every other constituency.

At that stage the Convention Alliance would have fulfilled its purpose and would cease to exist.

The Steering Committee has no real differences with Mr Morobe and trusts that this article has cleared up some misconceptions.

Five alleged PAC men on terrorism charges

By Mike Tissong

Five alleged members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) appeared in the Potchefstroom Regional Court yesterday on charges of receiving training in warfare tactics abroad and planning to overthrow the South African Government by violent means.

The five pleaded not guilty to four main charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts and four alternative counts.

One of the accused, Mr Jar Tshoba, pleaded not guilty to additional charges of possessing a firearm and ammunition.

The five men are: Mr Tshoba (26) of Serope Street, Atteridgeville, Pretoria; Mr Mlandeli Morris Khetve (30), of Mdantsane, Eastern Cape; Mr Elby July (26), of Maputa Street, Vergenoeg, Kimberley; Mr Michael Masana Gquamana (23), of Fergusson Road, New Brighton; and Mr Bonise Nkabinde (23), of Jabulani, Soweto.

CONFESSION

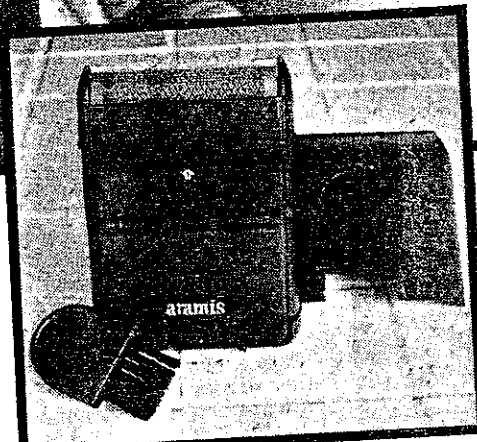
After the men had pleaded, the prosecutor, Mr V Bassermann, handed in a confession allegedly made by Mr Khetve to a Klerksdorp magistrate, Mr Cristo Bezuidenhout, on February 1.

The defence advocate, Mr R Felvan, opposed the confession's admission as evidence, leading the way for a trial within a trial.

According to the charge sheet, the men were PAC members who recruited people for training in warfare and sabotage. They also allegedly supplied weapons and equipment to people.



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Refusal on Tambo debate

Staff Reporter

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has refused the Cape Times permission to publish extracts from a face-to-face debate between African National Congress president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and South Africa's ambassador to London, Dr Dennis Worral.

The debate was televised on BBC television at the weekend.

A telex received from Colonel Leon Mellet of the Ministry of Law and Order in Pretoria yesterday reads: "The Minister of Law and Order has refused permission for you to quote Mr Oliver Tambo as requested."

However, the 7pm news on SABC Television last night quoted a number of ANC spokesmen, included Mr Johnny Makathini who is banned, in its lead item.

Newsreader Michael de Morgan prefaced the news item, which was presented by Cliff Saunders, by saying "the SABC has obtained the necessary permission to quote the ANC".

CAPL ~~Times~~ ~~Sunday~~
Labour
'blackmail'
attitude
slammed

30/1/88

Education Reporter

THE Labour Party statement that college students boycotting examinations would not be readmitted and would have to repay their State grants was nothing less than educational blackmail, said the president of the New Unity Movement, Mr R O Dudley.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse said at the LP congress in Durban at the weekend that in addition to being refused admission next year the students would also have to repay their grants of R2 500.

Mr Dudley, a respected educationist and former deputy principal of Livingstone High School, warned this week that students would be led to "even angrier opposition to the policies being pursued in the House of Representatives nowadays".

Mr Hendrickse's "extremely insensitive" comments took no account of the extraordinary stresses to which the students had been subjected, he said.

"And then to use the question of their loans as educational blackmail to write exams under conditions which are very difficult indeed certainly does not throw a good light on the kind of attitude that people are displaying in high places these days. I find it quite contemptible."

He was "not optimistic at all" about solutions in the educational system.

If there was a practical way of breaking the deadlock, he would "hammer away at it very resolutely".

Mr Dudley said: "Events of the past few days have shown emphatically that there is no solution within the framework of apartheid."

Holland 'lending to S A strife'

Mercury Correspondent

ULUNDI—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused the Dutch Government yesterday of participation in South African blacks' strife-torn situation by directly and indirectly funding organisations bent on violence and destruction.

In a face-to-face meeting here with the Netherlands Ambassador to South Africa, Mr H C Carsten, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president charged Holland with practising double standards.

He also accused Holland of being insensitive to suffering black South Africa by rejecting anti-violence Inkatha, the country's largest black political organisation.

He demanded to know how the Dutch Government reconciled its stated rejection of violent solutions with its assistance to an ANC mission-in-exile which was calling on blacks to murder fellow blacks. Chief Buthelezi told the

ambassador he had learned that his Government's policy of assisting black opposition to apartheid could not be applied to Inkatha because Holland saw it as part of the homelands system.

He said any serious analysis of what Inkatha was doing would show it was bent on the eradication of apartheid and was totally determined to make the South African Government's Homeland policy unworkable.

'How dare the Dutch Government tell Inkatha's more than 1 000 000 members that they are part of the system of oppression and that they are incapable of playing a meaningful role in the liberation of this country?'

This attitude, Mr Ambassador, is insulting towards ordinary black South Africans.

He said it was not only Inkatha members who were insulted. Besides them, the organisation had many more supporters and sympathisers.

Mercury
30/10/85

lay, October 30, 1985

Chief calls for 'massive support' from business

30/10/85
117 Mercury

Finance Editor

BIG business should take the Buthelezi commission recommendations much more seriously and give developments now taking place in Natal their total support.

This was the thrust of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech to businessmen attending the Federated Chamber of Industry's banquet in Durban last night.

'I say to businessmen that we cannot wait for the National Party Government to come to its senses and to escape from the internal conflict which is so limiting our State President's ability to get on with meaningful reform,' said the KwaZulu Chief Minister.

'We need desperately to do what can be done now while it can be done. We must cease looking over our shoulders for nods from Government and nowhere is it more imperative that we do so than here in the region of Natal-KwaZulu.'

It was, he said, patently clear to all that apartheid

could not work in this region.

He called on business to tell the Government 'bluntly' that its proposals to scrap provincial councils and replace them with regional service councils 'spells disaster for what can be achieved in negotiation in this region'.

'Business must start playing a role in Natal which they have not yet played. They must give the forces of reconciliation in South Africa the kind of massive support which is needed.'

'It is in the national interest that business now really does support moves we are making in this part of Africa to normalise practice at first and second tier levels of government and to normalise relationships between business and authority.'

Sanctions

Chief Buthelezi said these were matters of life and death about which 'we should concern ourselves at this crucial time in history'.

He warned business that it had to regard the question of sanctions very seriously and for it to 'redouble efforts to ensure that progress is made in this country'.

But the debt rescheduling question was 'more of a threat in my view than sanctions'.

Chief Buthelezi said he recently met South Africa's choice of debt mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, in Berne.

He said the debt issue highlighted the extent to which 'we in South Africa are caught in a north/south economic axis'.

The sanctions so far imposed and the time limits should be giving South Africa and its whites, as well as the international community, the right signals without damaging the economic base vital for future growth of the economy.

While he espoused the politics of one-man one vote in a unitary state where free enterprise would flourish, he was enough of a pragmatist to realise that deep-seated white minority fears would make the introduction of this system 'extremely difficult to say the least'.

He was prepared to look at alternatives 'provided that whatever we look at is acceptable to the Western civilised world'.

B. D. ...
Mxenge children flee

30/10/88
THREE children of murdered civil rights leaders Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge — Mbasu, 19, Viwe, 13, and 10-year-old Namhla — have left their Umhlati home for the Ciskei. Their house was attacked with petrol bombs two weeks ago.

11A

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lines at
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CAP- Times 30/10/85
111 (20) 31

Former commander of ANC camp jailed

JOHANNESBURG. — Former ANC military camp commander Sipho Binda under whom saboteurs were trained for activities against South Africa, was yesterday jailed for five years.

He was convicted by Mr D Pieterse in the Johannesburg Regional Court of participating in terrorist activities between 1977 and 1982, and between 1982 and 1984.

Passing sentence the magistrate noted that according to documents before the court, Binda had discontinued his ANC involvement during 1984 and had joined the South African Congress

of Trade Unions.

However, it had to be taken into account that he had been in charge of a military camp and that the aim of the ANC was to overthrow the present regime through violent means.

He said Binda showed no remorse.

While defence counsel, Mr T Beckerling, argued that there were people who favoured constructive discussion with the banned organization, the court had to take into account the escalation of violence and the disregard the ANC had for human life, the magistrate said. — Sapa

CAPC Times 30/10/85 (1110) 205

KwaZulu Assembly man shot by gang

DURBAN. — A member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was killed by a shotgun gang as he and his son fled their blazing house in KwaMashu early yesterday.

Mr Francis Dlamini, 37, and his son, Mr S Dlamini, were woken in their home in J section about 1.30am by gun shots breaking the windows. The house was set alight by petrol bombs thrown inside.

Police said the two were shot at as they fled from the burning home. Mr Dlamini died after being hit several times. His son escaped with a bullet wound in the shoulder. Police are investigating.

A spokesman for the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly said Mr Dlamini, who was a member for KwaMashu, joined the Assembly in 1983. He was also a member of the central committee of Inkatha.

● Three children of assassinated civil rights leaders Mr Griffiths Mxenge and his wife Victoria have left their Umlazi home for the Ciskei after a petrol bomb attack on their house two weeks ago and continued harassment, a relative has said.

Mr Mxenge was killed in 1981 and Mrs Mxenge was gunned down outside their home in July this year.

The children's grandfather, Mr Johnson Pinti Mxenge, has died in Cecilia Makiwane Hospital at 81.

— Sapa

11A ~~226~~

Cape Times, Wednesday,

30/10/85

Treason trial wedding

JOHANNESBURG. — What is believed to be the first marriage ceremony ever to take place in the Rand Supreme Court building in Johannesburg was performed yesterday.

A man on trial for treason wed a woman who has refused to give evidence for the State.

Mr Justice Ngidi, the accused, married Miss Marilia Nhlabatsi during the lunch adjournment.

The ceremony was performed by a Methodist minister, the Rev Paul Verryn, in an office loaned by the Registrar. The defence team supplied a large bouquet of yellow chrysanthemums.

The couple had a traditional marriage in Swaziland in December 1983.

Miss Nhlabatsi was called as a witness at a treason trial being heard by Mr Justice L H W Ackermann in which Mr Ngidi is an accused.

She has refused to testify on the grounds that the ANC would kill her if she did. An inquiry into whether or not this constitutes a just excuse will be heard later.

Under South African law, spouses are not usually compelled to testify against each other.

Yesterday's ceremony was attended by friends of the couple, the defence team, members of the press and two security policemen who later escorted the bridegroom back to court.

The couple have a 15-month-old daughter, Happiness.

During the prayer after the ceremony, Mr Verryn asked God to bless the marriage and said love was not bound by walls.

As the policemen took Mr Ngidi back upstairs, they congratulated him on being a married man. — Sapa

Inkatha, PFP step down for UDF

Cape Times
30/10/85

11A

By TONY WEAVER

THE two major political organizations involved in the controversial Convention Alliance, the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha, have withdrawn from the steering committee.

The leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, announced this last night during a "state of the nation" address in the Claremont Civic Hall that was so packed people were turned away.

There were more than 2 000 people inside the hall and Dr Slabbert was given a standing ovation. Outside hundreds gathered.

In Johannesburg, the chairman of the National Convention Movement, Mr Jules Browde, said yesterday the alliance was doomed to failure without the support of both the United Democratic Front and the ANC.

Plea for unity

He said the withdrawal of the two parties was in part an attempt to encourage the UDF to join the alliance.

Last night, Dr Slabbert made a strong plea for unity among the various groups ranged against apartheid.

"After more than three decades of this objectionable system, most of its opposition movements remain committed to their own strategy, defining each other into irrelevance.

"In the process, the apartheid government has laughed all the way to the political bank.

"Until we are prepared to accept each other's bona fides in wanting to get rid of apartheid and to work for a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa, and until we are prepared to tolerate a wide range of strategies to pursue these objectives, we will remain in our respective corners, posturing, declaiming and issuing threats and promises that cannot be fulfilled or sustained."

It had to be made clear that "no one group, organization, movement or party, whether responsible for apartheid or against it, is going to determine on its own what a non-racial, democratic South Africa is going to look like."

He attacked the "ideological imperialism" of certain anti-apartheid groups, saying there were some members of the UDF who were "no different from Mr PW Botha".

"They also insist on choosing who they want to negotiate with and on

their own terms."

If violence continued in South Africa, there would be no winners, only permanent losers. "Violence from or against the State cannot resolve our conflict."

"But let us not forget where it all started. Apartheid is the root cause of the crises in which we find ourselves. It cannot survive without force and oppression. Apartheid needs banings, detention without trial, censorship, states of emergency."

Negotiation was out of the question as long as people had no freedom. "Who is there to negotiate with if the government denies people this freedom? What is there to negotiate about if freedom of choice is not the basis of such negotiation?"

Referring to the Convention Alliance, Dr Slabbert said attempts to involve as wide a spectrum of parties as possible had failed.

"Either Inkatha or the PFP or both have been used to object to participation. Motives or hidden agendas have been conjured up as excuses and it was felt that a too-high-profile PFP or Inkatha presence was an obstacle to the concept getting off the ground."

As a result the two groups had withdrawn from the steering committee to give the alliance a chance of progressing.

Near the end of the meeting, Dr Slabbert drew thunderous applause when he said: "We are being governed at the moment by a bunch of incompetent mediocres."

Confusion among public

● Mike Cadman reports from Johannesburg that Mr Browde said yesterday that PFP members Mr Colin Eglin and Dr Alex Boraine, and Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo had voluntarily withdrawn from the steering committee because their membership had caused confusion among the public.

Mr Browde said the Inkatha and PFP members did not want the NCM to be seen as an Inkatha/PFP alliance.

He said it was hoped their withdrawal would encourage the UDF to support the initiative.

CAPE TIMES 30/10/85
**Thatcher
criticizes
Tambo** 11A
statement

From JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, yesterday strongly condemned recent statements by the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, advocating an escalation of armed struggle in South Africa.

Speaking in the House of Commons during a special debate on the Commonwealth summit, Mrs Thatcher said that the importance of the Commonwealth accord reached in Nassau last week lay in its "rejection of violence as a way to solve the problems of South Africa".

"This was a very great advance and a very significant achievement."

Mrs Thatcher indicated that she was not prepared to meet Mr Tambo while he continued to advocate violence.

"Violence is never acceptable as an instrument of change."

She challenged the Labour leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, as to whether he supported recent statements by Mr Tambo, particularly one made on a Sunday televi-

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To page 2



CAPE TIMES
30/10/85
From page 1



From page 1

11A

sion programme that "the ANC will go to every conceivable length to destroy the system", and that "escalation of the armed struggle cannot avoid the use of guns".

Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, had said that he would welcome the end of violence in South Africa and Mrs Thatcher praised him for that.

Mrs Thatcher was speaking as Mr Tambo prepared to give evidence to the Tory-led select committee on foreign affairs.

Mrs Thatcher said she regretted that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was not being received by the Commons Committee and urged Labour members to listen to the voices of black South Africans who were opposed to both sanctions and violence.

In a major policy statement at the beginning of yesterday's Commons debate, Mrs Thatcher said that the Commonwealth accord was a "clear political signal" to Pretoria "of the need for rapid change within South Africa, as well as of the need for the South African Government to end its illegal occupation of Namibia".

After some heated exchanges across the floor about the rights and wrongs of economic sanctions Mrs Thatcher praised the "sensible and realistic" Commonwealth accord but said that a policy of economic sanctions was "ridiculous".

Mr Kinnock said that while he welcomed Mrs Thatcher's abhorrence of apartheid the impact was undermined by her lack of action to match the words.

APR 23 1963

Role of commerce under attack by two black leaders

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Soweto civic leader Dr Nthatho Motlana has delivered a stinging attack on the business sector for failing to speak out and act timeously on behalf of the country's blacks.

Addressing the annual executive council meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Dr Motlana also suggested that big business start up and support new businesses owned by blacks to make the economic pie bigger.

And last night Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that fundamental reforms were required immediately or blacks and whites would become involved in "scorched-earth policies" that would destroy the economy and tear society apart.

Dr Motlana told the delegates: "You should be aware of how blacks perceive big business.

SOME STARVING

"You retrench people and there are many, many thousands of people who are idle in the townships. Yet in some cases the managing director somehow manages to get himself a new Mercedes. Or we see directors going off to company game farms or on overseas trips.

"Some companies embark on crazy sponsoring and spending when some people are starving."

Dr Motlana asked the businessmen to secure orders from black manufacturers.

"What we are suggesting is that we try and build bridges together. Let us optimise our resources."

Chief Buthelezi, speaking at the chamber's annual banquet last night, said that business would have to play a far greater role in bringing about fundamental change.

"Business will ever increasingly be caught up in a maelstrom of events which are going to propel our country into an entirely new political dispensation."

OPPOSING VIEWS

There were two fundamentally opposed views among blacks about the future role of business in South Africa, he said. One was the view he held and the other was that of the ANC which would nationalise businesses.

"We in South Africa should by now know that Western industrial democracies are totally dependent on stable parliamentary systems of government."

He pointed out that in the past 75 years progressively greater powers have been used to maintain white domination and the point was being rapidly reached where only "scorched earth policies" on the part of the Government could prolong white minority rule.

"The ANC and those committed to bringing about the downfall of the Government through violence have already adopted a scorched-earth policy."

Some 30 kilometres north-west of the town of Vereeniging stands the massive black township of Sebokeng, where thousands upon thousands live.

Freely translated, the word *Sebokeng*, means the place of the gathering of the multitudes.

Very apt indeed. The original inhabitants of Sebokeng come from various old locations that sprang up near Vereeniging, Evaton, Meyerton and Mafomeng.

The multitudes of Sebokeng live in small, four-roomed uniform houses that stand row upon neat row in seemingly endless monotony.

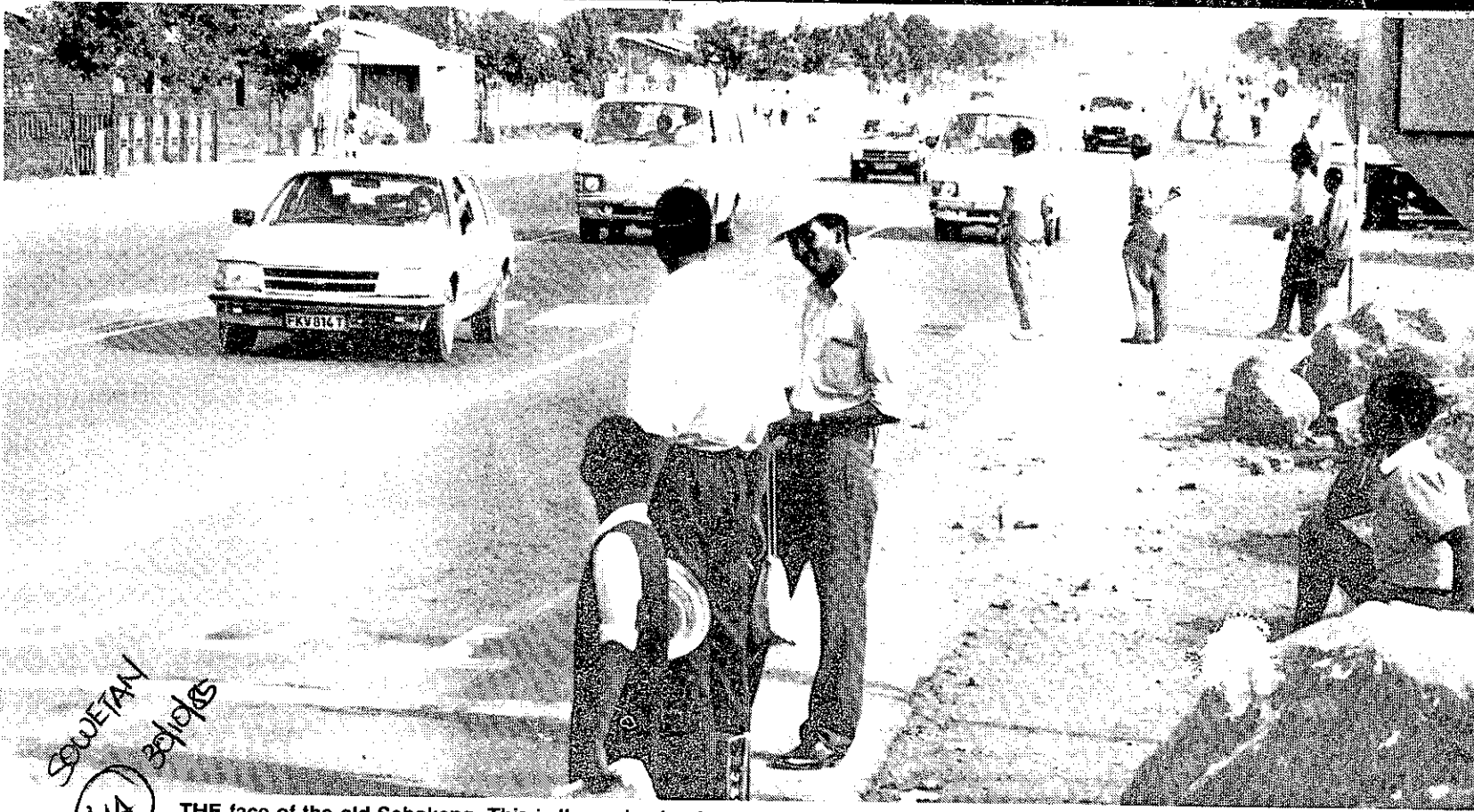
There is also Sebokeng Extension, with its new and modern houses, which some cynics disparagingly refer to as "Snobville". Understandably, when the new township sprang up, there were some people who thought of themselves as not being part of the herd.

Facilities

But no more. Generally, since the "troubles" started on September 3 last year, the people here have been united by events. This is borne out by the steadfast refusal of the inhabitants to pay increased rents.

Like in almost all black townships, the lack of facilities where the young can expend their youthful energies is a feature of life here.

This was the cry of two friends, Mr Johan-



SOULETIAN
11A
30/10/85

THE face of the old Sebokeng. This is the main street, renamed "Beirut" by some residents since the "troubles" started.

United by events

nes Morolong (18) and Mr Moses Moloi (19), whom we came across hanging around the local shops.

"There is almost nothing to keep us busy during our leisure time. Apart from kicking a football around the veld, there is nothing else. This is why many young people have taken to heavy drinking," Mr Morolong said.

Mr Eddie Napo (40), one of the first residents of Sebokeng, echoed these sentiments when he said: "It is a disgrace that this place with nine

residential zones does not have a single public swimming pool.

"The lack of amenities for recreation is the main cause of many social ills. We

misnomer because the place is not built like one and has never been used for staging theatrical plays."

Mr Napo said the

**Spotlight
on Sebokeng
By NAT
DISEKO**

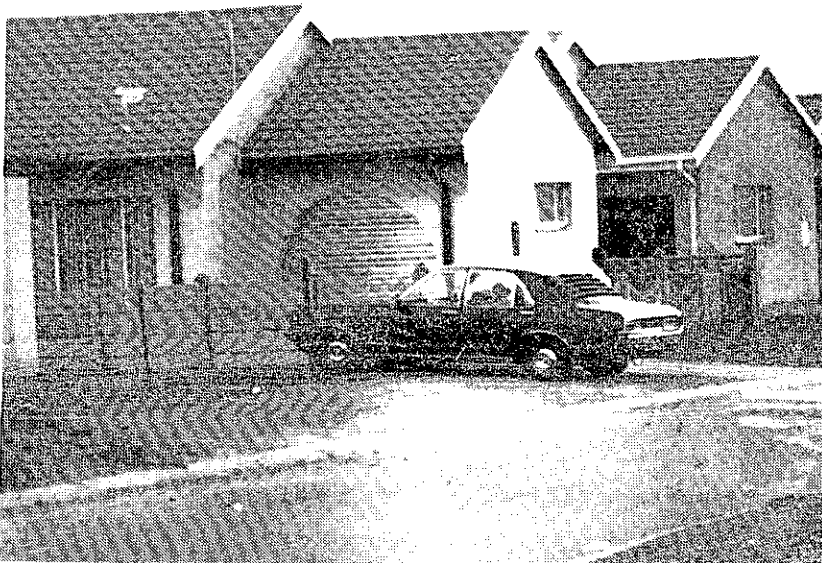


have only one cinema, the Eldorado, in Zone 14.

"There is the Mphatlalatsane Theatre, which is a

place is used for boxing tournaments and choral competitions.

He also touched on a big problem: "Unemployment is rife in



THE face of the new Sebokeng, which some cynics call Snobville.

Pics: LEONARD KUMALO.

Sebokeng. There is just no work. Some people even work at far-off places like Johannesburg," Mr Napo said.

As we wandered around the township, we came across a happy camaraderie recalling the good old days with their hero, Mr Elijah "Ellis Brown" Mokone.

Battle

Mr Mokone is one of South Africa's boxing all-time greats.

Mr Lentikile "Tikkie" Legare, Mr Zacharia "Arrah" Morake and Mr Modise "Kid" Ramokoka listened raptly as Ellis Brown, nostalgia in his eyes, recounted some of his memorable wars in the square jungle.

As Ellis Brown spoke about his momentous battle against Alby Tissong (then contender for the world featherweight title) in Durban in 1956, the smell of leather, ambrocation and sweat filled the little room.

The story, excellently told, had a good ending for us. Ellis Brown won the hard-fought fight on points.



BUDDIES and their hero, Mr Elijah "Ellis Brown" Mokone (seated). (From left) Mr Lentikile "Tikkie" Legare, Mr Zacharia "Arra" and Mr Modise "Kid" Ramokoka.



Mr EDDIE NAPO . . . "lack of amenities"

ANC made no ~~offer~~ ^{offer} to ceasefire deal

By HOWARD BARRELL,
Harare

21/10/85

THE ANC was still committed to armed struggle and had given no undertakings of a six-month ceasefire to Commonwealth leaders.

The ANC has rejected as false a report that it sent a message to Commonwealth leaders saying it was willing to suspend the armed struggle for six months if the government agreed to enter a political dialogue with representative black leaders.

The ANC said statements by its representatives at the summit had been taken out of context.

The ANC's position on negotiations remains unchanged.

The ANC remained committed to intensifying all forms of political and armed struggle, the Lusaka source said.

UDERS LINKS

SOWETAN 3/10/85
 (11A)

No connection with ANC, court told

THE United Democratic Front was not connected to the African National Congress in any way, accord-

SOWETAN Correspondent
 ing to a transcript of a video tape screened at the treason trial in

Maritzburg yesterday. The transcript attributes the words to Mrs Mani Ben Sita, an executive committee member of the

Transvaal Indian Congress. She was addressing the Natal Indian Congress in Newcastle in August last year. She is not an accused.

This tape, and two others, were screened at the request of the defence.

At the same Newcastle meeting, Mr Billy Nair, who is not an accused, said: "These people, who are not spokesmen for the people, but stooges of the Government, have accused us of being agents of Moscow, the ANC and the KGB."

"So serious is this charge against us that they are actually inviting the Government to take action against Congress and the UDF."

"They say, lock these people up because they are foreign agents."

To Page 2 →

Only 38 000 houses sold

ONLY 38 000 houses have been sold under the 99 year leasehold scheme throughout the country since the mass sale was introduced by the Government three years ago.

Addressing a Press conference held in Daveyton, Benoni yesterday, Mr Tom Boya, the vice president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) who is the mayor of Daveyton said, "266 000 out of 520 000 houses throughout the country had been surveyed for selling under the 99-year leasehold scheme."

The conference was called by Ucasa following a meeting they held with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, three weeks ago in Pre-

toria to discuss the housing sale scheme.

Mr Boya said the delay in selling the houses was caused by the surveying being not completed by the government.

Out of 299 black townships, only 48 did not qualify under the 99-year leasehold scheme and Ucasa and the Government were working round the clock to have these townships qualifying under this scheme.

On the question of the selling price of the houses, Mr Boya said it was up to councillors to determine the selling price of the houses in their townships according to a formula drawn by the National Housing Commission.

Treason trial
 From Page 1

"If we were foreign agents none of you would be here today. In the meantime, they hide behind the protective skin of the Government and accuse us and, in fact, warned the government against us."

"They accused us of intimidation. The Government is using State machinery, the police and so on, to intimidate us, yet they call us intimidators."

"During the last two weeks the Solidarity, NPP and other candidates went into the townships, telling the old people that they would be fined R500 if they did not vote."

In an excerpt from another tape screened at the request of the defence Mr Ramial Bhoofia told a Transvaal Indian Congress meeting in Lenasia: "We in this organisation will do our utmost to try to solve our problems by means of non-violence."

"We do not believe in violence and we will continue to follow in the footsteps of Ghandi to solve our problems by means of non-violence."